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55

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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Carl Becker on History

Professor Becker's Two Histories: A Skeptical Fallacy

PEREZ ZAGORIN

THE relation between history and philosophy is, on history's side at any rate, a perplexed and ambivalent one. Historians are commonly aware that, when one philosophy impugns their ability to obtain knowledge of the past, it is only another philosophy that can deliver them from the charge and vindicate their inquiry. Yet the aid thus called in or gratuitously offered has frequently been found by historians to be an embarrassment from which they were glad to disengage themselves. Seen from this point of view, the historian's thought about his work has the appearance of a series of efforts to emancipate himself from tasks undertaken or claims advanced in consequence of the beguilement which some reigning philosophical doctrine has for a time exercised upon him.

If we except the lonely and isolated Vico, it is only since about the end of the eighteenth century, in Kant, Herder, and Schiller, and then in the great speculative constructions of German romantic metaphysics, that phi-

losophers have been disposed to accord historical inquiry a position of importance in the hierarchy of knowledge. And an important position it was: the historian was to be the enunciator of *das Weltgericht* and to disclose the course of Eternal Reason as it worked itself out in the doings of human societies. But such an undertaking, it was shortly realized, led to perverse and artificial schemes of interpretation and to unconscionable freedom in the treatment of evidence. And so, despite various gains which had accrued to historical inquiry conducted with these vast ends in view, historians eagerly disencumbered themselves of prerogatives they could not sustain and retreated to a more modest ground.

There followed then another encounter with philosophy, in the form, now, of positivism. The fascination of its doctrine proved more powerful and lasting, for it had both the prestige of natural science behind it and seemed to fall in with that respect for fact which historians regard as an indispensable assumption of their pursuit. Under the influence of positivism, historians were led into conceiving their inquiry as modeled on the natural sciences and as properly issuing, therefore, in laws. The program entailed by these notions has, however, also had to be abandoned. No historian who adopted it succeeded in formulating laws of historical development which his fellow scholars could accept or regard as strictly analogous to what are called laws in the natural sciences. The untenable distinction, moreover, which positivism made between facts and their interpretation reduced the historian's mind to a mere incident in the work of investigation, and this was soon seen to be a thoroughly false account of what takes place in historical inquiry.

With the exposure of the inadequacy of the dogmatic claims advanced by positivist historical thought, there set in among historians a skepticism such as not infrequently ensues in some minds when dogma has been expelled. If history is not a science in the sense of the natural sciences, if the terminus of inquiry is not the establishment of laws, if the inquirer's subjectivity is an essential feature in his cognition of the past, then how can the historian rightly claim to provide knowledge at all? Such questions, or something like them, are the horns upon which the thinking of most historians became impaled.¹ No doubt, the philosopher-historians in the idealist tradition, from whom the most destructive criticisms of positivism originated,

¹ Cf. the remarks of Professor Beard in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1933: "That this crisis in thought presents a distressing dilemma to many historians is beyond question. It is almost a confession of inextinguishable sin to admit . . . that one is not a man of science working in a scientific manner with things open to deterministic and inexorable treatment. . . ." "Written History as an Act of Faith," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (January, 1934), 221-22.

having never been in bondage to the latter, were not shaken by its downfall. Croce, and later Collingwood, to mention two well-known instances, viewed the emancipation of historical thought from a false scientism as a splendid liberation which must render the historian supreme in his own domain, not indebted for his methods or aims to some alien realm but making them in accordance with the unique character of his own work. But this was not the case of the ordinary unphilosophic historian. He saw clearly enough that the positivist account of historical activity was indefensible. Yet he had become accustomed to think of the natural sciences as the model upon which any true inquiry must be formed; deprived of that model, he was unable to put anything in its place. He was flattered to be told by some philosophers that historical inquiry is a pursuit autonomous and *sui generis*. But he did not like the paradoxes in which these philosophers appeared to indulge. He, for example, was incorrigibly attached to the idea that what he was studying was the past as an independent object. Thinkers such as Croce, however, and Mr. Michael Oakeshott insisted that "every true history is contemporary history,"² and that "the past in history varies with the present . . . is the present."³ The outcome was that the historian felt himself, on the whole, without a reasoned justification of his work. He might, no doubt, console himself by pointing to certain utilities he thought history could supply. Unable, nevertheless, to defend convincingly his claim to provide genuine knowledge, he relapsed into a skepticism in which he could get on with his work only by an act of faith.

So far, at least, as American historians are concerned, skepticism continues to be the climate of opinion in which our work is done. The consequence is that while students are exhorted to believe in the historian's knowledge, they commonly become infected, instead, with the skeptical doubts from which their teachers suffer. Still unhappy at having bade farewell to the natural science model of knowledge, suspicious also, perhaps, of philosophy because of the errors they accuse it of having previously raised in their minds, the majority of American historians can take refuge only in the hope that disturbing theoretical difficulties will not prevent practical people from getting on with their business. But however we may shun philosophy and seek to shut our eyes to these difficulties, or to pass them perfunctorily by, we cannot rid ourselves of the uncomfortable awareness that they are still there, continuing their subversive work. It would be prudent, therefore, to face these difficulties squarely, for there is less risk of error when the historian

² *History: Its Theory and Practice*, tr. D. Ainslie (New York, 1921), p. 12.

³ *Experience and Its Modes* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 107.

is self-conscious about the nature and presuppositions of his study than when he carries on with doctrines unanalyzed and implicitly accepted. And besides, that the notions historians entertain about their inquiry have an effect, for good or ill, on the conduct of their researches, any account of historiography will make plain. Moreover, so long as the historian is unable to vindicate his claim to genuine knowledge, he will scarcely have a right to complain of the disrespect for historical inquiry, the suspicion that Clio is too fickle a muse to be steadfast in the service of truth, which is part of the intellectual temper of the present age.

It is with these considerations in mind that I propose to examine the well-known essay by the late Professor Carl Becker entitled "Everyman His Own Historian," presented in 1931 as a presidential address to the American Historical Association.⁴ Written with Becker's customary wit and geniality, this essay may be regarded as the most representative expression by an American historian of that prolonged malady of skepticism which yet afflicts us. Upon those whom it has persuaded or whose views it has confirmed, the effect has been to drive from their minds the conception of history as a science while substituting nothing of a constructive character in its place. Its influence, moreover, has been the greater with historians because its author was not a philosopher who could be charged with indulging in fancies owing to an unfamiliarity with the historian's work; he was, rather, a highly respected member of their own profession speaking to his colleagues out of rich personal experience of scholarship. They could not but listen, then, when they were informed that their inquiry is, though on a more sophisticated plane, of the same essence and rooted in the same necessities as the activity of Mr. Everyman seeking to ascertain the extent of his coal bill and whether or not he had paid it. I do not wish to be unfair to Becker. He, it is plain, intended his remarks to demolish the illusion of a cold objectivity disinterestedly surveying hard facts, by which he supposed most historians to be misled when they reflected on the nature of their office. Now this view as to the relativity of historical thought, when correctly formulated, is not one which anyone today would care to dispute. But as Becker propounded it, it was enforced by arguments which, if true, would leave no basis upon which the historian could rightly claim to possess knowledge of the past. And that is why the errors (as I think) contained in his position call strongly for correction.

⁴ *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (January, 1932). I shall cite this from the volume of Becker's essays bearing the same title, *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York, 1935), pp. 233-55.

Of the various opinions offered by Professor Becker, I shall deal with only one, namely, what, following its author's language, may be called the notion of the two histories, history as it actually was and history as it is known to us. The other views which he expresses are so closely dependent upon this one that, if it can be shown to be a mistake, we shall have removed the most important support of the kind of skepticism he was inculcating. There will, of course, still be other difficulties in the way of giving a credible defense of the historian's assumption that he has knowledge of the past. But the notion of the two histories is so rooted a conception and is seemingly so much in accord with common sense that effort spent in disclosing its fallacious nature will be well justified.

The passage in which the notion of the two histories is stated occurs in the beginning of Becker's essay and, except for some trifling deletions, I shall reproduce it verbatim:

I ought first of all to explain that when I use the term history I mean knowledge of history. No doubt throughout all past time there actually occurred a series of events which, whether we know what it was or not, constitutes history in some ultimate sense. Nevertheless, much the greater part of these events we can know nothing about, not even that they occurred; many of them we can know only imperfectly; and even the few events we think we know for sure we can never be absolutely certain of, since we can never revive them, never observe or test them directly. The event itself once occurred, but as an actual event it has disappeared; so that in dealing with it the only objective reality we can observe or test is some material trace which the event has left—usually a written document. With these traces of vanished events, these documents, we must be content since they are all we have; from them we infer what the event was, we affirm that it is a fact that the event was so and so. . . . Let us then admit that there are two histories: the actual series of events that once occurred; and the ideal series that we affirm and hold in memory. The first is absolute and unchanged—it was what it was whatever we do or say about it; the second is relative, always changing in response to the increase or refinement of knowledge. The two series correspond more or less, it is our aim to make the correspondence as exact as possible; but the actual series of events exists for us only in terms of the ideal series which we affirm and hold in memory. This is why I am forced to identify history with knowledge of history. For all practical purposes history is, for us and for the time being, what we know it to be.⁵

Before proceeding, let it be quite clear, though this may be to labor the obvious, why the view just cited will, if true, plunge us into a gulf of skepticism from which there is no escaping. If those events in the past which, as we are told, constitute history in the ultimate sense are for the most part forever barred to us, and those that are accessible but faintly and obscurely so, then, plainly, there is no ground for asserting we have knowledge of them. The

⁵ *Everyman*, pp. 233–34.

historian supposes that it is the past he is reconstructing. Once postulate, however, a past as actuality which is in no way accessible to him, and he will certainly be unable to know it. It is but an inconsequent compromise, devoid of logic, for Becker to tell us of a correspondence, which we seek to make more exact, between the two series, history as it actually was and history as we know it. If we can never know the first series, history as it actually was, we shall certainly never be able to determine whether there is any correspondence between it and the second series.

Against Becker's contention, I shall endeavor to show that there is only one history, that which is known from the evidence presently before us, and that the notion of the two histories or series is not merely wrong but unintelligible. From this it will follow that when the historian, having his evidence before him, declares what this evidence causes him to conclude, he will then (while additional evidence has still to be established) know all that there is at the moment to be known.

Why, it is useful to ask at the outset, does common sense appear, at first sight, to be in accord with the notion of the two histories? The answer is not difficult. We see, on the one hand, that the statements we make about the past change, while, on the other hand, we cannot believe the past changes. What happened, happened, and will be ever the same, we suppose, though what we think is now this and now that. If, however, common sense is right in this conviction, it cannot without absurdity form the notion of the two histories.

This will be apparent at once when we look closely at the remark which declares that "there actually occurred a series of events which . . . constitutes history in some ultimate sense," but that "much the greater part of these events we can know nothing about, not even that they occurred. . . ." What this tells us is that events occurred but we cannot know they occurred; and that is a plain contradiction. One might with equal sense say, "lightning struck, but I cannot know it struck." It is merely unintelligible to deny you can know an event has occurred when you have already affirmed its occurrence. This is the sort of contradiction which entirely vitiates the notion of the two histories. To distinguish a history as it actually was from a history as you know it requires that you know at least one respect wherein the two differ. But you will know that only if you know something of history as it actually was. Suppose you reply that you *can* know something of history as it actually was. This history, then, will be a history known to you, and again Becker's distinction will break down. All this simply shows that the distinction between the two histories is lacking in sense. To affirm something

as unknowable is in some way to know it, and this is just what Becker has declared is impossible for us.

What has induced Becker to speak in this strange way? It is the difference, already referred to, which common sense makes between a past that does not change and our knowledge of it, which does. But this difference cannot entail the notion of the two histories, since that, we have seen, is a contradiction. It rests, rather, on the fact that we feel our cognition may err or that its reconstruction of the past is incomplete, so that more remains for us to know. This "more," however, is not a sort of essence or impalpable ectoplasm, the past as it actually was, hovering mysteriously behind the evidence, which knowledge can never attain to. It signifies merely questions we may put about the subject of our inquiry which the present state of the evidence will not permit us to answer. And similarly, we conclude we have made an error when a new answer we have obtained from evidence is out of accord with an answer we have previously given, with the result that we must reconsider and revise what we have once thought correct. But from the fact that we revise, or say our knowledge is incomplete, we may not determine that we know nothing of the subject of our study "as it actually was." There is, as a little reflection suffices to show, no difference whatever, except one of rhetorical emphasis, between saying that we know an event and saying that we know an event as it actually was. Nothing is contained in the second statement which is not already included in the first. If knowing be taken to mean—and where inquiry is concerned, I think it must—notions we form from the consideration of evidence, so that, given the evidence, we form these notions and no others, then we can be said to know anything for which we have evidence, and to know it so far as this evidence extends.

Becker, however, feels but little confidence in the knowledge we profess to have of the past because, he informs us, the events which comprise it are dead and can never be revived and observed directly; in dealing with them, we make use of "some material trace . . . usually a written document," and with these traces "we must be content since they are all we have. . . ." On this showing, the objects of direct observation are privileged, so that they alone bear a full title to the name of knowledge. Only if the historian, then, could reproduce the subject of his inquiry at will, as the chemist does in his laboratory, only if he could, for example, summon the Long Parliament back to life and witness its transactions, could he be said to know. This view, an instance of the historian's tenacious longing for the natural science conception of knowledge, must, however, be pronounced mere prejudice. Why should the name of knowledge be reserved especially for that which is di-

rectly observed? What is known by inference is quite as fully known as what is directly observed. It is, besides, much to be doubted whether, either in the transactions of ordinary life or in learned inquiry, there is any act of so-called direct observation in which inference is not also present. We frequently forget, too, how often, even in the natural sciences, statements concerning the remote past are made from the evidence of "traces of vanished events." The geologist who infers how and when strata were laid down in ages before man, the palaeontologist who reconstructs the evolution of extinct species, the astronomer who attempts to explain the origin of our solar system—none of these investigators has observed the events he is engaged in explaining, yet we do not on that account think their conclusions are weakened or deny them the name of knowledge.⁶

When it is said that we must be content with the traces of vanished events because these are all we have, as if this placed us in a pathetic crux, we can only reply that they are all we need; for traces are evidence, and evidence is what we require in order to have knowledge. By his preference for direct observation, Becker has excluded or, at any rate, minimized, the role of reflective thought, which is the essential ingredient in the formation of knowledge in both history and the natural sciences, whatever be the nature of the evidence from which it derives. This preference, perhaps, is what has led him further on in his essay to define history mistakenly, I think, as "the memory of things said and done."⁷ Various objections might justly be lodged against this definition, even when it has been subsequently qualified by Becker as "the memory of events inferred" as well as those observed.⁸ Essential as memory is to thought, history can no more be well defined as the memory of things said and done than can mathematics as the memory of equations calculated or physics as the memory of experiments performed. Were history memory, the best historian would be he who had the largest

⁶ These instances from the natural sciences do not, it is true, involve inference from verbal evidence, as does so much of the historian's work. But there is one branch of historical inquiry in which verbal evidence is sometimes entirely excluded. I mean archaeology. Thus Professor Rostovtzeff writes: "There is no doubt that the Greek cities of South Russia led a purely Greek life, at least in the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C. The cities themselves were built in Greek fashion. A large amount of Greek building material, especially imported marble, was employed for the construction of temples and public buildings in these cities, and imported marbles and bronze statues were extensively used in the adornment of temples and public squares. . . . Most of the better pottery was imported, as were also many lamps and some of the terracotta statuettes. It is very probable, too, that most of the armour and weapons, the gold, silver, and bronze plate, the gold and silver jewels, the gems and intaglios, were importations." (*The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* [3 vols., Oxford, 1941], I, 106-107.) Correct or not, this view respecting the North-Pontic Greek cities is based on evidence which is not verbal and which, therefore, closely resembles that of the geologist or palaeontologist.

⁷ *Everyman*, p. 235.

⁸ *Ibid.*

memory of things. This is, of course, not so. History is distinguished by its character as an inquiry with its own methods and aims and subject matter; one is a historian if he pursues this inquiry, and the best historian is he who pursues it best. It is a mistake to describe history as memory, in however extended a sense the term be taken, because memory itself is uncritical and unreflective, while the historian's thought, as we know, is just the reverse. The historian reflects upon his evidence. At the outset he has only raw data, scraps of parchment, inscriptions, letters, codices, pamphlets, or what-not, and he himself must constitute these as evidence and decide what they are evidence for. Then he interrogates and criticizes the evidence he has thus established. Only now will he know what he must think. That the event with which he deals is one he has himself observed does not exonerate him from the task of reflection which alone enables him to reach his conclusions. We can only smile when, for example, we are informed by the historian Josephus, "My own record of the [Judeo-Roman] War as a whole and of the incidental details is correct, since I was a first hand witness of all the events."⁹ The fact is that, in its essentials, the nature of historical inquiry is quite unaffected by whether our subject is one we have ourselves been well situated to observe or one remote from us in time. The process of the historian's thought is the same when he writes a history of naval actions in the Second World War or in the war of the Greeks against Persia, though in the first instance the evidence is, of course, far more abundant.

In the light of what has already been said, it is easy to see what we have in mind when we say, as we occasionally do, that something is unknowable. We mean that we think it unlikely we shall ever have evidence to answer some question or other which has suggested itself to us. But this is a different sort of unknowable from that of which Becker speaks. For the unknowable to which we refer presupposes knowledge; it is a learned ignorance. We know something because we have evidence; this knowledge leads us in turn to ask a new question; we believe the evidence with which to answer this question will not be forthcoming; we then conclude that what we wish to know is unknowable. This, I think, is the only sense which can be attached to such a statement as that "one can know that many things have happened of which no record remains." Clearly, we must have the knowledge, at least, of the existence of an event if we are to ask any questions at all respecting it, even questions to which there may be no answer. We find, for instance, Professor Rostovtzeff writing: "Such being the evidence at our disposal, we

⁹ Cited from "A Reply to Apion" in A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (6 vols., Oxford, 1935-39), III, 295.

must admit that it does not allow us to form even an approximate idea of the density of the population of the Hellenistic world, of its fluctuations, or of the relative size of the various elements in the population, such as the proportion of free citizens to metics and slaves in the cities, and of natives to immigrants in the eastern monarchies."¹⁰ Were the very existence of the Hellenistic world unknown to us, as the Indus civilization at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro was unknown until a little over thirty years ago, we should not be able to say that its population cannot be ascertained. Rather, we should simply have to be silent, for no question could occur to us. It is also worth noting that in speaking of something as unknowable, we frequently incur a certain risk. May it not be that in the future we shall discover evidence to answer a question we had believed unanswerable? No doubt, where the question is one of the population of ancient societies or even of European states as late as the end of the eighteenth century and after, we seem on safe enough ground in pronouncing it unanswerable. The history of learning, however, is filled with sensational discoveries, such as the Indus civilization, which show how mistaken a verdict of unknowable may sometimes be.

Becker thinks our findings as historians something less than knowledge because "even the few events we think we know for sure we can never be absolutely certain of." And here we encounter a not uncommon view, that the mark of knowledge is certainty. This cannot be so, however, if certainty is understood in its proper sense as attaching to propositions not open to doubt, for in every empirical study it is recognized that there is no finding which may not, in principle, be doubted. Strictly speaking, the only certain statements are necessary propositions. It is certain that twice two equals four because this conclusion must follow from our definition of two. Though the statements of fact in which the historian deals cannot be certain in this sense, they are none the less knowledge for that. We need not have certainty in order to know; for if we agree that knowledge consists of ideas for which we can show evidence, then we have knowledge so far as our evidence extends and in proportion as it is good. Were we to make certainty a criterion of knowledge, we could never speak, as we proudly do, of our knowledge as progressing. Instead, every old conclusion expunged by fresh inquiry, and every new one asserted in its stead, would be thought a disaster rather than a triumph. Whether acquired by the historian or the natural scientist, knowledge is, in principle, always open to doubt, since the evidence may have been misunderstood or because new evidence yet to be established may require the

¹⁰ *Hellenistic World*, II, 1142.

revision of our conclusions. The same process, however, which creates our doubt, also assuages it, namely, consideration of evidence.

Though we may always doubt, we do not always wish to do so, for there are many statements the historian makes that are supported by evidence so strong as to endow them with a character of virtual certainty. We are not, for example, disposed to doubt that Alexander of Macedon won the battle of Issus or Napoleon the battle of Austerlitz, that the emperor Henry IV sought absolution from Pope Gregory VII or that Francis of Assisi founded a mendicant order, that Charles I was put to death by a revolutionary tribunal or that the earl of Clarendon was impeached. These, it is true, are relatively simple statements, and the historian cannot confine himself to them when he is fully discharging his task of giving an account of events in which their course is explained. But not even in the latter case do his remarks necessarily lose their character of virtual certainty. Of this order, perhaps, might be such assertions as that Greece lost its independence because the city states could not effectively unite; that, in the West, monasticism preserved the literary learning of the ancient world after the passing of Roman society; or that nationalism helped to make unstable the settlement laid down at the Congress of Vienna. In general, there is probably more consensus among historians than we are inclined to believe.

I have now shown, I hope, that the notion of the two histories will not survive criticism, and that if we wish to speak intelligibly, we can speak only of one history, that for which there is evidence. Perhaps I shall now be told that this is what Becker has maintained all the time, for, at the end of the paragraph which was quoted at the beginning of this essay, he declares: "For all practical purposes history is, for us and for the time being, what we know it to be." The two views, however, are quite dissimilar. Becker's conclusion is the offspring of his despair. It is the stone he has resolved to content himself with in lieu of the bread he has found unattainable. He must end by describing history as what we know it to be because he has given up all hope of seizing that elusive phantom, history as it actually was, in whose existence he has not for a moment ceased to believe. We, however, if our argument has been sound, have recognized this phantom for what it is, a nothing, a "very coinage of the brain," a "bodiless creation." We have seen that, behind the evidence, there can be no phantom history as it actually was. When, then, we have learned what the evidence has to teach us, we have thereby acquired the substance of knowledge.

Zagorin's Interpretation of Becker: Some Observations

LEO GERSHOY

IN his introductory pages on the clash of rival philosophies of history, Mr. Zagorin notes with some relevance that they both edify and embarrass the average work-a-day historian. The remainder of his article is a critique of Carl Becker's presidential address, "Everyman His Own Historian." He contends that once the majority of American historians became cognizant of the inadequacies of the claims advanced by "scientific" history, they lapsed into skepticism, bereft of a reasoned justification for the validity of their work. Unable now to believe any longer in the solidity of the historical fact but reluctant to accept the alternative view propounded by the historians of the idealist persuasion, they shun philosophy and carry on with doctrines unanalyzed and implicitly accepted. They are lacking in self-consciousness about the nature and presuppositions of their work and get on with it only by an act of faith.

To be simultaneously skeptical and wanting in critical self-consciousness is to be in a deplorable state indeed. If Mr. Zagorin's evaluation is sound, a situation exists which justifies his endeavor to rescue them from their plight, and to do so by exposing the negativism of Becker's essay. For Becker's persuasive phrases, he is convinced, demolish the conception of history as a science without leaving anything constructive in its place.

To be sure, the great majority of American historians may not be so deficient in self-consciousness as Mr. Zagorin fears, for a spate of books and articles concerning the nature and the processes of history would seem to belie his concern. One could not prove, naturally, that these are read and digested by the "ordinary unphilosophical historian," but on the other hand Mr. Zagorin would also be hard put to sustain his contention. Even the least philosophically minded of historians would not readily avow his indifference to all speculative thought. The possibility also exists that to the degree to which they are skeptical, their skepticism is as much grounded in over-self-consciousness, after the manner of Becker—if not entirely so—as in a willful refusal to examine the notions they have of their inquiry.

Mr. Zagorin's primary concern, at least in this article, is with demolishing Becker's own skeptical fallacy rather than with rescuing its victimized readers; and one turns accordingly to his critique. Becker, he writes, rein-

forced a relativist position, which no one would care to dispute if correctly stated, with arguments that would leave no basis upon which the historian could rightly claim to possess knowledge of the past. Those errors call for correction. And within the space of his brief essay, Mr. Zagorin calls attention to no fewer than eight of them, roughly one error for every two pages of the printed text of "Everyman His Own Historian," as it appeared in the *American Historical Review*. This is a high percentage of error for anyone.

Fortunately for Becker's claim to professional competence, some of the charges, even at first reading, appear less than formidable. There is the charge, naturally appropriately shaded, that Becker equated history with memory (p. 8) and by doing so virtually placed himself in the position of saying that the best historian is he who has the largest memory of things. As Becker is at some pains to explain that he is using the word "memory" as a kind of shorthand term for the entire process of gathering evidence, criticizing his data, and making hypotheses,¹ Mr. Zagorin's point is not highly negotiable. He tells us, next, that Becker had little confidence in the knowledge we profess to have of the past and evinced by his preference for direct observation the tenacious and prejudiced longing of the historian for the natural science conception of history (p. 7). Perhaps so, though it is puzzling to see how Mr. Zagorin came to that conclusion in view of the fact that Becker explicitly wrote "with the traces we must be content since that is all we have," and more affirmatively still, "neither the value nor the dignity of history need suffer by regarding it as a foreshortened and incomplete representation of the reality that once was. . . ."²

In the third place, by that mistaken preference for direct observation, Becker excluded or minimized the role of reflective thought as the essential ingredient in the formation of knowledge (p. 8). All that one who is reasonably familiar with Becker's cast of mind can say is that this opinion is more impressive for its originality than for its validity. Becker may have had grave deficiencies as a historian. Minimizing the role of reflection was not one of them. Moreover, in the fourth place (p. 10), he puts Becker in the category of historians who hold that the mark of knowledge is certainty and then reminds his readers that "We need not have certainty in order to know. . . ." The observation is sound enough, but it is difficult to conceive of anyone who required it less than Becker. In all his writing, and not least in the essay which Mr. Zagorin is examining, Becker insisted with the subtle forcefulness which characterized him that what we do not need in order to have knowl-

¹ "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (1932), 224-25.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 235.

edge is certainty. On the contrary, he asserted over and over again that our knowledge, as it transforms problems without solving them, remains contingent, purposive, relative, and uncertain. In all that he may have been mistaken, but at least he should be taken to task for an error that he himself made and not for one that is attributed to him.

Those four errors are minor, almost peripheral. Three correlated assertions that Mr. Zagorin makes concerning the bases of Becker's thinking are more serious, viz., Becker's views plunge us into a gulf of skepticism from which there is no escape; his reasoning is not only devoid of logic, but is also unintelligible and lacking in sense; his argument leads to the conclusion that we can have no knowledge of events in the past as actuality, because those events are inaccessible to us (pp. 5-7). Mr. Zagorin's case rests essentially upon these assertions. Hence they should be examined together and with all the respect that is due to a forthright indictment of the thought processes of a historian who has been unusually honored and esteemed by his professional associates.

Mr. Zagorin begins by quoting Becker as saying (1) that a series of events actually occurred which constitutes history in some ultimate sense; (2) that some of these occurrences, indeed the greater part of them, we know nothing about, not even that they occurred; and (3) that other occurrences we know only imperfectly. He ends that discussion by finding Becker guilty of "a plain contradiction" in asserting in one breath that events are forever barred to us and, in another, that knowledge of them is possible. He concludes in short, "there is no ground for Becker's asserting that we have knowledge of *them*," by "*them*" meaning events of the past. (The italics are mine.)

Let us examine the argument more closely. When Mr. Zagorin quotes the passage at issue the first time, viz., that "there actually occurred a series of events which . . . constitutes history in some ultimate sense . . .," he makes it in full. When he analyzes it, however, he omits the highly qualifying phrase which served as preface to the passage. Becker began the passage with the words, "*No doubt throughout all past time*" (again my italics), there doubtless occurred events which we do not know, not even that they occurred. By omitting and ignoring that phrase, Mr. Zagorin misses Becker's point that the historian is not or should not be concerned with the totality of all possible occurrences in the past. He was making a postulate. Like the scientist who uses as a working hypothesis the postulate that there is an external world, Becker postulated that there is a world of historical facts as actuality: there doubtless occurred events which we do not know, not even that they occurred. Having made that postulate, after setting the stage of a

broad world of almost infinite occurrences, he makes it clear, or at least strives to, that he and all other historians do not concern themselves with the whole of that world whose existence he has postulated, almost parenthetically, in order to dismiss it. He is no longer interested in those occurrences. He is leaving them decently alone. He is content to deal with parts of the stage. His interest lies entirely with those occurrences for which evidence does exist.

Those events for which evidence does exist, of whose occurrence we have traces, we know only imperfectly. But still we know them. About those events we have affirmations, and from the affirmations that we have concerning them, from the evidence, "we infer what the event was. . . ."³ It is between that series of inferred events, events as actuality, on the one hand, and the series of affirmations concerning them on the other, that the historian attempts to establish a correspondence. The two series are not dualistic, running on parallel lines and never to meet, save of course in infinity. Becker conceived the second series, history as evidence, as converging upon the first and as the first inclining, so to speak, toward the second. The extent of the convergence depends on the increase and refinement of our knowledge. New evidence can increase or refine our knowledge; it can also prove our existing affirmations inadequate or wrong. The greater the knowledge from freshly discovered evidence, the higher the degree of probability in the inferences that we make of what the past as actuality was.

A high degree of probability, established by professional research techniques, common to Becker and Mr. Zagorin, scarcely constitutes ignorance of the past or proves that it is inaccessible. Far from maintaining or concluding that the total past is inaccessible to us, Becker was arguing the exact opposite: he was saying that by inference from evidence, by affirmation and inference working together, inseparably and interdependently, we do have knowledge about those occurrences which are the proper concern of the historian.

If Mr. Zagorin then discovers "a plain contradiction" in Becker's reasoning, he discovers it because by a two-fold process of exclusion and telescoping he has placed it there. The exclusion consists in ignoring Becker's qualifying phrase, "No doubt throughout all past time," and the telescoping in lumping together under the catch-all "them" two categories which Becker had carefully separated: events about which we can know nothing, not even that they occurred, and events concerning which there are traces. In the circumstances Mr. Zagorin's case collapses.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

His own final observation suggests that he too has a suspicion that the ground he has been resting on is shaky. He leaves the terrain of deductive reasoning to soar into the less charted realm of intuition. A reader could reasonably point out to him, he agrees, that what he has been maintaining all along—that the historian must deal with evidence—is “what Becker has maintained all the time.” Not quite, however. The two views are quite dissimilar. Becker’s conclusion, whatever its fortuitous resemblance to his own, is only the “offspring of his despair,” the end product of a vain pursuit of an unattainable and elusive phantom. But what phantom? Mr. Zagorin’s insight into Becker’s emotional pattern derives from his conviction that Becker never for a moment ceased to believe in history as actuality. As that premise is wholly untenable, Mr. Zagorin’s final flourish that Becker resolved to content himself with a stone instead of bread may be characterized as vivid rather than convincing.

It is all the more regrettable that in conjuring up a Becker who never was and in indicting one of the most provocative thinkers of the guild Mr. Zagorin missed an opportunity to add his own contribution to the searching examination of the relativist position that other historians had begun. As Becker propounded it, he was guilty not of the errors of reasoning that Mr. Zagorin enumerated, but at the most of some ambiguities of expression and overstatements of his credo. Becker, like his critics, could nod.

To be sure, readers “without an immoderate need for certainty”—to employ W. H. Coates’s bland phrase⁴—had no difficulty in grasping his thought, even when he insisted most strongly upon making the present the historical center of gravity and argued most persuasively that Mr. Everyman could not escape connecting the present with the future yet to be. Others, however, Mr. Zagorin among them, were led to believe that he did not recognize what J. H. Hexter points out in his recent able article, that “the historian [also] connects the present with the future that has already been” and that the constant rewriting of history is also “a function of the increase of the actual data of the thing to be written about.”⁵ Becker was eager on the occasion of his presidential address to expose the presumed solidity of the scientific historian’s fact, and his emphasis fell heavily upon the fallacies of the belief that the historian handled his evidence with impersonal objectivity. In over-

⁴ In a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Cleveland, Ohio, December, 1947, “Relativism and the Use of Hypothesis in History,” *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (1949), 27. This paper was offered in the form of observations on B. J. Loewenberg’s thoughtful, “Some Problems Raised by Historical Relativism,” *Ibid.*, pp. 17–23.

⁵ J. H. Hexter, “The Historian and His Day,” *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIX (1954), 219–33.

stating his views he induced those readers into thinking that he had not only exposed the inadequacies of research methods but all but advocated that professional historians renounce the techniques which they had slowly refined in order to achieve such objectivity as they could.

Hence his phrase, "the history written by historians, like the history informally fashioned by Mr. Everyman, is thus a convenient blend of truth and fancy," lent itself when read out of context to serious misinterpretation. But read together with his explicit words that it was indeed the first duty of the historian to establish the facts and linked with his own exemplary observance of the canons of professionalism, his elipsis should not upset the equanimity of Clio's more literal-minded champions. Because he denied finality and insisted that knowledge was relative and not certain, he cannot be charged with rejecting evidence and ought not be accused of cutting the ground from under his associates and students. His skepticism was neither nihilism nor despair. Rather than adding to the suspicion that Clio is a fickle muse, his skepticism, by heightening the historian's awareness of his controlling assumptions, has been a contribution to greater objectivity. Far from being sunk in despair himself or infecting his students with a feeling that they could do little more than embark with leaden hearts in pursuit of a phantom history, the record would indicate that his career has spurred them on to refine and augment the store of historical knowledge.

By way of conclusion, then, Mr. Zagorin's essay leaves one unconvinced that he has evaluated Becker's views accurately or justly. But the importance of the problems he raises, however unsatisfactorily he answers them, transcends the limitations of his solutions. By posing again the questions he does about the processes of history and the historian, he continues a great controversy. He enters into the stream of the ancient debate ever renewed to which no end fortunately is in sight.

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Philip the Fair—A "Constitutional" King

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I

THE reign of Philip the Fair offers one of the great paradoxes of French history. On the one hand, it sees the culmination of the medieval French monarchy; the royal government reaches a peak of power which it is not to attain again for generations. On the other hand, the king who presides over the government during these crowded years of great events is a shadowy, elusive figure, almost completely hidden behind a screen of bureaucrats. It is hard to prove that any important act of the reign was the result of a personal decision by the king. It is easy to argue that he did nothing, and by doing nothing allowed his ministers to express the traditions of the bureaucracy in a relentless drive for power. And yet those who believe that the important decisions of the reign were made by Philip's ministers merely change the form but not the substance of the paradox. For no one minister held power throughout the reign and no one minister had complete control of the government for even a short period. Yet basic policy remained constant, though tactics changed. If the king did not give continuity and direction to policy, who did? Can it be true that the whole bureaucracy was so imbued with the spirit of aggrandizement that it made no difference who was selected to sit in the royal Council? Or did Philip express his hidden desires through a careful choice of ministers?

This problem worried Philip's contemporaries, and it has worried historians ever since. On the whole, French writers of the early fourteenth century tended to believe that Philip was dominated by evil counsellors. This is the story of Yves of St. Denis,¹ of Geoffroi de Paris,² even of such an ardent supporter of the monarchy as Pierre Dubois.³ Bishop Bernard Saisset made many indiscreet remarks, but the one which stung most and has been re-

¹ *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738—), XXI, 205: heavy taxes and alteration of the currency were caused "consiliariorum suorum monitu magis quam proprio ejusdem regis instinctu."

² *Ibid.*, XXII, 97, 99, 119.

³ Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, ed. C. V. Langlois (Paris, 1891), p. 120: the king has made some unwise decisions, "non motu proprio sed ducente suo consilio." Cf. pp. 123-24.

membered longest was his comparison of Philip to the owl: "the handsomest of birds which is worth absolutely nothing . . . such is our king of France who is the handsomest man in the world and who can do nothing except to stare at men."⁴ Foreign chroniclers such as the Italian Villani and the Fleming Gilles le Muisis also believed that Philip was a figurehead.⁵ Even Boniface VIII, in listing Philip's offenses in *Ausculda fili*, thought it wise to insert some lines attacking the king's evil counsellors, though he added that this was no excuse and that the king bore full responsibility for allowing such men to have power.⁶ The Aragonese writer who said that Philip was a masterful ruler, emperor, pope, and king rolled into one,⁷ was an exception.

Modern historians have been less willing to write Philip off as a nonentity. The Germans, who see Philip as the originator of the French drive to the east, are especially emphatic on this point. Finke, Holtzmann, Kern, and Wenck all agree that Philip gave consistency and strength to French policy during his reign.⁸ The English historian Boase warns against "believing that so much of France was created . . . with no central guiding will."⁹ French scholars, who should know the facts best, are a little less sure. Boutaric believed in Philip's leadership and personal responsibility,¹⁰ but Boutaric wrote at the very beginning of serious scholarly investigation of the period. Langlois felt that the problem was insoluble, but his discussion does not do much to convince the reader that Philip was a strong king.¹¹ Digard, without taking a very definite stand, tended to ascribe responsibility to the "counselors of the king," to the "court," to Pierre Flote, rather than to Philip.¹² On the other hand Fawtier, who knows the documents of the reign better than any other historian, has no doubt that Philip controlled and directed his government. He admits that some measures may have been initiated by

⁴ Pierre Dupuy, *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1655), p. 643. That the simile hurt is shown by the fact that it is mentioned several times in royal documents dealing with the bishop's imprisonment. *Ibid.*, pp. 656, 660.

⁵ Karl Wenck, *Philipp der Schöne von Frankreich—seine Persönlichkeit und das Urteil der Zeitgenossen* (Marburg, 1905), pp. 28–29.

⁶ Dupuy, p. 51. Boniface, like the chroniclers, suggests that the king's agents are feathering their own nests and that they use royal authority to oppress the people.

⁷ H. Finke, "Zur Charakteristik Philipps des Schönen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXVI (1905), 209: "pus el es rey et papa et emperador." Dino Compagni (*Cronica*, ed. Isidoro del Lungo [Florence, 1902], Book III, chap. 23, p. 174) seems to feel that Philip was responsible for French policy toward the Church.

⁸ Finke, pp. 219–21; Robert Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret* (Freiburg, 1898), p. 213; Fritz Kern, *Die Anfänge der französischen Ausdehnungspolitik* (Tübingen, 1910), pp. 49, 95, 114; Wenck, pp. 49 ff.

⁹ T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933), p. 68.

¹⁰ Edgard Boutaric *La France sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1861), pp. 415 ff.

¹¹ Charles V. Langlois, *St. Louis, Philippe le Bel et les derniers Capétiens directs* (vol. III, pt. 2 of E. Laviisse, *Histoire de France*, Paris, 1911), pp. 119–23.

¹² Georges Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1936), I, 284, 286, 305; II, 75, 93.

members of the Council rather than by the king, but he is sure that Philip always knew and approved what was done in his name.¹³

More opinions on both sides of the question could be found, but this is not a problem which can be settled by accumulating authorities. Medieval chroniclers are not very reliable on such matters; many were ill-informed and all were influenced by the convention which blamed unpopular acts of kings on evil advisers. Modern writers are better informed, but are sometimes misled by other conventions: that the great events of a reign must be the result of deliberate policy, and that such a policy can be imposed only by a king. In all the discussion there has been too much arguing from effect to cause, too much concentration on a few striking, and therefore exceptional, events. It may be worth shifting ground for a moment and approaching the problem from another angle, that of the normal, routine activity of the French government. If we find that the king took an active part in dull, routine work, we shall be less willing to admit that he was passive in greater matters. Moreover, small decisions have a way of adding up into major policies, and Philip could easily have set the tone of the entire government through acts which made no great impression on envoys or chroniclers.

We can begin by admitting that many things were done in the king's name about which he knew nothing. France was a large country and had, even then, an unusually high density of bureaucrats, both at Paris and in the provinces. Most of these bureaucrats were trying to distinguish themselves by ceaseless activity in preserving, discovering, and increasing royal rights and revenues. Within certain limits, they had a free hand; they did not have to go to the king for authority for each act, and they received few specific orders regarding their ordinary work.

Yet there were limits, and these limits became apparent whenever a provincial official tried to go too far or too fast in his task of increasing royal power. The government of Philip the Fair was not very tender of the rights of bishops or of communes, but it had more respect for these rights than many local officials. It preferred to hold at least to the letter of the law; it would rather restrict than abolish privileges. It also knew that certain bishops were influential enough to need careful handling and that the loyalty of certain provinces (especially in the South) was too uncertain to stand much rough treatment. Therefore we have dozens of letters forbidding royal offi-

¹³ Robert Fawtier, *L'Europe Occidentale de 1270 à 1380*, Part I (Vol. VI, pt. I, of *Histoire Générale*, ed. Gustave Glotz, Paris, 1940), p. 299: "On peut donc laisser à Philippe le Bel la responsabilité des événements de son règne. Il est vraisemblable qu'il n'a pas eu l'initiative de toutes les mesures qui ont été prises en son Conseil, mais ces mesures ont été prises par des hommes qu'il avait choisis. Il ne leur a fait aucune opposition; rien n'autorise à croire qu'il n'en a pas compris l'esprit ou la portée."

cials to trouble bishops such as Guillaume le Maire of Angers, or communes such as that of Toulouse.¹⁴ Some of these letters are so emphatic and so personal that it is hard to believe that anyone could have written them except the king himself. Certainly no ordinary royal official could have threatened a seneschal of Périgord with severe punishment for failure to observe the rights of the consuls of Cahors,¹⁵ or told a *bailli* of Caen that his goods would be confiscated if justice were not done to a king's clerk.¹⁶ And the king seems personally concerned when he rebukes a seneschal of Carcassonne for summoning men for military service, not only without a royal order but against a specific order: "such acts," says Philip, "will gain us the ill-will and hatred of our subjects."¹⁷

It is, of course, impossible to prove conclusively that these letters were written by direct order of the king. But it is clear that there was an inner circle in the government which had full control over all other royal officials and which insisted that its policies should be carried out at all levels of administration. The character of Philip's reign was not determined by a blind drive for power by a horde of petty bureaucrats. Policy was made at the highest level by a very few men, by the king and his Council.

Accepting this, one can still argue that the king was the least important member of the governing group, that he merely ratified decisions which were made by the Council as a whole, or by some of its leading members. This hypothesis would seem to be strengthened, at first glance, by evidence that the king did not always know what members of the Council did in his name. From time to time we hear of letters which have been obtained surreptitiously,¹⁸ of conflicting promises made by the king and members of the Council,¹⁹ of contradictory royal charters.²⁰ But if these documents prove

¹⁴ Célestin Port, ed., "Le Livre de Guillaume le Maire," *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Mélanges historiques*, II (Paris, 1877), 331-34, 341, 370-73; Adolphe Baudouin, *Lettres inédites de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1887), nos. 157, 158, 165, 168, 173, etc. (for the commune of Toulouse), nos. 4, 10, 17, 22, 35, 48, 54, 71-77, 105, etc. (for the clergy). Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 9192, fols. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 (for the citizens of Montpellier).

¹⁵ Archives Nationales, J341, no. 8. The king is especially angry because earlier letters for Cahors have been "scorned" (March, 1308).

¹⁶ Bib. Nat., MS. fr. 25697, no. 28. The *bailli* is accused of neglect and contempt of royal letters. If he does not act at once "tibi predicimus quod in bonis tuis executionem propter hoc fieri fecimus" (Feb. 25, 1305). Other letters which seem to me to have this personal touch are *Ordonnances des roys de France*, ed. E. de Laurière and others, I, 379, 434.

¹⁷ Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, new ed. by Auguste Molinier and others (Toulouse, 1872-1905), X, *preuves*, col. 236. It is especially striking that this strong letter of March 11, 1289, was followed (col. 238) on September 17 by a much milder one allowing the seneschal to demand service in case of necessity. Certainly someone in Paris had been worrying about the case.

¹⁸ *Les Olim ou registres des arrêts*, ed. A. Beugnot (Paris, 1839-48), II, 497; Arch. Nat., J317, no. 50, J1046, J142A, no. 1.

¹⁹ *Olim*, II, 547, III, 815; Arch. Nat., J38, no. 29.

²⁰ *Olim*, II, 444.

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that the king did not always remember his promises or that he was not always informed of what was done in his name, they also prove that no one else was in complete control. In the competition for royal favors several men in succession might gain the king's ear; there was no single all-powerful favorite through whom patronage was channeled. Even more important, we hear of these contradictory orders because the king, in the long run, did become aware that his wishes were not being observed. And in every case he had his way; the surreptitious or conflicting letters were revoked; the claimant to whom the king really wished to give income or office received it. The only safe conclusion from this evidence is that there was some inefficiency, some failure of communication in the French government of the late thirteenth century. The same weaknesses are apparent in any other medieval government; they are not entirely absent in much more highly organized modern states.

Furthermore, someone in the government—almost certainly the king or the keeper of the seal—made an effort to prevent the appearance of these unauthorized or conflicting letters. The rule was gradually established that every document issued in the king's name must carry at the bottom the name of the notary who wrote it and the name of the official who ordered it written.²¹ The earliest examples of this practice which I have found come from the 1290's;²² by 1314 most documents are so authenticated. What is even more helpful to the historian is that the scribes who copied royal letters into the registers of the last years of the reign included in their copies the names of the notaries, and of the officials who ordered the letters written. This means that we have hundreds of cases in which we know precisely who took the responsibility for a certain act of government.

Most of the documents which appear in the registers deal only with trivial matters—such things as amortizations, approval of farms made by local officials, exchanges of property, gifts, acts of pardon and of grace. This has its advantages. We can be sure that we are watching the normal operations of government, not extraordinary procedures invented for great occasions. And it is at least a reasonable supposition that the men who work steadily on these routine matters will be well informed about the kingdom, well versed in administrative procedures, well acquainted with all important members of the court, and hence influential in making major decisions.

A rough tabulation of the names on these documents during the last

²¹ Octave Morel, *La grande chancellerie royale* (Paris, 1900), pp. 154-66, 299-311.

²² Arch. Nat., J178B, nos. 48 (1292), 51 (1294), 55 (1297), 56 (1299). Morel, p. 160, gives as his earliest example J162, no. 9 (1292). Arthur Giry (*Manuel de diplomatique*, Paris, 1925, p. 761) says he found some examples as early as 1286, but gives no reference.

five years of the reign yields interesting results. First of all, a rather large number of men—at least thirty-two—have authority to order letters written in the king's name. Not all of these men are very active; the great lords of the Council, men such as the counts of Valois and St. Pol, seldom command letters. On the other hand, there are about fifteen names which appear again and again. Purely numerical comparisons among this group would be meaningless, since the record is incomplete, and some letters are more important than others. It is clear, however, that there is a certain amount of specialization. For example, Philippe le Convers orders most of the letters dealing with forests; Hugues de la Celle is the expert on the Saintonge-Poitou area; Guillaume de Marcilly and Guillaume Cocatrix have been given the task of buying land and houses to make room for the extension of the royal palace. Others seem to have more general interests; in this group Nogaret, as keeper of the seal, and Marigny, as financial expert, are conspicuous but not unique. They are no busier than some of their colleagues and they have no exclusive powers; for example, Marigny is far from being the only councillor to deal with financial matters. Neither Nogaret nor Marigny is in the position of a chief minister; there is no chain of command which passes through them. They are merely two of a group of fifteen or so men who are very busy writing letters in the king's name. If there is any direction to this activity at all, it must come either from the group as a whole (and it seems a little large to act as a unit), or from the king.

This leads to the most surprising fact of all. Out of a sample of 658 documents taken from registers JJ45 through JJ50, 280 bear the notation "*per dominum regem*." That is, over two fifths of a very ordinary batch of letters were ordered by the king in person. In many cases there seems to be no very good reason for the king to take a personal interest, and it is impossible to establish categories of letters which were warranted by the king alone. Most pardons, most amortizations, most gifts to churches and royal favorites were ordered by the king, but letters in all of these categories were also warranted by members of the Council.²³ While most acts dealing with the royal family were ordered by the king, this was not always the case. Of a series of marriage contracts involving the Valois branch of the family, three were warranted by the lord of Chambli and Philippe le Convers, one by the keeper of the seal, and only two by the king.²⁴ Favors for the dowager queen, who was

²³ Most pardons not by the king are by the chancellor, Arch. Nat., JJ46, nos. 134, 238; JJ50, no. 78; but some are by Marigny, JJ46, nos. 29, 151. It was fairly common for members of the Council to order letters of amortization, cf. JJ45, nos. 104, 108, 202; JJ47, nos. 37, 46, 90. Gifts to churches, JJ47, nos. 19, 132; JJ48, no. 42, JJ49, no. 40. Gifts to intimates of the king, JJ47, no. 89, JJ48, nos. 36, 75.

²⁴ JJ49, nos. 58, 59, 71, 114, 229, 254.

not on good terms with her stepson, were usually ordered by members of the Council.²⁵ On the other hand, while the king did not always act in cases where he might have been expected to do so, he frequently took responsibility for ratifying farms of the royal domain, exchanges of property between subjects, and marriage contracts of quite ordinary people.²⁶ These were all routine acts which could have been accomplished by any councillor.

It might be argued that these mentions of the king are purely formal, that he was merely approving acts which had been decided on by others. But if this were true, it would be difficult to explain why the chancery clerks thought there was a difference between letters ordered by the king and those ordered by members of the Council. It would also be difficult to explain why almost all letters warranted "per dominum regem" were written by a single notary, Maillard, and why Maillard seldom prepared letters for anyone else. If Philip's warrant were mere form, any notary could have written the document; only if the king took a personal interest would he need a personal scribe.

Moreover, there is some reason for believing that letters ordered by the keeper of the seal sometimes reflected a personal command by the king. On at least two occasions, Philip sent a personal letter to Nogaret ordering him to prepare letters under the great seal.²⁷ There is also an interesting case in which two letters ordered by the king were canceled, apparently because they lacked some details, and replaced by fuller letters ordered by the keeper of the seal.²⁸ Here the keeper probably took the king's letters as warrants for the preparation of his own. Finally, we have a few cases in which the scribe notes that the keeper told him the king had ordered the letter written.²⁹ Even if only a few of the letters ordered by the keeper of the seal were actually commanded by the king, it would still raise the proportion of letters in which the king took a personal interest to almost fifty per cent of the total.

To sum up, the impression given by this material is that the king controlled and directed the routine work of the government. He was the one who assigned tasks to his councillors, and he reserved the right to act directly and personally in any matter which interested him. There were too many councillors, and responsibility was too evenly divided among them, for any

²⁵ JJ47, no. 37; JJ49, nos. 19, 129.

²⁶ JJ45, no. 121; JJ47, no. 42; JJ48, no. 127 (farms). JJ47, no. 14; JJ49, nos. 73, 193 (exchanges). JJ46, no. 30, JJ49, no. 221 (marriages).

²⁷ Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret*, p. 265: an order to Nogaret, April 5, 1308, to seal a charter granting land to the king's son Charles; p. 272: orders to seal letters to the *baillis* of Sens and Auvergne.

²⁸ Arch. Nat., JJ48, fols. 58v, 59.

²⁹ JJ49, no. 145: "per dominum Regem, ut dicitis."

single minister to dominate the government. At the very least, the king was busier than any member of his Council; he was informed about a great variety of matters and he made many decisions. Certainly Philip was not the lazy king who, according to some chroniclers, did nothing but hunt, nor yet the stupid king described by Bernard Saisset who understood nothing and only stared at people.

II

This king who took such interest in the small details of government cannot have been indifferent to greater affairs. If no one councillor was given full responsibility for handling routine business, it is a little difficult to believe that any councillor had unlimited power in making important decisions. We may therefore place more confidence in the scattered notes in the *Olim*, which show the king intervening in cases which came before the *parlement*, making decisions, ordering punishments, suspending sentences, reversing previous acts, directing that inquests be held.³⁰ We may also believe that the rare references in financial documents to direct intervention by the king³¹ would be more numerous if we had fuller records. And we can be reasonably sure that the king who intervenes in both judicial and financial business is Philip the Fair in person and not some vague group of ministers acting in his name.

It seems clear that Philip directed and controlled ordinary operations of government. This raises a strong presumption that he also directed and controlled the government when it made major policy decisions. But presumption is not proof, and it is precisely in this area that Philip seems to be screened most completely by his ministers. His opinions and wishes are never expressed; it is the ministers who make the accusations against Boniface VIII and against the Temple, who draw up the lawsuits which nag the king of England and the count of Flanders into war, who prepare the way for the annexation of Lyons and other imperial territories by adroit diplomacy and propaganda. And it is precisely on such matters that the foreign ambassadors

³⁰ *Olim*, II, 311, 404, 485; III, 626, 891: king makes decisions in *parlement*. *Olim*, II, 208, 262, 590, 604; III, 815, 818: king consulted before judgment is passed. *Olim*, II, 590; III, 542, 622, 705: king modifies punishments or reverses sentences. *Olim*, III, 222, 879, 891: king orders inquests made.

³¹ Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 9018, no. 47: a list of difficult points in the accounts of All Saints, 1298; two are marked "loquendum cum rege." An accusation against Betin Caucinel, a master of the royal mints, published by C. V. Langlois in *Revue historique*, LX (1896), 327, suggests that Philip took a personal interest in having accounts carefully checked: ". . . quar d'unes de vos simples bailliees, sire, voulez que vostre conseil sache la verité, que le vous puent valoir, et voulez savoir se li baillez en rente bon conte et louial."

complain that they can never get a personal interview with the king, that Philip will answer only with and through his Council.³²

And yet, even here there is some evidence to show that the king made the final decisions. The basic policies of the reign appear quite early, long before famous ministers such as Flote or Nogaret or Marigny play any role in the central government. For example, pressure by royal officials on the Church increased sharply in the first years of the reign; by 1291 Nicholas IV could say that the churches of France were complaining daily of grave injuries.³³ Attempts to annex imperial territories were also well under way by the early 1290's,³⁴ and the *parlement* was already intervening in the affairs of Gascony and of Flanders.³⁵ Even more significant is the fact that members of the royal family played an essential role in Philip's foreign policy. Franche-Comté was to be annexed through a carefully planned series of marriages of French princes; English friendship was to be gained by the union of Philip's daughter and Edward's son; Germany was to be controlled by proposing a French prince as a candidate for the imperial throne.³⁶ Anyone who has read the documents of the reign knows that Philip took a deep personal interest in all matters touching members of his family, and it is inconceivable that he could have allowed his children and his brothers to be used as pawns to support a policy devised by others. He undoubtedly took advice, but the final decision on royal marriages and candidacies for foreign thrones must have been his alone. And yet such marriages and candidacies, as we have seen, were essential elements of French policy.

Moreover, there are a few cases in which we can penetrate the screen of conciliar anonymity and see the king making decisions. One of the best examples is the discussion in the Council following the arrest of Bernard Saisset.³⁷ There is a long report of the argument between the clerical and the lay members of the Council over the treatment of the bishop; the churchmen

³² Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia* (Berlin, 1908-22), I, 455: Philip refuses to discuss a marriage treaty because "ibi non erat suum consilium"; I, 462: he refuses to speak with envoys of Aragon about the Val d'Aran because "non essent ibi presentes illi de suo consilio qui debebant huic negocio interesse." It should be noted that in each case Philip had good reasons for wishing to evade an interview. There was little to be gained by a marriage alliance with Aragon, and the French claim to the Val d'Aran was so weak that delay was the best tactic.

³³ *Les registres de Nicholas IV*, ed. Ernest Langlois (Paris, 1905), no. 6849: the pope remarks that the churches of France "qui se a tuis officialibus gravibus injuriis affectas hactenus et affici cotidie conquerentes" were not disposed to pay new tenths to the king. *Ibid.*, nos. 281-83, 709-11, 736, 1175-77, 1587: cases before 1290 in which Philip quarreled with the Church. (I owe this list to the kindness of the Rev. Gerald J. Campbell, S.J.). Cf. Digard, I, 83-100.

³⁴ Kern, pp. 139 ff.; Finke, "Zur Charakteristik Philipps des Schönen," p. 219.

³⁵ *Olim*, II, 318, 321, 347 (Aquitaine); 291, 300, 311 (Flanders).

³⁶ Kern, pp. 49, 95.

³⁷ *Gallia Christiana*, XIII, cols. 107-15.

naturally wanted to be lenient, while the laymen were angry and urged severe punishment. Philip had to intervene repeatedly, and while the speeches ascribed to him probably do not give his exact words, it is clear that he made the final decisions in a badly divided Council. He was willing to proceed with the case, but he wanted it done with as little scandal as possible—a policy which pleased neither faction.

Thus Philip made the decision which was to lead to the final quarrel with Boniface VIII. We can only speculate about the king's role during the acute stages of the quarrel. The formal approval given in his name to the acts of Nogaret could cover anything from mere acquiescence to active participation. But it has often been pointed out that, once Boniface was dead, Philip could have settled the whole dispute quickly, and on favorable terms, by sacrificing Nogaret. Nogaret himself seems to have feared this, since he begged the king to maintain his cause.³⁸ Philip accepted the responsibility; only when Nogaret was absolved on easy terms did he make a final settlement.³⁹ Yet this settlement was reached during a period when Marigny was rising to prominence; it is hard to see why Marigny, or any other leading member of the Council, should have been so anxious to protect a rival. Nogaret certainly believed that he needed the king's support, and it is doubtful that anyone else could have saved him from severe penalties. On the other hand, it is difficult to see why Philip should have been so anxious to protect Nogaret if he felt that Nogaret was entirely responsible for the difficulties which followed Anagni. Only if Philip had made the policy was it his duty to protect a minister who had merely acted as an agent.

The case of the Val d'Aran is less well known than that of Anagni; it is important because it produced some of the letters which seem to show Philip throwing all responsibility on his Council. Yet if we examine these documents closely we shall see that no decision could be made without the king, that all concerned tried to persuade the king to adopt their point of view, and that the king's decision could not be predicted through knowledge of the opinions of his Council. The Val d'Aran had been occupied by French troops during the Crusade of 1285 against Aragon, and retained because it had strategic importance.⁴⁰ Philip had promised to restore all the rights of the king of

³⁸ Holtzmann, pp. 131, 137, 253.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 201-206.

⁴⁰ Arch. Nat., J588, no. 29: a report of the French envoys notes that the valley contains "quinque portus versus regnum Francie in montanis per quos habetur secretus introitus infra regnum"; it has been called "clavis regni Francie"; it would greatly profit the king if he could keep it "cum iusticia et absque peccato." F. Pasquier gives a good account of the whole affair, "Cession définitive du Val d'Aran à l'Aragon," *Revue de Comminges*, VII (1892), 100-13. See especially p. 113, where Philip says, in 1308, that his advisers claim that he has well-established rights in the valley.

Aragon, but his agents had been slow in determining what those rights were. The matter was finally referred to the cardinal of Tusculum for arbitration, and by 1312 it was evident that the Aragonese were winning the case. The French envoys, distressed because the valley was useful to France, suggested that the king's Council ought to look at the evidence before the arbitrator made a final decision.⁴¹ The king of Aragon, anxious to obtain possession, wrote to both Philip and Nogaret arguing that it was more honorable to surrender the valley voluntarily than to be forced out by an official decision.⁴² The envoys of Aragon tried repeatedly, and vainly, to obtain an interview with Philip to present their master's point of view.⁴³ In these circumstances it is not surprising that Philip played for time by insisting that he could not act without his Council, and without full deliberation in the Council.⁴⁴

It is clear that this was one of the affairs of the South in which Nogaret specialized,⁴⁵ that he was expected to have a good deal of influence on the final decision, and that he opposed French withdrawal. All the Aragonese reports recognize this fact; the letter to Nogaret was written at the suggestion of an Aragonese envoy who thought that he might be flattered into withdrawing his opposition to the surrender of the valley.⁴⁶ But it is also clear that Nogaret did not have the final word, and that the Aragonese felt that they could overcome his opposition if they could convince Philip that their claim was just. In the end Philip gave up the Val d'Aran, even though this was against the wishes of his envoys and of Nogaret.⁴⁷ The fact that Nogaret died before the final settlement may have made Philip's decision easier, but it is still true that the men who had been appointed to deal with the question wanted to keep the valley and that the decision to relinquish it must have been made by the king.

Finally, we may notice that Philip's diplomacy was often very personal. On at least two occasions he sent several groups of envoys to the pope, each charged with a separate task.⁴⁸ They were men who ranked high in the royal

⁴¹ Arch. Nat., J588, no. 29.

⁴² *Ibid.*, nos. 29 bis, 29 ter. Cf. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 458.

⁴³ *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 460 ff. For other Aragonese documents on the affair see pp. 159-60, 452, 458.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 462: Philip said at first that he could not discuss the affair because "non essent ibi presentes illi de suo consilio qui debebant huic negocio interesse," but then shifted ground and claimed that while the Council was present it was too busy working on the Flanders question.

⁴⁵ C. V. Langlois, "Les papiers de Guillaume de Nogaret," *Notices et extraits*, XXXIX (1909), part 1, pp. 211 ff. Nogaret had documents concerning the Val d'Aran in his possession.

⁴⁶ Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 458.

⁴⁷ Pasquier, p. 108; G. Iurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon* (Saragossa, 1562), I, 324.

⁴⁸ Edgard Boutaric, *Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les Templiers* (Paris, 1874), pp. 59-60, 68-69; Holtzmann, pp. 192, 198 (three missions at Avignon in 1310). Clement V felt that at least two of the envoys were contradicting each other. E. Boutaric, "Documents inédits relatifs à

administration; no one but the king could have co-ordinated their activities. Another envoy to Rome was given such secret documents on the affair of Boniface that even after Philip's death he would surrender them to no one except by direct, personal order of the new king.⁴⁹ Nogaret had been given copies at a later date, since they concerned his affairs, but apparently the Council as a whole was not supposed to see them. (This would support the earlier argument that Philip took a personal interest in seeing that Nogaret was cleared.) A last example of personal diplomacy was Philip's attempt to gain papal support for the election of his son, Philip of Poitou, as emperor.⁵⁰ The Council had agreed that it was desirable to have a French candidate but had divided on the question of the person. Philip told the papal envoy, in secret and alone, that he was working for his son. Yet on this same occasion he let Marigny do the talking, though he was present, when a papal request for aid for a Crusade was denied. Here again, the Council had been divided. Most of the members had favored the papal project; Marigny had argued that France could not afford the expense. No one but the king could have overruled the majority of the Council. Yet, though he must have made the decision, he allowed Marigny to announce it. He thus avoided an unpleasant task and left himself free to change the decision if the pope decided to give whole-hearted support to Philip of Poitou.⁵¹

III

This long discussion has still not resolved the contradiction with which the paper began. On the one hand, there is too much evidence that Philip took an active part in both small and great affairs to write him down as a figurehead. On the other hand, it is clear that both individual ministers and the Council as a whole had too much power and responsibility to be dismissed as rubber-stamps. And the king's habit of letting his ministers speak for him on the most important occasions cannot be explained as just a political trick; it seems to have expressed a deep-seated conviction that this was the proper way to act.

The contradiction can be resolved only if we remember a fact which

l'histoire de France sous Philippe le Bel," *Notices et extraits*, XX (1861), part 2, p. 146 (three sets of envoys at Rome in 1302).

⁴⁹ C. V. Langlois, "Geoffroi du Plessis, protonotaire de France," *Revue historique*, LXVII (1899), 75-76. Geoffroi received these documents at the time of the conclave in Perugia in 1304.

⁵⁰ Jakob Schwalm, "Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv*, XXV (1900), 565-66.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 564. It was suggested that Philip might do more for the Crusade if a French prince were elected king of the Romans.

Philip's contemporaries never let him forget: that he was the grandson of St. Louis. He had grown up in a court which was saturated with memories of the holy king; he had worked hard to secure the canonization of his grandfather; it was only natural that he should seek to imitate this model monarch. This meant, first of all, piety, and few historians have ever doubted that Philip was honestly and sincerely pious. But with the piety went a deep sense of the dignity, the greatness, and the mission of French kingship. The king was the high priest of the "religion of monarchy,"⁵² remote, aloof, withdrawn from all vulgar quarrels. He was to be approached only through his acolytes; the sacred mysteries were not to be revealed to the profane. Finally, a good king did not govern arbitrarily; he did not act on his own whims or make decisions in haste. He must be surrounded by "prud'hommes" who advised and informed him; he must always take counsel before acting. St. Louis had felt that even in the midst of a battle he must hold a council before changing his plans. Philip the Fair acted the same way in the midst of his political battles. But no one has ever doubted that St. Louis made his own decisions after asking for advice, and there is no reason to suppose that Philip was any more bound by the opinions of his Council.

The best phrase to describe Philip is somewhat anachronistic; he wanted to be a "constitutional" king. But if we give the word "constitutional" its broadest meaning it is a fair description of his policy. Philip tried to conform to the traditions of the French monarchy and the practices of the French government. As far as possible, he governed his realm through a well-established system of courts and administrative officials. He always asked the advice of responsible men; he was influenced by that advice in working out the details of his general policy. He tried to stay at least within the letter of the law; he tried to observe the customs of the kingdom. When he had to go beyond established custom he always sought to justify his action and to obtain the consent of those who were affected. This is why he called the Estates General to hear explanations of his policy toward Boniface VIII and the Templars, why he sought approval of unusual taxes from local assemblies,⁵³ why, when he annexed the Lyonnais and imposed an onerous treaty on Flanders, he sent his agents to obtain the consent of each community which was affected by his acts.⁵⁴ At the very least, consent satisfied the king's desire to remain within the limits of legality. Often, of course, it had important

⁵² Fawtier, pp. 300-301.

⁵³ J. R. Strayer and C. H. Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 43-86.

⁵⁴ Pierre Bonnassieux, *De la réunion de la Lyon à la France* (Lyon, 1874), pp. 96-105; Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Philippe le Bel en Flandre* (Paris, 1897), pp. 513-15.

political consequences as well; it certainly facilitated the collection of taxes and strengthened the monarchy in the struggle with Boniface VIII.

If we think of Philip as a "constitutional" king we see why he preferred to work through his ministers and Council. This was the proper and customary way to act; it showed that the king was taking the advice of men learned in precedents and in the law. It preserved the king as a symbol of unity, far above transitory disputes and petty considerations of gain or loss. But it does not mean that Philip refused responsibility and allowed others to govern in his name. He worked hard at his job of being a king; he knew what was going on in his kingdom, and no important act could be accomplished until he made the final decision.

This is not to say that Philip was the model of a wise and just king. His will was stronger than his intelligence; he could be led astray by the very intensity of his belief in the Christian faith and the French monarchy. His piety was as narrow as it was deep; if his own conscience could be satisfied by appropriate forms and phrases, he often failed to realize what consequences his acts might have for others. His faith in the mission of the French monarchy was so broad that it tended to blot out any other considerations—the interests of Western Christendom as a whole, or the rights and welfare of his subjects. He sought moral and legal justification for all his acts, but he was easily persuaded that in any dispute right was entirely on his side and that opposition to his will was inexcusable. His real respect for custom and for law was vitiated by his tendency to accept appearances for reality. If the proper legal forms had been used in a suit to establish royal rights, if a plausible case had been made for the annexation of a border territory, if an assembly had given official support to his policy, he was not apt to inquire too closely how these results had been achieved.

Royal officials knew of these weaknesses and sought to exploit them. Their interest clearly lay in extending royal power, and if they could achieve this end by playing on the king's piety and pride in the French monarchy they naturally did so. Thus the king was told repeatedly that it was his duty as a Christian ruler to persevere in the charges against Boniface VIII and against the Temple. Philip was undoubtedly influenced by this pressure, just as any ruler, no matter how strong, is influenced by the advice of his immediate subordinates. It is even probable that his tactics were altered by the advice that he received. For example, his growing caution in the last years of the reign may reflect Marigny's worries about finance, just as his aggressiveness in the period 1297-1302 may owe something to Flote's impetuous nature. (On the other hand, the young, energetic king may have sought out an aggressive

minister, and the tired, middle-aged ruler may have looked for a cautious adviser.) But the fact that ministers may have influenced the king's tactics does not mean that they determined his basic strategy. They all submitted memorandums to him on important questions, and the mere act of submitting memorandums shows that the final decision lay with the king. And the fact that the broad outlines of policy remain consistent from one end of the reign to the other indicates that individual decisions had to be fitted into a general plan which only Philip could have established. No one, not even the king's badly spoiled brother Valois, could make him take much interest in the affairs of Italy. No one, not even the cautious Marigny, could make him give up entirely his attempt to reduce Flanders to obedience. None of his highly placed ecclesiastical advisers could persuade him to quash the charges against Bernard Saisset, or to abandon his policy of restricting the political power of the Church.

In fact, Philip's relations with his Council were not unlike those of a modern prime minister with his cabinet. Special tasks were assigned to each member, advice was always asked and often taken, but final decision and general direction of policy remained with the king. This relationship made it easy for Philip to be a "constitutional" king. He could allow his officials to act in his name because he knew that they would serve his purposes. He could follow due process of law, he could work through official channels, he could always ask for the opinion of his Council because, in the last analysis, he controlled the government. He did not have to set up a group of household officers to control the official government, as his contemporary, Edward I, did; the government was but an extension of his household and he was very much at home in any of its offices. No bureau was autonomous; no minister was strong enough to make his will prevail; no organ of public opinion had any real power. Philip took responsibility for his reign in his own lifetime;⁵⁵ he must be allowed to bear that responsibility in the judgment of historians.

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⁵⁵ On his deathbed Philip is reported to have said that he had received bad advice but that "ipsemet erat causa mali consilii sui." C. Baudon de Mony, "La mort et les funeraillies de Philippe le Bel," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LVIII (1897), 12.

A Century of Historiography on the Origins of the Crimean War

BRISON D. GOOCH

EXAMINATION of the circumstances which created the Crimean War has proved to be one of modern historiography's thorniest problems. Temperley accurately summed up the academic endeavor of eighty years, observing that "the origins of the Crimean War are not even yet wholly revealed."¹ Some recent works have been in agreement with those contemporaries of the war who regarded it as useless.² In glowing prose, the historian of the war "drew several red herrings across the trail; and fifty years after the fall of Sebastopol the war was interpreted far less satisfactorily than it had been between 1854 and 1856."³ Bernadotte Schmitt pointed out that the "most diverse views," sponsored with varying motives and intensities, have gained currency and favor.⁴ What are these suggested interpretations, what has careful research indicated, and where is more work needed?

I

The most common belief regarding the cause of the Crimean War is that it was fought in defense of the Ottoman Empire, a war for the status quo and against Russian encroachment. Despite the fact that Russia had actively sought to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire (and the status quo) in 1828 and again in 1833, Europe by 1852 had come around to the view that, since Russia was able to save the Turk, she was also capable of, and intent upon, his destruction. The Turks themselves enthusiastically sought to promote the identification of Ottoman independence with European safety.⁵

¹ Harold Temperley, *England and the Near East: The Crimea* (London, 1936), p. ix. See also Vernon J. Puryear, "New Light on the Origins of the Crimean War," *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, III (1931), 219-34.

² J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question* (Oxford, 1940, 4th ed.), p. 249; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, "The Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Crimean War," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1919), 36; Nassau William Senior, *Conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot, and Other Distinguished Persons during the Second Empire* (2 vols., London, 1878), I, 214; André Gayot, ed., "Lettres de François Guizot à Laure de Gasparin," *Rev. des deux mondes*, XVII (1933), 388.

³ Gavin B. Henderson, *Crimean War Diplomacy and Other Historical Essays* (Glasgow, 1947), p. 243. These essays are the most valuable recent monographs specifically on the Crimean War.

⁴ Schmitt, "Diplomatic Preliminaries," pp. 36-37. One of the best summaries of each country's guilt is presented in Temperley, pp. 507-13.

⁵ Alexandre Jomini, *Étude diplomatique sur la guerre de Crimée (1852 à 1856)* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1878), I, 4-5. Quotations from this source are given in translation. Horace de Viel Castel, *Memoirs of Count Horace de Viel Castel* (2 vols., London, 1888), I, 23.

On March 2, 1854, Napoleon III stated before the *Sénat* and *Corps législatif* that France had "no idea of aggrandizement" but was going to the aid of the Ottoman Empire with "all those who wish the triumph of law, justice, and civilization" in order to "defend the rights of Christians" and France's "own influence in the Mediterranean."⁶ The pretense that France and Britain were fighting the battle of all Europe against Russian encroachment was an attempt to put their real position in its best, most attractive light, and to persuade others to join their cause.⁷ The emperor's assertion seemed reasonable to many in the 1850's and has maintained its appeal for nearly a century. Léon Faucher felt that the "real issue was the independence of Turkey"; Granier de Cassagnac attributed the war to the tsar's desire to partition the Ottoman Empire; and Saint-Marc Girardin wrote that, if Russian influence at Constantinople were to be destroyed, then the proper procedure was to weaken Russia rather than to try to strengthen the Ottoman Empire.⁸ Such pro-French writers as Delord and Rousset declared that the Crimean War was fought to defend the Ottoman Empire.⁹ La Gorce, writing before the turn of the century, was in general agreement with his French predecessors.¹⁰ Edmond Bapst gave the position its finest documentation, while in 1921 it was best summarized by Seignobos.¹¹ In *The Second Republic and Napoleon III* (London, 1930) René Arnaud followed closely this tradition, which La Gorce and Seignobos had approved; the official Soviet view in 1940, promulgated in *Russia in the Nineteenth Century* and relying heavily on the works of Marx and Engels, also accepted this interpretation.¹² Marriott echoed this threat to the vital interests of Europe.¹³ In 1940, a

⁶ *Le Moniteur universel* (Paris), Mar. 3, 1854.

⁷ Henderson, p. 99.

⁸ Senior, I, 141-42; Adolphe Granier de Cassagnac, *Souvenirs du Second Empire* (3 vols., Paris, 1879-82), II, 226-27; Louis Thouvenel, *Nicholas Ier et Napoléon III* (Paris, 1891), p. 96. See also S. M. Goriainov, *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles* (Paris, 1910), p. 92.

⁹ Taxile Delord, *Histoire du Second Empire* (6 vols., Paris, 1868-75), I, 522-30; Camille Rousset, *Histoire de la Guerre de Crimée* (2 vols., Paris, 1887), I, 1-82. Edouard Driault's *La Question d'Orient* (Paris, 1905) follows the same idea but is disappointingly superficial despite its association with Gabriel Monod.

¹⁰ Pierre de La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire* (7 vols., 4th ed., Paris, 1896-1905), I. The papers of E. A. Thouvenel (*Nicholas Ier et Napoléon III*) on the diplomacy of 1852-54 also support this view.

¹¹ Edmond Bapst, *Les origines de la guerre de Crimée* (Paris, 1912); Charles Seignobos, *La Révolution de 1848—Le Second Empire*, in Ernest Lavisse, ed., *Histoire de France contemporaine depuis la révolution jusqu'à la paix de 1919* (10 vols., Paris, 1920-22), VI, 300-11. Seignobos accepts Ollivier's account of the motives of Napoleon III; he also leans heavily on Kinglake. See also Vicomte de Guichen, *La Guerre de Crimée (1854-1856) et l'attitude des puissances européennes* (Paris, 1936), pp. 1-128.

¹² In Frantz Funck-Brentano, ed., *National History of France* (10 vols., London and New York, 1916-37), IX; M. V. Nechkina, ed., *The History of Russia* (Moscow, 1940; Eng. trans. Oliver J. Frederiksen and Bernard Pares, Ann Arbor, 1953), II, 315-16, 410.

¹³ Marriott, p. 266. See J. Aulneau's comments on the tsar's objects in his "M. de Bismark à la diète de Francfort et la politique de la Prusse pendant la guerre de Crimée," *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*,

well-documented work on Napoleon III's policy in the Near East found that, basically, "the Crimean War, 1854-1856, was a war fought ostensibly for the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire but actually for the curtailment of Russian encroachment."¹⁴ Followers of this persuasion have found that Russian aggressive designs seized upon the opportunity presented by the dispute over the Holy Places.

Today the specific points at issue with regard to the Holy Places may seem trivial. Whether the Latin (Catholic) or the Greek (Orthodox) Christians would have the key to the Great Church of Bethlehem and which would hold services earliest in the day in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem were two of many such questions on which the whole problem was based. By 1850 the Catholic population of Jerusalem was less than six per cent and Catholic pilgrims numbered less than a hundred out of twelve thousand making the journey each year to Jerusalem. Latin rights since 1332¹⁵ are best explained in A. E. Mange's *Near Eastern Policy of the Emperor Napoleon III*.¹⁶ The latest capitulation, or special concession, had been that of 1740, which granted, among other things, permission to all "Christian and hostile nations" to continue to visit Jerusalem under protection of the French flag.¹⁷ France thus spoke for all Catholics of Europe in 1740. Since 1740, however, the Latins had not fulfilled their responsibilities in the East and the Greeks had taken over many of their functions of upkeep and repair. For this the sultan had given the Greeks special firmans and titles which conflicted with existing treaties and capitulations and could be revoked at will. In the heated discussions over specific points at issue, the French were legally correct, but current practice since 1759 favored the firmans as better representing justice. Greek claims dated from 634, but the tsar's specific rights stemmed from the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774 with reaffirmations of his position in 1812 at Bucharest, in 1826 at Akkerman, in 1829 at Adrianople, and in 1833 at Unkiar Skelessi. In the Five-Power Convention of 1841, Russia renounced only new rights gained at Unkiar Skelessi and not those

XXIII (1909), 406. For an interesting similar situation for the France of 1572, see Jacques Barth, "L'Evolution de la Question d'Orient," *Rev. des études hist.*, LXXX (1914), 191.

¹⁴ Alyce Edythe Mange, *The Near Eastern Policy of the Emperor Napoleon III*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, XXV (Urbana, 1940), p. 14; Also see A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919* (3 vols., New York, 1922-23), II, 340-76. F. T. O. Hearnshaw and W. F. Reddaway accept this thesis in their clear but dated summaries. Hearnshaw concludes by welcoming the ideas of Kinglake and Ollivier and assigns to Napoleon III an even more unfavorable role than he has already cast for Nicholas I.

¹⁵ This convention allowed Franciscans in Jerusalem the liberty to remain inside the church and to celebrate the mass there. Actual title was not stipulated. See Jomini, I, 127, 129-30.

¹⁶ See n. 14 above. Nearly every collection of diplomatic correspondence has its summary of religious claims and pertinent treaties.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

previously granted.¹⁸ Actually, however, "neither Nicholas nor Nesselrode nor Brunnov knew much about the treaty [Kuchuk Kainarji] or the claims it put forth."¹⁹ The Muslim sultan, caught in the center of a Christian dispute, finally (February, 1852) attempted to satisfy all parties by awarding the keys to the French while assuring the Greeks that in effect the status quo was unchanged. This obvious inconsistency gave rise to further complaints from both the French and the Russians.²⁰ A. J. P. Taylor has called this *de facto* decision favoring the French simply *Realpolitik*; the Turks concluded that in the last resort the French fleet could defeat the Russian, even if the latter were united with the Ottoman fleet. Fear of French power had become greater in Constantinople than fear of Russian power, and hence, Taylor concludes, overt Russian action became imperative unless her twenty-year policy of maintaining the Ottoman Empire through fear and threat were now to be abandoned.²¹

The question of the Holy Places raised in 1850 was only a continuation of French policy since 1819.²² Guizot had "tried to make what the Americans call political capital by supporting the Latins against the Greeks."²³ Louis Napoleon found support for his demands from Austria, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Belgium, and Naples. In 1850 then, France still spoke for Catholic Europe. That Louis Napoleon's motive was to maintain and increase support for his program from the clerical party headed by Montalembert and de Falloux has been clearly established. That this party expected and encouraged government participation in purely religious ambitions is equally evident.²⁴ Considering Louis Napoleon's cool relations with Britain at this period and his stand on the Danish Question,²⁵ it would be difficult to explain his position as deliberately anti-Russian. It seems more reasonable to say

¹⁸ *Annual Register*, XCV (1853), 230; Temperley, p. 466; Mange, "Near Eastern Policy," p. 19; R. W. Seton-Watson, *Britain in Europe 1789-1914* (New York, 1937), p. 303; Jomini, I, 128; Charles de Nesselrode, *Lettres et papiers du Chancelier Comte Charles de Nesselrode 1760-1856* (11 vols., Paris, 1904-12), X, 81-118.

¹⁹ Temperley, p. 304. Brunnov was Russian ambassador to Great Britain.

²⁰ E. L. Woodward, *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870* (Oxford, 1938), p. 245.

²¹ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 49-50.

²² When the issue was raised in 1819, negotiations dragged on until the whole question became lost in the struggle of Greek independence. See Arnaud, *Napoléon III*, p. 96; and Woodward, p. 245.

²³ Senior, I, 159.

²⁴ Marriott, p. 255; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning* (2 vols., London, 1888), II, 483; Fialin Duc de Persigny, *Mémoires du Duc de Persigny* (Paris, 1896), p. 225; Theodor Schiemann, *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I* (4 vols., Berlin, 1919), IV, 251; Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question* (London, 1897), pp. 247-48; Alfred Bourguet, "La France et la Russie de 1848 à 1854," *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XXVIII (1914), 208; Woodward, p. 244; Emile Bourgeois, *History of Modern France, 1815-1913* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1922), II, 28-29.

²⁵ Jomini, I, 62-63.

that he consciously acted in behalf of the clerical party. Unfortunately, in this context it could hardly help becoming an action against Russia.

As late as February, 1853, Walewski and Clarendon agreed that Britain would stay neutral, reserving Anglo-French co-operation in Near Eastern affairs until after peaceful termination of points currently at issue. The Russians were also counting on British "impartiality and assurances."²⁶ However, British interests in the Ottoman Empire were so extensive that she could not afford to see any serious change. Amid darkening clouds, Britain's ambassador, Stratford de Redcliffe, returned to Constantinople.²⁷ On February 25, 1853, Clarendon had instructed Redcliffe to explain to the sultan that the British government feared the Ottoman Empire was in danger since he (the sultan) could not effectively control his nation's policies at home and abroad. Ironically, this had been the tsar's major argument in conversations with Seymour—a view that the British had found repulsive when expressed by Nicholas I.²⁸

The position of the tsar as defender of the Orthodox Church complicated matters. Despite warning from Thouvenel that for Russia the question was one of life or death, it is certain that Louis Napoleon did not fully realize Nicholas could not retreat.²⁹ The best advice the tsar received was to be firm with the sultan, thereby upholding the Ottoman Empire against French influence and threats. Russia would then appear as defender of the status quo.³⁰ Rioting mobs in Constantinople, Jerusalem, and St. Petersburg asked whether "millions of Greeks" were to stand quietly and "be robbed by these wretched Turks to gratify a few French tourists."³¹ It was imperative that Nicholas take some action to restore his influence in the East without creating a European conflict. In early February, 1853, Austria's Count Leiningen demanded concessions from the sultan. This suggested an answer for Nich-

²⁶ Charles Frederick Vitzthum von Eckstaedt, *Saint Petersburg and London in the Years 1852-64* (2 vols., Eng. trans., London, 1887), I, 71-72. Aberdeen had even tried to restrain French policy. See Jomini, I, 116-17; Nesselrode, X, 216.

²⁷ *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3d Ser., CXXVI, 374; La Gorce, *Second Empire*, I, 171; Woodward, p. 242. Redcliffe was regarded as the Britisher who best knew the area.

²⁸ Marx, *Eastern Question*, pp. 298-99; "Eastern Papers, 1854," *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1885, LXV, Part V, gives a full record of conversations between Nicholas and Britain's ambassador, and the correspondence of January-April, 1853.

²⁹ James Howard Harris, Earl of Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* (2 vols., London, 1884), I, 376, 396; Gaston Raindre, ed., "Les Papiers inédits du Comte Walewski," *Rev. de France*, V (1925), 90-91; Bourguet, p. 208; Goriainov, *Bosphore*, p. 92; Thouvenel, pp. 1-2. Louis Napoleon was not nearly as well advised on the East as the British were.

³⁰ S. M. Goriainov, "The Secret Agreement of 1844 between Russia and Great Britain," *Russian Rev.*, I (1912), 76-77 (dispatch of Dec. 20, 1852, from Brunnow); A. M. Zaionchovsky, *Vostochnaia voina 1853-1856 gg. v sviazi s sovremennoi ei politicheskoi obstanovkoi* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1908-12), I, 348.

³¹ Bourgeois, II, 31.

olas, who only wanted a diplomatic success. In St. Petersburg early in 1853, both a declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire and a surprise occupation of the Danubian principalities were regarded as inconvenient courses to pursue.³²

Redcliffe proved his ability by keeping the specific items of difference distinct from theoretical questions and arranging on May 4, 1853, a satisfactory settlement.³³ Further diplomacy revolved about other points, which bears out the report from Russia by the French ambassador, Castelbajac, that the dispute over Holy Places was in itself insignificant.³⁴ In fact, its role in causing the war was limited to producing a serious diplomatic rivalry between France and Russia. To suggest a greater significance, or to suggest that aggrandizement was the motive behind the tsar's sponsorship of the Orthodox position would be erroneous.³⁵ Many other factors were involved in the crisis.

The Menshikov mission and the occupation of the principalities were commonly regarded as betraying Russia's real designs in the East. The cumulative results, however, of a century of research have led to a less obvious but more rational explanation. Although these important events have been treated from many points of view, there has been no definitive monograph on either. Edmond Bapst's work on the Menshikov mission is the best to date.³⁶

The Menshikov mission (March-May, 1853) appears to have been nothing more than a bluff by the tsar. Bluffing, indeed, seemed to be the order of the day. During earlier phases of negotiations on the Holy Places, Lavalette had used threats to bolster the French argument; and the Austrians had just succeeded in a mission identical to that of Menshikov. A show of force was getting results for those who used it.³⁷ In the Danish Question direct threats by Russia had produced the armistice of Malmo. Upon its expiration, a Russian naval demonstration brought about the Conference of London in

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33; Thouvenel, pp. 126-27; Zaionchovsky, I, 357-58; Michael T. Florinsky, *Russia: A History and an Interpretation* (2 vols., New York, 1953), II, 863.

³³ Lane-Poole, II, 249-51; La Gorce, *Second Empire*, I, 172; *Hansard*, CXXIV, 1636-38, CXXVII, 712-13; Marriott, p. 260.

³⁴ Thouvenel, pp. 115-16.

³⁵ Temperley, p. 280; Arnaud, p. 95. Robert C. Binkley's *Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871* (New York, 1935), p. 168, sees the Holy Places dispute as being responsible for the end of the Concert of Europe. Seton-Watson, p. 304. The idea of tsarist imperialism has been accepted by Soviet Russia. See Nechkina, II, 408.

³⁶ E. Bapst, pp. 345-81. See also Thouvenel, pp. 88-163; Zaionchovsky, I, 378-452.

³⁷ To say that the object was to "terrorize" the Ottoman Empire (Nechkina, II, 409) seems a bit strong. See Temperley, pp. 301-303. Leiningen's mission comprised demands regarding Turkish troop locations and religious problems in Bosnia. Mange (pp. 22-23) sees a policy of force and persuasion, a counter-move to Europe's recognition of an "upstart" emperor and loss of some privileges by Greek monks because of French threats. Binkley (*Realism and Nationalism*) makes no mention of the demands of Leiningen. See also Taylor, pp. 51, 53, 595, whose interpretations follow Temperley closely.

1852.³⁸ The odds did seem to favor faith in a policy of force, particularly when the threatening party had just saved most of Europe from the throes of revolution by its use. Castelbajac quoted Nicholas as saying that he had only the "menaces de la force matérielle" at hand, and that Nicholas took no additional measures of real preparation amply demonstrates he did not actually intend to go to war.³⁹

Nesselrode had suggested Orlov or Kisselev if a special emissary were to be sent to reassert Russian influence, but Nicholas chose Menshikov because his close personal relationship with the tsar would insure his recognition as more than merely a person under the minister of foreign affairs.⁴⁰ One of the tsar's ablest and most confidential agents, Prince Menshikov had "all the courage of a soldier and all the arrogance and finesse of a Russian. . . . [On occasion nothing could be] softer than his manner or more overbearing than his pretensions."⁴¹ He was admirably suited to give his errand the "studied insolence" which the tsar felt the situation demanded.⁴²

The arrival of Menshikov at Constantinople was accompanied by peremptory demands and arrogance. At Russia's request, Fuad Effendi, the Ottoman foreign minister who had actually given the keys to the French, was retired.⁴³ Excitement ran high as Menshikov presented his emperor's views on the Holy Places. These were quickly dealt with, and it momentarily appeared that further friction was to be avoided. Menshikov then presented a new note, virtually an ultimatum, demanding a treaty which would confirm Russian protection of all Greek Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The firmness of this presentation can be attributed, at least in part, to Redcliffe, who informed Menshikov, now inclined to be conciliatory, that the Turks would give in if the demand were brusquely stated.⁴⁴ This demand of protective rights in itself was nothing new: it had been vaguely understood by everyone since 1774, and as late as November, 1852, the Russian envoy at Constantinople, d'Ozerov, had put the claim in unmistakable language to the French ambassador.⁴⁵ That it now came as a shock must be

³⁸ Jomini, I, 26-27, 43-44.

³⁹ Thouvenel, pp. 128-29; Zaionchovsky, I, 369; Arthur William Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin and an Account of Its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan* (6 vols., London, 1863-80), I, 78.

⁴⁰ Jomini, II, 162; Kinglake, I, 78. Menshikov was accompanied by Prince Galitzin, Vice Admiral Khorniloff (aides-de-camp of the tsar), General Nikapotchinski, and Count Dimitri de Nesselrode, son of the chancellor. Thouvenel, p. 91.

⁴¹ Senior, I, 151.

⁴² Frederick A. Simpson, *Louis Napoleon and the Recovery of France, 1848-1856* (London, 1923), pp. 223-24.

⁴³ *Hansard*, CXXIX, 1792; Taylor, p. 52.

⁴⁴ Bourgeois, II, 36.

⁴⁵ *Annual Register* (1853), p. 234.

attributed to existing tension and the fact that neither diplomats nor the public were informed about the tsar's real objects, in spite of his frank and friendly answers to all questions on the subject!⁴⁶ Actually, Menshikov had brought up this general claim on April 19.⁴⁷ When Redcliffe kept the two questions separate, and then helped the Turks settle the dispute regarding the Holy Places, he left Menshikov with only half of his case, the half with vague foundations.⁴⁸ Had he returned to Russia then, no real impression would have been made on the sultan. With rejection of the offer, Menshikov returned to Russia, and the whole Russian legation followed him.⁴⁹ He had created his impression; the bluff had been made—and called!

Why had the Turks refused? The most popular answer has been that Menshikov's claims were incompatible with Ottoman independence and that the Turks could not accept his demands. Temperley feels that, having yielded twice to the French in 1852 and to the Austrians in 1853, they would not have yielded to anyone a fourth time. It must be remembered that two of the demands of Count Leiningen had been refused and that after consideration he had backed down, also that the French had never claimed or demanded political protection of Ottoman Roman Catholics.⁵⁰ Finally, there were personalities involved. Redcliffe's preponderance at Constantinople invited suspicion. Nesselrode became convinced that it was really Redcliffe who "reigned and governed" in the Ottoman Empire; in Paris Thouvenel reached the same conclusion.⁵¹ Redcliffe's temper was common knowledge. Malmesbury felt that his ability was beyond question but that he could be used only in a peculiar type of dispute. For managing the Turks he was admirably suited because he dealt in terms they understood—in reality it was "Sultan versus Sultan."⁵² Short-tempered men were working to solve problems that de-

⁴⁶ For doubt about whether Nicholas I or anyone at this point could state precisely what the Russian aims were, see Nesselrode, X, 223. Manteuffel advised the tsar to disavow Menshikov (Thouvenel, p. 169). *Hansard*, CXXVI, 378.

⁴⁷ E. Bapst, pp. 361-62. He had not then insisted on a prompt response regarding protective rights and a treaty because he wanted to get the specific issues of the Holy Places dispute settled.

⁴⁸ Marriott, p. 256.

⁴⁹ E. Bapst, p. 381. Menshikov believed when he landed at Odessa that, after the Turks thought matters over, they would send after him and submit to his demands. Brunnow had reported to Nesselrode (Feb. 21, 1853) that Aberdeen said that, right or wrong regarding the facts of the dispute, the British would advise the Turks to yield. See Zaionchovsky, I, 368; and especially Adolphus Slade, *Turkey and the Crimean War* (London, 1867), pp. 183-84.

⁵⁰ Temperley, pp. 301-303, 511; Taylor, pp. 51-53; Mange, p. 28. One of these was the demand of Austria to protect Christians in Bosnia.

⁵¹ Temperley (p. 513) accepts Lane-Poole's (II, 250-70) account of Redcliffe's role. See Nesselrode, X, 232; Thouvenel, p. 99; Woodward, p. 243. The tsar and Kinglake (I, chaps. 9-11) were Redcliffe's most outspoken critics. See also Florinsky, II, 869; and Binkley, pp. 171-73.

⁵² Malmesbury, I, 307. Lane-Poole comments that "the truth was that the matter was too important for temper, and Lord Stratford in matters of state always knew when he did well to be angry . . ." (II, 255).

manded the utmost in patience and understanding. Menshikov and Colonel Rose, the British attaché, were numbered among the "three most violent men in Europe, and . . . it would be extraordinary indeed if they could come in contact without an explosion."⁵³ Another quarrelsome personality was added when General Baraguay d'Hilliers arrived as the new French ambassador.⁵⁴ To expect peace from men of this sort was, perhaps, too much of a hope.

When the Menshikov mission failed, Nicholas turned to a second bluff and ordered troops into the principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia). Nesselrode had given due notice of this action as early as May 19, 1853, in a note to Reshid Pasha explaining that the tsar had no aggressive designs but was simply assuring Russia some material guarantees in case of further negotiations.⁵⁵ On July 2, 1853, he wrote that it was also a necessary step to counteract the undue influence of the allied fleets which hovered outside the Dardanelles.⁵⁶ This occupation appeared to be the first step in a dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire along lines which the British reported that Nicholas had suggested to Seymour.⁵⁷ Actually, however, six years earlier, Russia could have taken virtually anything she wanted in this area.

The British government was now deeply disturbed, and Clarendon announced in parliament on August 8, 1853, that the immediate and complete evacuation of the principalities was regarded by Her Majesty's government as a *sine qua non* of any settlement or agreement. When Danubian tribute and gold normally sent to the sultan was diverted to Russian use, Redcliffe decided that the work of British consuls in the provinces could not properly continue.⁵⁸ The Austrian government was immediately aroused, to the tsar's amazement, and moved swiftly in the diplomatic field, actively promoting a conference to iron things out.⁵⁹ Russia's apologist (Jomini) correctly noted that the occupation violated no specific agreements and did not necessitate a war; Russian intervention in case of internal disturbances was even provided for by treaty. The action belongs in the same category as French aid in the war of Greek independence, French and British participation in the issue of Belgian independence, and the French expedition against Ancona. Even the

⁵³ *John Bull* (London), Mar. 26, 1853.

⁵⁴ Joseph Alexander von Hübner, *Neun Jahre der Erinnerungen eines Österreichischen Botschafters in Paris unter dem Zweiten Kaiserreich 1851-1859* (2 vols., Berlin, 1904), I, 94.

⁵⁵ Zaionchovsky, I, 442. Russian intrigue simultaneously was meeting with success in Denmark.

⁵⁶ Nesselrode, X, 246-48.

⁵⁷ Alfred Rambaud, *The History of Russia, from the Earliest Times to 1877* (2 vols., New York, 1886), II, 247-50.

⁵⁸ *Hansard*, CXXIX, 1137-39, 1418-26. Palmerston expressed the view temporarily that the occupation should be regarded as a *casus belli*. Charles Greville, *The Greville Memoirs*, ed. Henry Reeve (8 vols., London, 1887), Part III (1852-60), I, 71.

⁵⁹ Simpson, p. 227; *Hansard*, CXXIX, 1162-63.

Ottoman Empire did not regard it as a cause for war at the outset.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, excitement began to run high in Britain. In France Drouyn de Lhuys was still hopeful of a peaceful solution, while from the security of retirement Guizot thought it was all really nothing very serious. Redcliffe had his hands full trying to restrain the Turks, who were being whipped into a fanatical frenzy for a religious war. For all the misguided good intentions of the tsar, Russian troops in the principalities had more to do with the outbreak of war than any other single incident.⁶¹ By taking Menshikov's threatening appearances and the tsar's demands literally, thereby closing the door to Nicholas' solution, the Ottoman Empire and the rest of Europe forced him to further action and ultimately promoted a war which Nicholas had not wanted and had actually sought to prevent. Examination of Great Britain's position will make this even more apparent.

II

The most brilliantly written indictment of responsibility for the war is to be found in A. W. Kinglake's *The Invasion of the Crimea*.⁶² Kinglake saw the Crimean War as having mainly derived from the deliberate machinations of Napoleon III. In his famous chapter fourteen (I, 142-209) he presents Louis Napoleon as the master conspirator, overthrowing representative institutions and resorting to violence to further his egocentric ends. Having recently achieved power, Louis must "distract France from thinking of her shame at home, by sending her attention abroad. For their very lives' sake they had to make haste, and to pile up events which might stand between them and the past." Purely as a matter of life or death, "if Prince Louis . . . were to continue quartered upon France instead of being thrown into prison and brought to trial, it was indispensable that Europe should be disturbed."⁶³ He put pressure on the sultan, trying to force him into a quarrel with the tsar. By taking a conservative position in the dispute, Louis Napoleon would be at Britain's side and, if a British alliance were formed, the moral effect would be to lend special sanctification to his ill-gotten throne.⁶⁴ This

⁶⁰ Jomini, I, 210-13.

⁶¹ Simpson, p. 227; Gayot, p. 287; Marcel Handelsman, "La Guerre de Crimée, la question polonaise et les origines du problème bulgare," *Rev. hist.*, CLXIX (1932), 271-72. Also Temperley, pp. 333, 512.

⁶² See n. 39 above. Indictment found in Vol. I (4th ed., 1874). The first complete edition came out between 1863 and 1880. Kinglake enjoyed the reputation of being a master of stylish prose. His *Eothen*, a real masterpiece, had appeared in 1844. See William Tuckwell, *A. W. Kinglake* (London, 1902), pp. 20-32, 57.

⁶³ Kinglake, *Invasion*, I, 210.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11, 213.

policy was successful; he not only created a crisis and achieved his British alliance but he was able to control the movements of the British navy and lead his ally into war. Ambiguity characterized his relations with both the British and the Russians. Napoleon III, then, was the great architect of destruction and duplicity—as Kinglake surveyed the scene.⁶⁵ Puryear's ideas paralleled the observation of Karl Marx that Louis Napoleon, as Kinglake claimed, had the frightening alternative of war abroad or revolution at home.⁶⁶ While Napoleon III was flattering Princess de Lieven, a Russian informant, he could be jovial with Redcliffe and send a proponent of an Austro-French alliance to Constantinople. At the same time, Prussia's representative at Constantinople was co-operating closely with French policy. The *Pays* regarded French interests as vital in the East while the *Constitutionnel* found only the interests of others at stake.⁶⁷ The French emperor's checking of several lines of possible action⁶⁸ was enough to lend a semblance of truth to Kinglake's narrative.

In 1878, Alexandre Jomini's *Etude diplomatique sur la guerre de Crimée (1852 à 1856)* presented the Russian apologia.⁶⁹ This source saw Louis Napoleon's need for security. "To do nothing would be fatal to him; he felt this, and wished to live." The alliance of Prussia, Russia, and Austria must be broken. A war must be found with Russia (the backbone of the alliance) on such grounds that Austria and Prussia would not feel their interests involved. The East provided the opportunity—here were areas outside the guarantees of 1815 where Austrian and Russian ambitions would clash—and so here Louis Napoleon found the opening for which he was searching.⁷⁰ Emile Ollivier adopted this same theme in Volume III of his *L'Empire libéral*⁷¹ but expanded it to include the Italian policy of Napoleon III. Rather than an attack on the emperor, Ollivier finds the destruction of the Holy Alliance a masterpiece of diplomacy and deliberate statesmanship, keyed to

⁶⁵ Nesselrode, X, 227-28; Tuckwell, p. 81.

⁶⁶ Marx, *Eastern Question*, p. 269; Vernon J. Puryear, *England, Russia, and the Straits Question, 1844-1856* (Berkeley, 1931), pp. 242-46.

⁶⁷ Marx, *Eastern Question*, pp. 12-13; Thouvenel, pp. 108-109. See Jomini, I, 503-506, for Russian suspicions of French influence at Vienna.

⁶⁸ Malmesbury, I, 243-45, 349-50; Puryear, *Straits Question*, p. 246; Paul Matter, "Missions de M. de Persigny à Berlin (1849-1850)," *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, XII (1898), 67-75. Woodward (p. 248) saw this weighing of possibilities as being "no less vacillating" than Aberdeen and concluded that Napoleon III and his advisers were, after all, "unfamiliar with the conduct of large affairs of state."

⁶⁹ See n. 5 above. Originally written in 1863, it contains virtually no documentation and events are not dated adequately. A London translation entitled *Diplomatic Study on the Crimean War* (2 vols., 1878), claimed to be Russia's official version. See Alexandre Onou, "Correspondance inédite du Baron Alexandre de Jomini," *Rev. d'hist. mod.*, X (1935), 373-74.

⁷⁰ Jomini, I, 110-11, 262.

⁷¹ 17 vols., Paris, 1895-1917. Very sketchily documented.

the unification of Italy.⁷² Some basis for this impression could be found in Marshal Canrobert's testimony and in conversations of Granier de Cassagnac with Persigny and the emperor.⁷³ In his published works Louis Napoleon had clearly stated the three basic principles that would support his "grand système fédératif européen"—popular sovereignty, natural frontiers, and respect for nationalities.⁷⁴ Europe trembled and waited for a European Second of December.⁷⁵

There has been one other attack on Napoleon III as the instigator of the war. Vely Pasha, Ottoman ambassador to France, believed that the war was fostered to gain respect for the empress. By manipulating events to win recognition from Queen Victoria, he could rise above the social ostracism which his unorthodox marriage had gained for him among other European nobility.⁷⁶ With the visit to Windsor, Napoleon III achieved his objective; it was no coincidence that he was then ready to end the war. His plans to go to the Crimea can be seen as a threat to force this recognition. Actually, his position vis-à-vis the rest of Europe's nobility was not due to his marriage but rather to his election to office and power. The marriage, at least in Russia, was accepted as in harmony with his past and met with none of the consternation with which it was received in France itself.⁷⁷ However, this interpretation has not been seriously documented nor widely accepted, and need not detain us further. Most historians have found that to handle effectively any phase of the early period of Crimean War diplomacy, they must first accept or explain the contagious influence of Kinglake, probing the facts which support his contentions.

Hamley politely evaluated Kinglake's thesis as "only a surmise for which it would be difficult to adduce proof."⁷⁸ Others have been more outspoken. Rank bitterness can be found in Blanchard Jerrold's apologetic *Life of Na-*

⁷² Ollivier, III, 96-136, 162-90. See also Pierre Rain, "Les relations franco-russes sous le Second Empire," *Rev. des études hist.*, LXXIX (1913), 629-31.

⁷³ Cassagnac, II, 229, 245-46; Constant Germain Bapst, *Le Maréchal Canrobert: souvenirs d'un siècle* (6 vols., Paris, 1910-14), II, 14-15. See also Slade, chap. 1.

⁷⁴ Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte, *Des idées napoléoniennes* (Paris, 1860); *Works of Napoleon III* (2 vols., London, 1852), I, 161-85; and *Idées politiques*, written in 1832. See also Pierre de La Gorce, *Napoléon III et sa politique* (Paris, 1933); Paul-Emile Schazmann, "Napoléon III, précurseur de la société des nations," *Rev. hist.*, CLXXIX (1937), 368-71; J. Dontenville, "Les idées napoléoniennes: la politique extérieure de Napoléon III," *Rev. des études napoléoniennes*, XXI (1923), 190-217; and Albert Pinguard's "La politique extérieure du Second Empire," *Rev. hist.*, CLVI (1927), 41-68; and "Une page de la politique secrète de Napoléon III," *Rev. de France*, XI (1931), 417-39.

⁷⁵ Senior, I, 134. Thiers commented, "All that they beg is not to be attacked. At that price he may do what he likes. . . ." See also Eckstaedt, I, 70-71, 136-37.

⁷⁶ Albert D. Vandam, *Undercurrents of the Second Empire: Notes and Recollections* (London, 1895), pp. 129-33, 144-46.

⁷⁷ Nesselrode, X, 215.

⁷⁸ Edward Bruce Hamley, *The War in the Crimea* (London, 1891), p. 15.

pooleon III, where we are told that the emperor's reaction to Kinglake's work was, "C'est ignoble!"⁷⁹ Jerrold, however, does not produce evidence refuting the charges but simply points out that other men carried out repressive measures in 1851, among them friends of Kinglake in Austria and Italy, and asks why these were not featured for a "sensation chapter."⁸⁰

The problem has been to ascertain what specific source material Kinglake used for his attack on Louis Napoleon. That it was not based on the papers of Raglan, his main source, is obvious. On this point Kinglake tells us:

... so far as concerns that part of the work which is based upon unpublished writings or private information—and this applies to an important part of the first, and to nearly the whole of the second volume—I in general make no reference to the grounds on which I rely. Hereafter it may be otherwise; but, for the present, this portion of the book must rest upon what, after all, is the chief basis of our historical knowledge—must rest upon the statement of one who had good means of knowing the truth. In the meanwhile, I shall keep and leave ready the clew by which in some later time, and without farther aid from me, my statements may be traced by their sources.⁸¹

The clue has not been forthcoming in over sixty years. A diligent search by Simpson and two of Kinglake's closest relatives unearthed nothing and the publishers of both Kinglake and Tuckwell had no information to offer. Before his death Kinglake expressly instructed that most of his papers be destroyed. We must then conclude, with Simpson, that his most telling charges against Napoleon III "rest now only on the *ipse dixit* of a writer who broke his promise to substantiate them."⁸² This insinuation of a character defect gains strength as one recalls that Kinglake "was in 1868 unseated [from parliament] on petition for bribery on the part of his agents."⁸³ Besides being undocumented for this important portion, Kinglake's work was quite possibly written with a deliberate personal bias. He had competed unsuccessfully with Louis Napoleon for the favor of "Miss Howard." Relatives of Kinglake indicated this was common knowledge to older members of the family. That she preferred to be Louis Napoleon's mistress rather than Mrs. Kinglake is perhaps a very real clue to the spirit in which he wrote.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ 4 vols., 1874-82. See Appendix, IV, 535-38.

⁸⁰ Jerrold quotes (*ibid.*, p. 537) with relish the following comment of a critical reviewer (*Fraser's Magazine*, LXVIII [1863], 63-76) of Kinglake's fourteenth chapter, "We cannot help thinking that a ruined speculator, a literary Orleanist, a broken soldier in Brussels, and a faded beauty, must have sat in committee to accumulate facts for this wonderful chapter."

⁸¹ Kinglake, I, xxiv.

⁸² Simpson, p. 382; Tuckwell, p. vi.

⁸³ Tuckwell, p. 44.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32, 144; Simpson, p. 382; Woodward, p. 623. Kinglake's comment on Gladstone might reveal the bent of his mind. He suspected that Gladstone regarded him as an enemy and so he judged him to be "... a good man in the worst sense of the term, conscientious with a diseased conscience."

Living and writing when he did, Kinglake could easily have found solid evidence against the opinion he presented. The disarmament proposal made by Louis Napoleon in 1849⁸⁵ finds no place in his work. On December 4, 1853, Marshal de Castellane recorded his conviction that the emperor sincerely wanted peace, and nearly two months later Greville noted the delaying tactics of Napoleon III and his reluctance to go to war.⁸⁶ The correspondence of Britain's ambassador to France, Lord Cowley, completely shatters Kinglake's thesis. Napoleon III repeatedly told Cowley that he would not send a single soldier to the Ottoman Empire, and he had not increased his army as late as November, 1853.⁸⁷ The strength of the British alliance even "dragged [him] towards the war by the fact that he must side with England and not with Russia."⁸⁸ On January 4, 1854, Cowley reported to Clarendon that the instructions of Baraguay d'Hilliers had been "to preach peace." Cowley concluded that Napoleon III had no settled policy, let alone one that called for forcing war on Europe.⁸⁹ Cowley's papers go far to expose the charges of Kinglake as "grotesquely inaccurate"⁹⁰ and also present obvious objections to the recent view of A. J. P. Taylor in this context that "Napoleon III could not resist the appeal of adventure."⁹¹

All writers on diplomacy preceding the Crimean War explain the tension created by the resurrection of the Napoleonic dynasty. There are no important questions of specific matters of fact yet to be answered. Even on the slippery aspect of the motives of all concerned, there is general agreement.⁹² The pertinent testimonies of Eckstaedt and Hübner are invaluable in under-

⁸⁵ Henderson, pp. 146-50.

⁸⁶ Victor E. B. de Castellane, *Journal du Maréchal de Castellane 1804-1862* (5 vols., 3d ed., Paris, 1897), V, 25. Greville, Part III, I, 130-31. Guizot felt that Napoleon III didn't really want war until 1856, thus giving the nation two years of prosperity and the Exposition of 1855. See Gayot, p. 388. Also Kurt Jagow, ed., *Letters of the Prince Consort, 1831-1861* (New York, 1938), pp. 207-208. Albert wrote, "We shall now not be able to avoid war, and in this pass we find our neighbour and only ally in anything but a war-like mood."

⁸⁷ Henry R. C. Wellesley, the first Earl Cowley, *The Paris Embassy during the Second Empire*, ed. F. A. Wellesley (London, 1928), p. 32; Victor Wellesley and Robert Sencourt, *Conversations with Napoleon III* (London, 1934), pp. 51-52 (Cowley to Clarendon, Nov. 11, 21, 1853, and Jan. 13, 1854).

⁸⁸ Wellesley and Sencourt, p. 50.

⁸⁹ Temperley, p. 508. When news of the Ottoman rejection of the Vienna Note, a compromise, reached Paris, Napoleon III was disappointed and displeased. The rejection led to the startling revelation that the tsar had agreed only because he thought the note was a simple re-statement of his position. Negotiations were to continue in Vienna off and on throughout the war. Simpson, p. 231; Cowley, p. 30.

⁹⁰ Marriott, p. 265.

⁹¹ Taylor, p. 53.

⁹² Franklin C. Palm, *England and Napoleon III* (Durham, N. C., 1948), pp. ix-x, 170-71. In a minority opinion based largely on Puryear and Malmesbury, Palm sees British recognition given to obtain French collaboration in the Near East and to induce Louis Napoleon to abandon the protective system. The paucity of correspondence of Napoleon III which has survived is a major source problem. See Taylor, pp. 574, 584.

standing the maze of diplomacy necessary in the recognition of Europe's "parvenu."⁹³

Napoleon III is most seriously open to criticism for sending the French fleet to the Near East. Here Kinglake appears vindicated to some extent. Acting alone did put Britain on the spot and undoubtedly led the British cabinet later to assume that French action did not depend upon British aid and support. However, sending the French fleet did not force Great Britain to follow suit, as the British fleet had recently been in the East.⁹⁴ Napoleon III had to do something in the face of the arrogant appearance of Menshikov. Failure to act in foreign affairs had cost Louis Philippe his throne. The Napoleonic program could not allow Russian ultimatums to be meekly accepted,⁹⁵ and he could take no chances that a minor Russian success might appear as a defeat for France and himself. Casteljacob's report that Russia genuinely did not want war appeared to minimize the real danger in the situation and tended to encourage Napoleon III to more forthright action.⁹⁶

The entrance of the allied fleets into the Black Sea hastened declarations of war. The basic question here is, who was responsible for the presence of these fleets in the Black Sea? This was a clear violation of the status quo and the Straits Convention of 1841.⁹⁷ While at the time Nesselrode did not feel that entry of the Anglo-French fleet in itself was to be considered as a cause of war, René Arnaud has interpreted this act as "virtually a declaration of war."⁹⁸ Puryear has followed Jomini in placing the blame on Redcliffe, showing that Redcliffe "engineered" a violation of the Straits Convention in 1849 and was working to the same end in 1853. Sencourt has the same general view of Redcliffe's actions, and Simpson is only a shade less critical, while Soviet historians have labeled Redcliffe the "chief instigator of the struggle against Russia."⁹⁹ Redcliffe's personal grudge against the tsar combines with his notorious temper to form the backdrop for such criticism. Nesselrode be-

⁹³ Eckstaedt, I, 10-13. At a Christmas parade, 1852, the tsar orally reproached representatives of Austria and Prussia in front of Russian generals for having deserted him on the matter of Napoleon III's recognition. Hübner (I, 5, 85, 93) reveals efforts of Persigny to win Austria to French views. For a host of other documentation, see Zaionchovsky, I, 190-332; Cowley, p. 10; Malmesbury, I, 297-98. A serious biography of Walewski still needs to be written.

⁹⁴ Woodward, p. 253; Bourguet, p. 207. Louis Napoleon had assured the British of support from the French fleet in 1849.

⁹⁵ Puryear, *Straits Question*, pp. 242-44; Baron d'Amable G. P. Brugière, *Souvenirs du Baron de Barante, 1782-1866* (8 vols., Paris, 1890-1901), VIII, 57. For the view that the war was really forced on Napoleon III, see Charlemagne Emile Maupas, *Mémoires sur le Second Empire* (2 vols., Paris, 1884), II, 35-39.

⁹⁶ Temperley, p. 508; Thouvenel, p. 177; Bourgeois, II, 34.

⁹⁷ Goriainov, *Bosphore*, pp. 92-95; Bourguet, pp. 218-19. Hamley (p. 17) sees Napoleon III joining Britain in the Eastern Question.

⁹⁸ Nesselrode, X, 212-13; Arnaud, p. 96.

⁹⁹ Puryear, *Straits Question*, pp. 139-88 (heavily documented). Robert Sencourt, *Napoleon III: The Modern Emperor* (London, 1933), p. 150; Simpson, p. 239; Nechkina, II, 409.

lieved Redcliffe's aim to be the humiliation of Russia, although Brunnow had reported (in language of amazement) that Redcliffe really wanted the tsar to like him and had seemed friendly.¹⁰⁰ Temperley has taken up the argument in defense of Redcliffe and very critically and skillfully treats Puryear's major points. Redcliffe emerges from Temperley's accounts as a conscientious worker for peace who earnestly sought to prevent violations of the Straits Convention.¹⁰¹ Aberdeen and Clarendon were embarrassed by the failure of the Menshikov mission; but, as Nesselrode noted, much as they may have disliked Redcliffe, they neither controlled him nor had the courage to disavow his actions.¹⁰² It now appears that as a result of Redcliffe's influence and participation in Ottoman affairs, the Turks themselves concluded that "in the last resort, Great Britain would save them from destruction."¹⁰³ The dust has not yet settled on this issue and more work remains to be done. Investigation is needed on the transfer of initiative to Ottoman hands in the matter of allowing the fleets in the Black Sea, refusing the Vienna Note, and actually declaring war. An accurate account of Redcliffe's activities at Constantinople would elucidate the entire picture.¹⁰⁴ Napoleon III clearly was not the central figure in these issues.

Scholarship on the indictment presented against Napoleon III has led to the conclusion that: (1) Kinglake's view is subject to very severe criticism; (2) Napoleon III sincerely regretted the coming of the war; and (3) his guilt is confined to continuing French sponsorship of the Latin Christians in the dispute over the Holy Places and to taking the lead in sending the French fleet to Besika Bay.

During its first year the war had little popularity within France.¹⁰⁵ The idea that the war was being fought for British interests, rather than French, spread rapidly.¹⁰⁶ The duc de Pasquier went so far as to see Great Britain

¹⁰⁰ Lane-Poole, II, 18 ff.; Nesselrode, X, 278; Zaionchovsky, I, 368; Louis Thouvenel, *Pages de l'Histoire du Second Empire* (Paris, 1903), p. 99.

¹⁰¹ Temperley, pp. 499-506. Also by Temperley, "Stratford de Redcliffe and the Origins of the Crimean War," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (1933), 601-21, XLIX (1934), 265-98; and "The Alleged Violations of the Straits Convention by Stratford de Redcliffe between June and September, 1853," *ibid.*, XLIX (1934), 657-72. Woodward (pp. 242-54) follows Temperley.

¹⁰² Nesselrode, X, 229-30.

¹⁰³ Woodward, p. 244.

¹⁰⁴ Marx, *Eastern Question*, p. 143. Virtually all general accounts survey the negotiations at Vienna and the famous Ottoman refusal, with Redcliffe again in a position of suspicion. The only attempt to portray fully Redcliffe's role at Constantinople as a basic factor in the origins of the war is the unpublished thesis of Leland Livingston Sage, "Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and the Origins of the Crimean War" (University of Illinois, 1932), which tends to exonerate Redcliffe.

¹⁰⁵ Rain, "Relations franco-russes," pp. 631-35; Malmesbury, I, 413-14. Simpson, p. 242; Cowley, p. 39; Lynn M. Case, *French Opinion on War and Diplomacy during the Second Empire* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 19-33.

¹⁰⁶ Senior, I, 214, 222. In his *Causes de la Guerre d'Orient* (Paris, 1854), Eugène Forcade

simply using French soldiers against Russia as she had used Russian troops against France forty years earlier.¹⁰⁷ This view, so completely opposed to that of Kinglake, leads us now to examine the research on the strictly Anglo-Russian background of the crisis.

III

An examination of Great Britain's part in the diplomatic prelude to the Crimean War raises a multitude of issues far more complex than is the case with France. Basic among these is the commercial life of Britain during the twenty years prior to 1854 and its influence on foreign policy.

Karl Marx pointed out that the Black Sea was a basic element in European trade, two thirds of Europe using it in the process of exchanging goods. Through Constantinople and Trebizond (in Asia Minor) British trade had rapidly increased until by 1852 Britain was an equal participant in areas that in 1840 were Russian monopolies. A commercial battlefield had been established and, since British trade depended on confidence in the power ruling the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, the diplomatic position of Great Britain could never be seriously in doubt. Russia clearly could not be expected to allow the door to remain open for British competition if it were in her power to close it. In his day, however, Marx was virtually alone.¹⁰⁸ No voice added documented support to his analysis until 1931 when Vernon J. Puryear's *England, Russia, and the Straits Question* appeared. Here Puryear summarized (pp. 76-138) the exhaustive study which was to follow, *International Economics and Diplomacy in the Near East* (1935). R. J. Kerner regarded the latter work as the "first thorough analysis of the economic background of the Crimean War."¹⁰⁹

With painstaking documentation Puryear examined Anglo-Russian commerce and made a potent case, indeed, for economic determinism. His probe

aply pointed out (pp. 287-92) that, while there might be some doubt about Constantinople's being the key to the route to India, there could be no doubt at all that it was a key to the Mediterranean. Its fall would upset the whole picture of European diplomacy and power. The French position as a Mediterranean, African, and European power was vitally at stake.

¹⁰⁷ Brugière, *Barante*, VIII, 65. Eckstaedt (I, 70-71, 133-35) shares Kinglake's view that Napoleon III duped the British into war.

¹⁰⁸ Marx, *Eastern Question*, pp. 14-19. Marx went on to predict the extension of the Russian western frontier as far as Trieste and Danzig—annexing Prussia, Hungary, and Galicia. See also Constantin de Grunwald, *La Vie de Nicolas Ier* (Paris, 1946), p. 283.

¹⁰⁹ Puryear, *International Economics*, p. v. Neither Seton-Watson (*Britain in Europe*) nor Temperley (*Crimea*) seriously accepted Puryear's economic analysis. In fact, this work by Puryear did not receive the recognition it merited. Reviews were lukewarm at best (William Miller in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII [1932], 322-25, and *ibid.*, LI [1936], 534-37, and Harry N. Howard in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII [1936], 123-24), while the comments of F. S. Rodkey in the *Journal of Modern History*, VIII (1936), 112, were decidedly unfavorable.

of the grain trade alone was illuminating. Up to 1840, British merchants dominated Russian markets. Russia sold more grain and other produce (1832-1840) to Britain than was needed to balance Russian purchases. The prosperity of Russian landlords, who strongly influenced the government, depended almost exclusively on their sale of wheat and other commodities to Great Britain.¹¹⁰ Competition appeared after the treaty of Adrianople had freed Moldavia and Wallachia from the obligation to sell to the Turks at set prices. The principalities by 1840 were exporting wheat on British and Austrian ships to nations that had previously used Russian grain exclusively; and by 1851, the export of grain from Moldavia and Wallachia was equal to that exported by Russia. With this in mind, the Russian occupation of the principalities has added significance. Meanwhile, Russia's protective system was working to Britain's disadvantage. The British were being replaced in Russian domestic consumption; and, in the textile industry, producers of both nations were in direct competition. Ottoman consumption of British manufactured items grew at a tremendous rate after 1839. A Russo-Turkish competition developed for western European markets; both had the same products to sell, and in the competition the Russians were losing. Great Britain dominated both markets; but Russia was becoming a poorer customer and at the same time, a competitor. Russia had vast interests at stake. Outlets for her produce to world markets had to be kept open, besides meeting Ottoman competition. Britain had merely to choose between Russia or the Ottoman Empire as a permanent source of wheat. For years, Great Britain had debated what her policy toward Russia and the Near East should be. She might co-operate with Russia, peacefully partition the Ottoman Empire, and divide the trade of that area with Russia, being thus assured preponderance in Russian markets for decades; or she could support the Ottoman Empire, thereby jeopardizing the British trade with Russia but achieving a dominant position in the trade of the Near East and checking Russian commercial expansion. The two lines of action had their adherents, and the vacillation of British policy reflects this basic dilemma. The anti-Russian advocates of the second choice eventually won, and Great Britain found herself fighting for the Ottoman Empire. Thus Puryear explained British policy.¹¹¹ With no ap-

¹¹⁰ Florinsky (II, 864) has not accepted this account. He states that the wheat export was "relatively insignificant and there is nothing to indicate that the grain exporters had any part in determining the Russian government's near-eastern policy."

¹¹¹ Puryear, *Straits Question*, pp. 76-138. French participation cannot be explained on the basis of economic interest. Her wine trade with Russia was being menaced by Greek and Hungarian competition, but Puryear decided (pp. 137-38) that this was not a pertinent factor. It might be noted that Aberdeen—as a proponent of friendship with Russia—does not fit very well the role Puryear assigns to him. The idea that Russian landlords wanted to enter the grain

parent regard for the imposing array of evidence which Puryear presented, A. J. P. Taylor found these ideas "novel, if unreliable," while E. L. Woodward felt that Puryear's work contained "interesting material, though the conclusions drawn are often controversial."¹¹² Conflicting views are also held on Austria's economic interests. Puryear finds that Austria had more interests in common with Great Britain than with Russia. Her interest in Danubian shipping is obvious, and it was she who really forced the evacuation of the principalities. However, Austria had never co-operated with Great Britain in tariff matters and had even forced closure of Ottoman ports to the British.¹¹³ Since the treaty of Adrianople, Russia had been responsible for keeping the mouth of the Danube open for traffic; but on numerous occasions silting occurred and Danubian exports virtually halted, resulting in British complaints and protests to the Russian foreign office.¹¹⁴ Russia's government in 1940 accepted most of these economic factors as basic. The official Soviet account of nineteenth-century Russia (as of 1940) saw the Eastern Question as "above all a question of economic and political mastery in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and the adjoining basins." It pictured industrial capitalism as intensifying a feverish drive for foreign markets and noted that Great Britain was ahead of the rest of Europe in this respect. "An uninterrupted advance in the Near and Middle East became an essential condition to the growth of English capitalism." This pursuit of markets ran headlong into the "military and feudal aggressions of Tsarism" and the Crimean War was one of its products.¹¹⁵

Jomini tells us eloquently that foremost in the mind of Nicholas was the defense of order and stability, the principles of 1815. Russia was consistently interested in maintaining the status quo and tried to convince other governments of the value of this policy. She "certainly would not have been listened

markets of western Europe without competition from non-Russian grain grown in the Near East was informally suggested by R. J. Kerner, "Importance of Eastern European History," *Historical Outlook*, XV (1924), 343-47.

¹¹² Taylor, p. 595; Woodward, p. 621.

¹¹³ Eugene Horvath, *Origins of the Crimean War: Documents Relative to the Russian Intervention in Hungary and Transylvania, 1848-1849* (Budapest, 1937), pp. 290-92; *Hansard*, CXXV, 154. One result of Leiningen's mission had been closure of Kleck and Sultorin, the only two ports of entry on the Adriatic that had been open to British trade at low Ottoman rates.

¹¹⁴ *Hansard*, CXXVIII, 1088, 1373-75; Marx, *Eastern Question*, p. 138. This hindrance contributed to volume of business done at Odessa and affected the price of wheat.

¹¹⁵ Nechkina, II, 315, 405-406. One voice of "English capitalism" was David Urquhart, writer of hosts of pamphlets on commerce in the Black Sea area and once secretary to the embassy at Constantinople. He was the first to declare that Britain's interests required support of the sultan and personally had negotiated the first British commercial treaty with the Ottoman Empire to recognize the latter's new position in British foreign trade. After Palmerston dismissed him, he became increasingly vocal and made irresponsible charges, equating his two objects of extreme hatred, Palmerston and Russia. See Dénes A. Jánossy, "Great Britain and Kossuth," *Archivum Europea Centro-Orientalis*, III (1937), 111-14.

to, had she been the first to set the example of violating the treaties. . . . our political error did not consist in that. It consisted in the supposed *possibility* of maintaining this edifice of 1815 when it had finished its time."¹¹⁶ Austria entertained close relationships with France¹¹⁷ although she owed her very existence to Russian aid:

Too much noise, however, has really been made about the ingratitude of Austria. Sentiments of this kind are scarcely admitted in politics. . . . If we counted on the gratitude of Austria, the fault was ours. . . . It was to be presumed that the interest of Austria was to maintain an alliance with us. Her existence depended upon it. Events have proved this, since by her conduct toward us in 1854, Austria prepared her expulsion from Italy and Germany.¹¹⁸

This early estimate that the real stake in the Crimean War was central Europe (Germany and Italy) and not the Ottoman Empire, was accurate.¹¹⁹ The question has not been what was really involved but rather the matter of foresight and intent—especially since the outcome of the war redounded to the complete benefit of Napoleon III.

A keen observer was Count Vitzthum von Eckstaedt, Saxon representative in St. Petersburg while the storm was brewing and in London when it came. His testimony sheds interesting light on the diplomatic corps and the personal manner in which Nicholas conducted foreign affairs. When the tsar put his Fourth and Fifth Army Corps (on the Ottoman border) on a war footing, neither Orlov, head of the Third Section, Nesselrode, vice-chancellor and foreign minister, nor Dolgoruki, the war minister, knew about it. Word of the mission of Menshikov to Constantinople likewise reached the ears of foreign diplomats before Nesselrode knew of it. The tsar confided in the Prussian ambassador, Rochow, on important decisions of which Nesselrode was uninformed. This tendency to by-pass his own officials was no less dangerous than his practice of speaking freely of diplomatic affairs in the presence of the ladies of the empress' court. The continual threat posed by nihilistic movements also promoted erratic behavior on the part of Nicholas and additional irregularity in administration.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Jomini, I, 2-4, 17-19, 23, 49, 100-101.

¹¹⁷ Jomini (pp. 503-506) pictured Francis Joseph as convinced of possibilities of an alliance between France and Austria, and Buol as a creature guided by fear of France.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹¹⁹ Taylor, p. 61. Before the war began, Napoleon III saw clearly its implications for central Europe, as indicated in his conversations with Ernest II, duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in early March, 1854. See *Memoirs of Ernest II* (4 vols., London, 1890), III, 58-78.

¹²⁰ Eckstaedt, I, 4-7, 33-41, 46-51. Rochow owed his personal position to the empress, a daughter of Frederick William III. Her physician, Dr. Mandt, also prescribed for the emperor and served as a mediator between the tsar and the Prussian minister. Rochow actually asked permission of Nicholas to pass to Nesselrode information he had learned from the tsar. Nesselrode had really thought that peace was assured when the Holy Places dispute was settled. He did

A problem which still calls forth advocates of either side centers on an agreement between the tsar and members of the British government in 1844.¹²¹ During a trip to Great Britain (May 31 to June 9, 1844) the tsar talked with old friends, such as Aberdeen, and to his own satisfaction came to an understanding on the future policy of both nations in the Near East.¹²² Nicholas was not interested in a formal treaty. He sought only an understanding between gentlemen and genuinely hoped to prevent war in the Near East. His sincerity and frankness on this occasion impressed nearly all British statesmen with whom he came in contact—only Wellington retained a few doubts.¹²³ His openness was testimony to Nesselrode's observation that with the British one must always "jouer cartes sur table."¹²⁴ After the trip, Nesselrode drew up a memorandum stating the general terms of agreement.¹²⁵ The history and legality of the terms of this memorandum are the points still at issue.

Puryear's reading of the record is that "extant documentary evidence for the years 1844-54 proves that such an understanding [the 1844 Russian-English agreement over the Ottoman Empire] was made and that it was continued in force in the nine years which preceded the Crimean War."¹²⁶ The "extant documentary evidence" is a reference to letters and dispatches of Brunnow found in the Imperial Archives at St. Petersburg by S. M. Goriainov. He examined and evaluated these in "The Secret Agreement of 1844 between Russia and Great Britain."¹²⁷ The crux of the article was that this agreement (the memorandum) was given confidentially from each British government to the next and remained in force. With each new government Brunnow made sure that the prime minister and foreign secretary understood the nature of the agreement. Thus the memorandum passed through the hands of Aber-

not know Menshikov's full agenda. For Nesselrode's views of Menshikov's task, see Zaionchovsky, I, 351-54, 369-70. For how his limited understanding of affairs affected diplomatic observers, see Thouvenel, *Nicolas Ier et Napoléon III*, pp. 100-101, 113, 115-16. See also J. M. Thompson, *Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire* (London, 1954), p. 146.

¹²¹ For summaries of Russia's view of her relations with England in 1844 and just prior, see Zaionchovsky, I, 125-26; and Grunwald, p. 210.

¹²² Puryear, "New Light," (n. 1 above), pp. 223-24. Initiative for Nicholas' visit to Great Britain was taken by both powers on the same day, Jan. 28, 1844. Aberdeen had been minister for foreign affairs in 1829, at the time of the treaty of Adrianople. See also Schieman, *Nikolaus I*, IV, 54.

¹²³ Goriainov, "Secret Agreement," p. 99. See also Christian Friedrich Stockmar, *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar* (2 vols., London, 1872), II, 108-16; and Grunwald, pp. 213-14.

¹²⁴ Nesselrode, X, 225-26.

¹²⁵ "Eastern Papers," VI. Puryear ("New Light," p. 225) went so far as to call it "a world-alliance between Russia and England because the contemplated isolation of France in Turkish questions would have as its corollary an Anglo-Russian cooperation in every other matter." See also Zaionchovsky, I, 132-43, for memorandum and correspondence regarding it.

¹²⁶ Puryear, "New Light," p. 219.

¹²⁷ *Russian Rev.*, I (1912), Parts III-IV.

deen, Palmerston, Granville, Malmesbury, and Russell. In 1853 Aberdeen was prime minister and "assured Baron Brunnow that he had in no way changed since 1844 in his principles and in his views on foreign policy."¹²⁸ The tsar in 1853 remembered the co-operative attitude he had found earlier and, in fact, spoke frankly to Seymour, telling him the same things which he had told to Peel and Aberdeen in 1844.¹²⁹ He was profoundly hurt when he realized that Europe did not have faith in his moderation and would not accept his word. Nicholas believed he was serving a European cause in struggling against the "revolution" which he then saw as French policy in the East.¹³⁰ He was in earnest when he remarked, "Je me suis expliqué à ce sujet; je suis un homme loyal."¹³¹ At the height of the crisis (November 1, 1853) after the Seymour conversations, Nicholas wrote to Victoria and referred to the direct obligation to consult each other (1844) whenever the fate of the Ottoman Empire was involved, citing his recent comments with Seymour as evidence of good faith. Temperley and Florinsky represent the feeling of recent historians that his frank remarks to Seymour constituted poor policy but did not reveal the criminal intent to commit aggression which his own day and writers such as Rambaud attributed to him.¹³²

Puryear has incorporated this thesis on the memorandum into his *England, Russia, and the Straits Question*.¹³³ This has stimulated more controversy, most of it unsympathetic. Henderson feels that the agreement of 1844 ended when Palmerston became foreign secretary in 1846. He finds the idea that each foreign secretary handed the document *entre nous* to his successor simply erroneous; Temperley agrees that any specific agreement died when Palmerston resumed his position in the Foreign Office.¹³⁴ The fact that any agreement made by a government would bind only that government wholly escaped the tsar, who saw familiar faces in the Aberdeen ministry. Palmerston had explained to the tsar (in 1840-1841) the limitations inherent in a secret or confidential agreement with any British cabinet, but Nicholas chose to disregard these observations. While Aberdeen saw the 1844 agreement as only a "mutual expression of opinion," Nicholas, Nesselrode, and even Brunnow thought they had established a new political system. Great Britain would now consult with Russia before co-operating with anyone else in Europe.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, Part III, 114.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Part IV, 77-78; Schieman, IV, 275; "Eastern Papers," V.

¹³⁰ Thouvenel, *Nicolas Ier et Napoléon III*, p. 182; Taylor, p. 50.

¹³¹ Thouvenel, *Nicolas Ier et Napoléon III*, pp. 128-29.

¹³² Florinsky, II, 860-61; Rambaud, II, 247-50; Temperley, *Crimea*, pp. 278-79.

¹³³ Chaps. 1 and iv. Incidentally, La Gorce (*Second Empire*, I, 146) mentions the visit to Great Britain in 1844 but makes no mention of the conversations.

¹³⁴ Henderson, pp. 3-4; Temperley, *Crimea*, p. 257.

The tsar felt he had achieved a concrete agreement with Great Britain; in effect, he thought Great Britain was now an ally of Russia. He believed he had pinned Aberdeen down to a binding and specific understanding—in fact, this was exactly what he had not achieved.¹³⁵ That the tsar misunderstood this point is the real tragedy.

The policies of Palmerston sounded the death-knell of the agreement of 1844. Brunnow characterized Palmerston as a man of bad faith, while Nesselrode philosophically noted that he could not live forever.¹³⁶ By 1853 Europe had come a long way in nine years. The observation that “the new generation of statesmen was not able successfully to manipulate the political machinery devised by the old generation”¹³⁷ tends to forget that most of the statesmen of 1853 had been in important offices since before 1830. The change really was that Russia was now seen in a new light. Over the question of Hungarian refugees the tsar found Great Britain (Palmerston) directly supporting the sultan, who received and protected vast numbers of political exiles in the face of Austrian and Russian threats and demands to surrender them. The best work on this subject is by Dénes Jánosy, who painstakingly searched the Austrian and Hungarian archives and has placed our understanding of this crucial episode on firm foundations.¹³⁸

The tsar deceived himself on the possibility of an effective Anglo-French alliance. That Russian policy depended to a large extent upon British relations with France was clear. The secret agreement of 1844 virtually ignored Austria and Prussia, assuming that they were sure to follow Russian leadership in foreign affairs; and it treated France as an isolated state. The entry of France as a power with whose policies the British found themselves in line upset the calculations of Nicholas.¹³⁹ The unfavorable reaction in Great Britain to the tsar's remarks to Seymour created favorable ground for an Anglo-French rapprochement. These conversations, which revealed, in Rambaud's words, the “ultimate aim” of the tsar's schemes, Soviet historians have seen as coalescing “European democracy” in opposition to Nicholas.¹⁴⁰ Palmerston's ideas for a British alliance with France and possibly other states

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 255–57; Nechkina, II, 336; Florinsky, II, 849–50; Grunwald, p. 210; Seton-Watson, p. 305. Woodward (p. 244) sees the situation as really being a precarious and strictly temporary Anglo-Russian *modus vivendi* over the problem of Ottoman survival. Affairs in the Near East were thus in a state of delicate “suspense” which was upset by the vigorous revival of French claims regarding Holy Places.

¹³⁶ Zaionchovsky, I, 155–61; Nesselrode, X, 72.

¹³⁷ Binkley, p. 169.

¹³⁸ “Great Britain and Kossuth,” *Archivum Europea Centro-Orientalis*, III (1937), 53–190; and “Die Ungarische Emigration und der Krieg im Orient,” *ibid.*, V (1939), 113–275. See also *Hansard*, CXXIX, 380–81.

¹³⁹ Puryear, “New Light,” pp. 231–32; Zaionchovsky, I, 125–26.

¹⁴⁰ Rambaud, II, 247–50; Nechkina, II, 407.

to meet the power of the Holy Alliance nations should have been ample warning to the tsar.¹⁴¹

However, there were signs that could be read in favor of the tsar's analysis. Vulliamy notes that "a cunning ambiguity prevailed at the Foreign Office, and it was not easy for anyone to predict in 1852 how England would align herself in the event of an international war."¹⁴² Britain had insisted on predominance in its *entente cordiale* with France, and this policy had furnished fuel for the flame in 1848. Palmerston's approval of the *coup d'état* ahead of others in the cabinet made him unpopular and brought his dismissal.¹⁴³ The tsar read from this that Palmerston did not accurately represent British policy. He saw significance in the fact that, in the coalition government at the end of 1852, Palmerston was made Home Secretary while Russell was in charge of foreign affairs. Seymour had not been enthusiastic in carrying out Palmerston's instructions on the refugee issue and won Russian confidence because of it. Further, he had not been replaced.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Nicholas read reports of mistrust in Great Britain over the establishment of the Second Empire. He heard that the British were debating the possibility of a French invasion and there were rumors that Louis Napoleon really had designs on Belgium.¹⁴⁵ On June 20, 1853, Brunnow reported that the British did not agree with the French that the treaty of 1841 bound them to defend Ottoman territory and integrity.¹⁴⁶ In January, 1854, there was an outburst in the British press, amounting almost to a slander campaign, directed against Prince Albert. While Eckstaedt reported that Palmerston was the moving spirit behind it, Greville traced the origin as the work and money of Louis Napoleon acting through Walewski "and another person here," presumably Palmerston.¹⁴⁷ In the face of all this,¹⁴⁸ the tsar felt justified in continuing his faith that an alliance between Great Britain and France was unlikely. We must remember further that Brunnow did not report to the tsar conditions and circumstances as he actually saw them. Brunnow knew that the tsar relied implicitly on Aberdeen's love of peace and the agreement of 1844. From these two premises the tsar regarded as impossible (1) that

¹⁴¹ Henderson, pp. 191-93.

¹⁴² Colwyn E. Vulliamy, *Crimea* (London, 1939), p. 46.

¹⁴³ Henderson, pp. 194-99. Though Palmerston's policy statements were not always consistent, his pro-French inclinations were well known. See Greville, Part III, I, 75; Marx, *Eastern Question*, pp. 331-32.

¹⁴⁴ Nesselrode, X, 73.

¹⁴⁵ Jomini, I, 103-105, 108-109; Nesselrode, X, 227-28.

¹⁴⁶ Zaionchovsky, II, 33-34; Nesselrode, X, 246-48.

¹⁴⁷ Malmesbury, I, 420-22; Eckstaedt, I, 77-80; Greville, Part III, I, 134.

¹⁴⁸ For more evidence of Anglo-French friction, see Herbert E. Howard, "Lord Cowley on Napoleon III in 1853," *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, XI (1933), 50-53.

Great Britain would ever declare war against Russia and (2) that Great Britain would conclude an alliance against Russia with France. Taking these into account, Brunnow suppressed material not in line with them in his reports. Brunnow was a very keen observer, understood the effect of public opinion on the British government, and would not have missed seeing the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* which occurred.¹⁴⁹ "It is probable that he knew his monarch too well to imagine the report of an ambassador would divert him from his resolution once taken."¹⁵⁰ The presence in England of a vocal and active peace movement may also have added to the tsar's conviction that Great Britain would not go to war.¹⁵¹ Cobden's belief in peace led him to assert in the House of Commons that, after all, Great Britain had very little commerce with the Ottoman Empire (!) and would probably gain in trade through Russian occupation of the principalities. Besides, the Hungarian invasion had shown that Russia was incapable of aggressive action without a British loan. He would not believe that Great Britain really wanted to defend a Muslim government in Europe against Christians. In the same debate Russell declared, "if peace at any price is a bad maxim, I cannot see that war at any price is at all better."¹⁵²

Below the level of parliamentary debate and diplomatic protocol, a feeling of antagonism toward Russia had developed in Great Britain.¹⁵³ Russia's role as the exponent of repression and absolutism (proved since 1844) was a new element abhorrent to the British. Furthermore, the vast size of Russia, a Russia still growing, added to the general conception of a large, devouring monster. With a rampant serfdom and obscurantist Christianity, actually a threat to civilization, Russia symbolized despotism and reaction. The crowning feature, in British eyes, was that Russia was threatening to become an amphibious Mediterranean power—and this was too much.¹⁵⁴

The burden of responsibility now falls only lightly on Napoleon III, and,

¹⁴⁹ Eckstaedt, I, 57-58, 66-67. In fact, Clarendon and Walewski deliberately spoke abnormally loud in Brunnow's presence of Anglo-French joint action which would follow if Russian policy toward the Ottoman Empire did not change. Princess de Lieven reported that Aberdeen wrote her that nothing could persuade him to make war against the tsar (Dec. 14, 1853). See Malmesbury, II, 415; Grunwald, p. 210.

¹⁵⁰ Eckstaedt, I, 67.

¹⁵¹ Henderson, pp. 125-36; Delord, I, 540-41. For an effective criticism of British diplomacy prior to hostilities, see James MacQueen, *The War: Who's to Blame? The Eastern Question Investigated from the Official Documents* (London, 1854).

¹⁵² *Hansard*, CXXIX, 1793, 1798-1802.

¹⁵³ Marx, *Eastern Question*, pp. 24-25, 94. Also Jánossy, pp. 110-11. The summary by William Stearns Davis, *A Short History of the Near East* (New York, 1923), pp. 310-15, finds Britain the guiltiest of the parties involved.

¹⁵⁴ Simpson, pp. 221-23; Hübner, I, 133; Malmesbury, I, 422. Russian destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Sinope brought the British public to the sudden realization of the naval implications of the whole Eastern Question.

as Florinsky notes, Nicholas I has also profited from recent scholarship.¹⁵⁵ Temperley has shown that the Ottoman Empire was fragile and that the tsar's anxiety for its survival was well founded.¹⁵⁶ Stratford de Redcliffe's virtual *carte blanche* and the confused state of British party politics must bear a heavy share of the blame.¹⁵⁷ "Lord Palmerston's action robbed Lord Aberdeen's conciliation of its grace; and Lord Aberdeen's conciliation took the strength out of Lord Palmerston's action."¹⁵⁸ A century of research has pointed out several areas which await further investigation and has brought us now to the conclusion that, like World War I, "The web of this vast tragedy was in fact woven from various and many-colored strands."¹⁵⁹ Essentially, all the principal powers wanted peace. The nature of conditions in the Near East, however, made some sort of action imperative and the cumulative momentum of resulting events pushed matters beyond human control.¹⁶⁰

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¹⁵⁵ Florinsky, II, 861.

¹⁵⁶ Temperley, *Crimea*, p. viii, chaps. vi-ix.

¹⁵⁷ Seton-Watson, pp. 301-303; Nesselrode, X, 229-30; Woodward, p. 241.

¹⁵⁸ Spencer Walpole, "Great Britain and the Crimean War," *Cambridge Modern History* (1909), XI, 315-16.

¹⁵⁹ Temperley, *Crimea*, p. viii. For a hasty statement of the "increasingly unstable power situation" in which "the seeds of the conflict lay," see Asa Briggs, "Crimean Centenary," *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, XXX (1954), 543-47.

¹⁶⁰ See Woodward, pp. 253-54, for a host of ironical "ifs" by which the war would have been avoided.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

A Note on Charles Austin Beard's Search for a General Theory of Causation

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

THE emphasis recently placed on the relativism of Charles Austin Beard's historiography tends to obscure another facet of his intellectual history. The clue to this second theme in his work lies in Max Lerner's observation that Beard was "as much a political thinker using historical techniques as he was a historian using political insights."¹ Lerner's evaluation is substantially correct for the first portion of Beard's career. This early period may be dated from his first book, *The Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1901), through his two volumes on foreign policy, *The Idea of National Interest*, with G. H. E. Smith (New York, 1934), and *The Open Door at Home* (New York, 1934). Beard then initiated, during the late years of this first phase of his work, a conscious effort to modify his methodological theory and practice. But he never formulated or employed a new approach to history with the same rigor that characterized his first system of thought. Several considerations would seem to account for this latter-day difficulty. He did not wholly discard his earlier outlook. He understood but imperfectly the second approach. And the new ideas were in themselves incomplete and unsystematized. Yet, in making this effort to broaden his early outlook, Beard was a pioneer who helped break new and fertile soil in American historiography.

"A treatise on causation in politics," judged Beard in 1908, "would be the most welcome contribution which a scholar of scientific training and temper could make."² Beard's early labor was essentially a search for such a general theory of causation. It was a quest for what he later called "predictive realism."³ Even the most off-hand survey of his work during these years reveals a central concern with correspondence, correlation, and causation. He uncovered the what and the when for the purpose of finding out the how

¹ "Charles Beard's Political Theory," in *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal*, ed. Howard K. Beale (Lexington, Ky., 1954), p. 25. (Hereafter cited as *Beard*.)

² *Politics* (New York, 1908), p. 32.

³ *The Discussion of Human Affairs* (New York, 1936), pp. 25, 40-41, 87, 92-93.

and the why. He readily admitted, of course, that the final statement of a general theory of causation would be made by someone with the "attributes ascribed by the theologians to God."⁴ Beard never claimed such qualifications. But he did stress the value and need of a synthesis, and did what he could to develop such an analytical tool. Call it tragic or pathetic, according to one's personal metaphysic, Beard studied history in the years from 1901 to 1934 as research for a general theory.

Beard presented a summary outline of his general theory in *The Economic Basis of Politics*, delivered first as lectures in 1916 and published in 1922. He had previously published *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (first ed., 1913) and *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1915) as fragments of his research for the theory. Then, in *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), *The American Party Battle* (New York, 1928), and *The Idea of National Interest*, he applied the theory to the whole span of American history. He also employed it as a tool for reviewing books; as, for example, in his analyses of Brooks and Henry Adams (1920), Frederick Jackson Turner (1921), and Vladimir Ilich Lenin (1933).⁵ And ultimately he used it as a basis upon which to formulate domestic and foreign policies for the future: "A 'Five Year Plan' for America" (1931),⁶ and *The Open Door at Home*.

In these same years, however, Beard began to modify his general theory. He announced and explored the shift in four essays on historiography: "Written History as an Act of Faith" (*American Historical Review*, XXXIX, January, 1934), "That Noble Dream" (*AHR*, XLI, October, 1935), *The Discussion of Human Affairs*, and, with Alfred Vagts, "Currents of Thought in Historiography" (*AHR*, XLII, April, 1937). His writings offer considerable, though incomplete, evidence on the reasons behind this shift. He seems to have grown tired and impatient with the difficulties of the theory—or concluded temporarily that they could not be solved. This was coupled with a discouraging realization that the chance-proof prediction of particulars was an illusory goal. Both these considerations are related to his discovery of the German theorists who worked in the wake of Wilhelm Dilthey. This part of the story, which remains largely untold, may be the most significant phase of Beard's historiographical history.⁷

⁴ *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1935 ed.), p. xii.

⁵ *New Republic*, Mar. 31, 1920, pp. 162-63; Feb. 16, 1921, pp. 349-50; May 17, 1933, pp. 22-24.

⁶ *Forum*, LXXXVI (July, 1931), 1-11.

⁷ Professor Lloyd Sorenson, a colleague at the University of Oregon, is currently investigating this phase of Beard's career. I am indebted to him for sharing with me his knowledge of the Germans and his estimate of Beard's relationship with their work.

Important parts of the explanation, to be sure, may be found elsewhere. Perhaps Beard was caught, ironically enough, in the validity of his theory, unable to accept, because of his own historical background, the very program that his theory pointed to as a solution for contemporary problems.⁸ Current issues, such as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's developing foreign policy, certainly distracted him to an increasing extent. And perhaps a personal crisis, of which the outsider knows nothing, served as the incident to shift his whole approach to history. Whatever the final assessment, it is clear that Beard's historiography after 1934 was different from what it had been in the years before.

Much criticism of Beard confuses these two periods of his work. This is understandable. He did not wipe clean the slate in the late 1920's and the early 1930's. His later writing is confused. But it may help to clarify the situation if Beard's confusion is separated from that of his critics. Beard had two kinds of trouble with the Germans. They were themselves unable to resolve the dilemma which arose in the course of their own redefinition of history. And he misread or misunderstood their valiant efforts.⁹ An important clue to his failure to comprehend the Germans may be found in the carry-over, as he read them, of his earlier ideas about a general theory. Perhaps, too, he chose consciously to reject certain of their arguments, concluding that they did not offer satisfactory alternatives to elements of his own theory. Thus, because it came first and served as a background for this later activity, it may be helpful to review briefly Beard's development and employment of a general theory of causation in the years before 1934.

The main elements of Beard's general theory would seem to have been, in turn, the *Weltanschauung* of his youth and the writings of Karl Marx, James Madison, and Brooks Adams. Beard matured in the harsh work-a-day world of industrial America in the late 1880's and 1890's. He capped that experience with several exciting years in the midst of socialist agitation in Germany and the ferment of the labor movement in England. His life in the family home, his field trips from De Pauw to the stockyards of Chicago, his reconnaissance of the battle between German conservatives and socialists, and his labors in behalf of Fabianism in England all seemed to verify one central theme. Property was the stuff of politics.

Beard's male ancestors were landowning businessmen who thought and acted in terms of those responsibilities, opportunities, and precepts. He was reared in the same tradition, even to the point of being backed, as a high

⁸ Lerner touches upon this point in his essay in *Beard*, p. 44.

⁹ Conversations with Professor Sorenson.

school graduate, in a newspaper venture of his own. He never quite accustomed himself to the stir he provoked by pointing up the relationship between property and history. "People ask me why I emphasize economic questions so much," he once remarked with some wonder. "They should have been present in the family parlor, where my father and his friends gathered to discuss public affairs."¹⁰

Beard saw little in Chicago, Berlin, and London to change his early understanding of the world. His experience seemed only to verify his awareness that men and groups of different positions in the economic life of society looked at the world from conflicting points of view, and competed among themselves for influence and power. Beard may have moved away from the views of his father's particular group, but he did not retreat from this fundamental way of making sense out of the past which he studied or the present in which he lived. He may have changed his point of view in, but not about, the struggle. And it is easy to overemphasize the extent to which he shifted his opinion of given programs or policies. Beard never attacked private property as such, even in the heyday of the Progressive movement or the New Deal. He is reported to have remarked, at one point in his early years, that he was "almost a socialist."¹¹ But the leap from "almost a socialist" to a socialist is perhaps the longest in politics. Beard never made that jump. Both his critics and his defenders tend to overlook this essential fact.

Thus it is not surprising either that Beard was attracted by Marx's efforts to generalize about the relationship between the productive forces of society or that he never became a Marxian.¹² It is misleading to argue, or imply, as do many of his critics, that Beard merely seized James Madison as a hostage against those who attacked him as a Marxian after the publication of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. Beard never claimed he read Madison's *Federalist No. 10* while a college freshman and henceforth closed his mind to all other ideas. All he ever said or implied, and this at but one stage of his career, was that he came to consider Madison's theory of factions the most generally satisfying thesis about the engines of the "great transformations in society."¹³

¹⁰ Quoted by Eric F. Goldman in *Beard*, p. 2.

¹¹ Quoted by M. Josephson, "Charles A. Beard: A Memoir," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXV (October, 1949), 585-602.

¹² The key sentence in B. C. Borning, "The Political Philosophy of Young Charles A. Beard," *American Political Science Review*, XLIII (December, 1949), 1177, would seem to verify this: "At any rate, it is plain that his economic interpretation of American history constituted no sudden break in his developing thought."

¹³ "The Economic Basis of Politics," *New Republic*, Sept. 27, 1922, p. 128.

Of course Beard "discovered Madison a good deal later than he discovered Karl Marx." Beard first read Marx as a student at De Pauw, again while in England, and once more during the Great Depression. But this chronology does not prove that his theory of causation was produced by "a grafting of Marx on Madison."¹⁴ Joan Robinson has remarked, in her usual witty and penetrating manner, that "Marxism is the opium of the Marxists."¹⁵ The manner in which Beard is persistently treated as a Marxian, either explicitly, implicitly, or by innuendo, suggests that there is a corollary to her axiom: Anti-Marxism is the opium of the non-Marxists.

Those who call Beard a Marxian would seem to make the fundamental error of equating economic determinism with Marxism. Economic determinism is an open-ended system of causal analysis. Marxism, as generally understood and as used by the critics of Beard, is a closed system of utopian prophecy. Beard tried to clarify the difference between these two systems by pointing out that the ancients, from Aristotle to James Harrington, had emphasized economic differences as a source of dynamic conflict and change. He might have done better to quote Marx or Lenin on the question. Both men readily admitted that earlier thinkers stressed the relationship between economics and politics.

Lenin spelled out the difference that existed in his mind between an economic determinist and a Marxian in one classic sentence in his essay *The State and Revolution*. "A Marxist is one who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*." Whether Lenin might more accurately have written Communist for Marxist is by no means an irrelevant question. It would seem, indeed, to be a very crucial one. But here the key point is that Beard never extended his acceptance of the class struggle to an acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The only inevitability that Beard ever accepted was the certainty of conflict and change.

Beard was keenly aware of the central problem of economic determinism. Postulating a connection between economics and politics raises the question of defining and analyzing the nature of the relationship. The difficulty is overcome with relative ease in cases where the record makes it possible to trace economic motives from rational calculations of profit through to the formulation of public policy and political action. Beard correctly insisted that this specific pattern could be established in more instances than many of his critics cared to admit. But it may be doubted, despite several sugges-

¹⁴ Douglass Adair, "The Tenth Federalist Revisited," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., VIII (January, 1951), 60-61.

¹⁵ *On Re-Reading Marx* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), p. i.

tions that have been made to this effect, that he generalized these precise examples into a general theory based on the economic motive.¹⁶

Beard quite understood that economic determinism runs into its most difficult theoretical problem when the circumstances are generalized beyond the realm of individualized and specified rational calculations of profit. Here is a situation in which the calculus operates at the much broader level of maximizing achievement. Achievement, as Beard appreciated, includes such considerations as attaining prestige and status, and holding the line against loss and outside challenges, in addition to increasing economic gain. He also knew, from reading their correspondence (as well as their polemics), that Marx and Engels fretted over the relationship between economics and other phases of human development. References to the "reflection" of economics into ideas, to the "superstructure" of ideas, or to the "correspondence" of economics and ideas, do not answer this central question. But just because Beard concerned himself, in some instances, with economic motives does not mean that he artificially restricted economic determinism to that level of analysis. This is to take an argument advanced to account for one specific relationship and, for purposes of general evaluation, make it into a general theory. Such practice would seem to reveal more about the critic than about the subject.

Beard himself turned, at this point, from Marx to Madison because he concluded that Madison's system of factions handled the relationship between economics and politics in a more subtle, supple, and satisfying manner. Beard's commitment to *The Federalist No. 10* suggests that Madison's careful analysis is worthy of serious attention in an age when social scientists labor mightily to construct complex and logical models of the social system. Such a review is useful on two counts. It may serve to clarify Madison's work, which is significant in its own right as a theory of causation. And it is more illuminating to discuss Beard's early production in terms of his efforts to test and apply Madison's basic theory than it is to criticize Beard as no more than a Progressive who used scholarship as a weapon in politics. The following analysis of Madison's system is designed to serve both purposes.

The most striking, and in a sense misleading, feature of the *No. 10* is the small part of it actually given over to the problem of causation. Madison devoted by far the greatest portion of his paper to a defense of the Constitution as a device for moderating the very consequences of his law of causation. "Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed

¹⁶ Adair, Lerner, Hofstadter, and Morton G. White all lean toward the view that Beard's theory was based on the economic motive.

Union," he explained, "none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction."¹⁷ But his general theory was no less complete for the brevity of its statement. He had worked it out in great detail, and with much thought, in preparation for the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. This enabled him to state it precisely and vigorously in the opening section of the *No. 10*.

A faction, Madison begins, is "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse or passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community." Four aspects of this definition need emphasis. (1) Madison immediately denies the homogeneity of society. (2) He subdivides it into an unnumbered plurality of groups. To each of these smaller units he attributes the characteristics of the "in-group," both as to its own internal system and its attitude toward "out-groups," as defined by contemporary sociologists and psychologists. (3) He likewise specifies the role of belief or ideology as a motivational engine functioning in series or parallel with material interests. (4) And finally, the term *aggregate* is one lately coming back into favor among the most rigorous and advanced economic theorists as descriptive of the important over-all consideration in any economic calculus.

Madison next developed his theory of personal and group motivation. Being human, man's "opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other; and the former will be objects to which the latter will attach themselves." Here Madison wasted no effort trying to destroy the idea, or the reality, of self-interest as the mainspring of motivation. Instead he stated and argued, in twenty-odd words, the thesis that self-interest is subjective rather than objective. An individual's idea of self-interest is formed by the pressures of his ego, his libido, ideas and ideals, and by rational calculations of material gain.

Madison goes beyond this ancient truth so elaborately and eloquently revealed by modern scholarship. As an animal, however human, man is born unequal in his passions and his reason. The many combinations of varying degrees of self-love and reason lead to "different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, from which the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties." In itself this is a most sophisticated equation composed of three variables interacting through time.

¹⁷ *The Federalist* (Modern Library ed.), pp. 54-56.

Madison's superb command of the language may have erected, at this point, a barrier against later students of his work. For he has stated, in very few words, a subtle system of causation. It starts with passion and ability, progresses to rewards, which, in turn, affect passion and ability. Let it be followed with care. (1) In any given individual, man's passions, for ideas as well as sexual objects and material goods, and his self-love are found in varying combinations. (2) Likewise, the faculty of reasoning power and the ability to carry out a given conclusion are also present in different degrees. (3) By virtue of these two variables, it follows that the extent to which a man is able to acquire valuable property in the form of intellectually valid conclusions and material wealth is also unequal. (4) To this acquired property, be it intellectual or material, his own self-love immediately becomes attached. (5) But, and to Madison's entire system this is all-important, this property also exerts a reciprocal influence on the individual's initial concept of his self-interest. This property, concludes Madison, "would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity."

Madison concludes by placing his system in time and in the real world. Initial inequalities of temperament and intellect are brought to bear upon the aggregate of society's resources and lead to inequalities of material property. This unequal division of the existing aggregate takes two forms. First, there is the broadest split between those who are creditors and those who are debtors. Secondly, within the creditor class there are different kinds as well as degrees of wealth. Madison here anticipated the functional school of sociologists by specifying a "landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantilist interest, a moneyed interest," and many other "lesser interests."

Such unequal division of society's aggregate material wealth is the "most common and durable source of factions." Thus at the given moment of a specific birth the new man begins his competition for a share of this aggregate property on the basis of a double inequality. His native endowment is unequal and the existing aggregate is already divided on an unequal basis. This was, in summary, Madison's general theory, which Beard found more attractive than Marx's schema and which he set out to test through research in American history.

Three problems arise in dealing with Beard's efforts to validate and use Madison's theory of politics. First, there is the question of Beard's misunderstanding or distortion of the system. Second, it is important to place *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* and *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* in their proper relation to Beard's work with the theory. And third, Beard's subsequent use of the system needs to be examined. Only

then will it be possible to gain some understanding of the way in which Beard later tried to integrate the ideas of various German thinkers and the theory of Brooks Adams into the Madisonian system.

Morton G. White and Douglass Adair charge most directly that Beard misread or distorted Madison. White argues that Madison's theory, far from being economic determinism, is based on a "biological rooting of class differences in human nature."¹⁸ Adair insists that Beard ignored Madison's list of noneconomic factions. He also claims that Beard is guilty of a "misstatement" in failing to deal with Madison's reference to man's "reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions," as well as to the influence of material interests.¹⁹ Both critics would seem to overlook important considerations in drawing up their indictments.

White is correct on one point. Madison does posit men as being born unequal. But White does not mention that Madison immediately modifies this biological determinism by noting the influence of property "on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors." Madison insists that a man's property "would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity." White also neglects Madison's awareness that biological inequality is modified by the fact that men are not born into a state of nature but into the inequality of a going society.

A good case could be made that biological inequalities would be the key factor in a continuing state of nature. This would seem, indeed, the only circumstance in which biology could function in a deterministic manner. But Madison was not theorizing about a state of nature. He was writing about a very real world. And beginning at least as early as John Adams, many Americans have stressed the fact that the economic circumstances of birth powerfully modify the biological inequalities of conception.²⁰ Nor is it by any means certain that the biological inequalities which survive the friction of existing class differences play a determining part in later competition and achievement.²¹ The property complex of birth includes, furthermore, the

¹⁸ *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (New York, 1949), pp. 119, 123-24.

¹⁹ Adair, "Tenth Federalist Revisited," p. 60.

²⁰ John Adams, "The Right Constitution of a Commonwealth Examined," quoted by Beard in *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 300-303; F. W. Gregory and I. D. Neu, "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's," in *Men in Business*, ed. William Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 193-211; Donald R. Matthews, *The Social Background of Political Decision Makers* (Garden City, N. Y., 1954); the studies by W. Miller referred to in his "The Business Elite in Business Bureaucracies," *Men in Business*, p. 286; C. W. Mills, "The American Business Elite: A Collective Portrait," *Journal of Economic History*, Supplement, V (December, 1945), 20-44; F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders* (New York, 1932); R. W. Wald and R. A. Doty, "The Top Executives—A Firsthand Profile," *Harvard Business Review*, XXXII (July-August, 1954), 45-54.

²¹ Albert T. Lauterback, *Man, Motives, and Money: Psychological Frontiers of Economics*

amount and availability of undistributed property as well as the allotment of the titled claims. And the importance of biology would seem to vary, in considerable part at any rate, with the amount of unclaimed property.²²

Madison's emphasis on the influence of property on passion and reason indicates his keen awareness of these considerations. The property complex into which one is born immediately modifies the significance of the biological endowments of birth. Or, in Madison's language: "From the protection of different and unequal facilities of acquiring property, the possession of different kinds of property immediately results." But property inequalities could not result immediately from biological inequalities, no matter how favorable the government's policy toward biological inequalities, unless the official protection served to guarantee property differences at the instant of birth. Madison does not appear, upon a close reading, to be a biological determinist in quite the sense that White argues.

Adair's charge that Beard misrepresents Madison would seem also to be a bit wide of the mark. Adair's basic assertion is all inclusive: "when Beard paraphrases from *Federalist* 10 . . . his method is to quote one passage of that essay incompletely; to change subtly, but decisively, a key element in Madison's theory into Marxian terms; and then to buttress this misstatement of Madison's 'economic determinism' with a footnote which is almost a verbatim transcription of a paragraph by Engels."²³ The fact that Beard cited a source that his critics traced to Engels is clearly irrelevant to the question of whether Madison was distorted and may be ignored in considering Adair's central thesis.

Adair specifies that Beard omitted Madison's catalogue of noneconomic factions and discounted Madison's point that opinions can cause factional conflict. These particulars are literally correct. But Adair, in making the charge against Beard, neglects to quote Madison on two key points. He does not mention Madison's careful notation that property exerts a reciprocal influence on opinion. And here again, the circumstances of birth have much to do with later opinions. Nor does Adair quote Madison's concluding judgment on the manifold causes of faction. The catalogue of noneconomic factions ends with this unequivocal summary: "But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property." Perhaps Madison, after all, is the best authority on the extent of Madison's economic determinism.

(Ithaca, 1954), pp. 24-28; George Katona, *Psychological Analysis of Economic Behavior* (New York, 1951), p. 197.

²² Walter P. Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Boston, 1952).

²³ Adair, "Tenth Federalist Revisited," p. 60, and n. 25.

Having shifted his attention from Marx to Madison, Beard proceeded to subject Madison's theory to a series of two inquiries. The first was an elementary correspondence test. With this he sought primarily to check Madison's thesis that, despite many noneconomic causes of factions, the "most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property." He did the bulk of his research in the archives of the Treasury Department. And the resulting book became first notorious and then famous under the title *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. Beard's second project was more complex. He undertook an examination of Madison's contention that property influences opinion. His research materials for this study included political speeches, pamphlets, and treatises, as well as the raw facts of economic history. Though in many ways more stimulating than the first volume, the *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* did not win the attention awarded the book on the Constitution. Largely on the basis of these two monographs, however, Beard went on to state publicly his broad acceptance of the general theory that economics is the basis of politics.

Any review of the relationship between Beard's search for a general theory and his reputation-making book on the Constitution may well begin with Professor Richard Hofstadter's recent analysis of the volume.²⁴ Hofstadter offers a different explanation for Beard's original interest in the economic standing of the Constitution-makers. "The answer," he writes, "must be found in the fact that Beard was not simply a scholar; he was, and remained his life long, a publicist with an urgent interest in the intellectual and political milieu in which he lived." Thus Beard was caught up in the Progressive movement's concern with "the motives and activities of the rich and established classes." And Progressive reality "was the bribe, the rebate, the bought franchise, the sale of adulterated food."²⁵ If this reading is correct, Hofstadter sees Beard primarily concerned with economic motives rather than with any

²⁴ "Charles Beard on the Constitution," in *Beard*, pp. 75-92. This concentration on Hofstadter's essay results neither from neglecting nor discounting Eric F. Goldman's essay, "The Origins of Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIII (April, 1952), 234-49. Hofstadter's interpretation includes Goldman's more specific thesis that Beard was caught up in the liberal movement that used Darwinism to "oppose Social Darwinism" (pp. 237, 247). Goldman does not, like Hofstadter, stress the Progressive movement's concern with sordid economic motives. But, like Hofstadter, Goldman does separate the book on the Constitution from the volume on Jeffersonian Democracy; and, like Hofstadter, does not see either book as primarily an effort to test Madison's general theory. Robert E. Thomas, "A Reappraisal of Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*," *American Historical Review*, LVII (January, 1952), 370-75, questions Beard's Progressivism. C. M. Kenyon, "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XII (January, 1955), 3-6, criticizes Beard. This essay was written before the publication of Robert E. Brown's study, *Charles Beard and the Constitution* (Princeton, 1956). Hence it does not deal explicitly with Brown's analysis of Beard.

²⁵ "Beard on the Constitution," pp. 85-87.

hypothesis about interests and ideas. The bias of Progressive thought accounts for the contrast between Beard's meticulous work on the economic background of the Constitution-writers and his rough outline of their political ideas.

Hofstadter's perceptive social-psychological analysis would seem to be a projection of his "psychic crisis" interpretation of the 1890's.²⁶ Such a stimulating hypothesis can not, of course, be counted out as wrong. His retrocast of the Progressive climate of opinion is especially illuminating. Yet two reservations may be introduced. Both concern the methodological dangers inherent in his approach. Hofstadter begins by placing Beard in the generalized Progressive movement. This technique is useful provided the actor, in this instance Beard, is not lost in the abstracted system of the group. But Hofstadter does mislay Beard's individuality. He has to fall back on the only device he has left. He reads the generalized character of the movement back into Beard. This creates a fictional protagonist in place of a historical character. Such procedure is useful for broad generalization, and perhaps for purposes of prediction, but certainly less so for understanding a specific individual.

The second weakness of Hofstadter's interpretation stems from the propensity, when using psychology at historical distances, to doubt all statements by the actor about his own motivation and purpose. Such scientifically founded skepticism is likely to become unjustified disregard in the course of the research. Testimony is not always proof, but neither is it always irrelevant. And Hofstadter would appear to neglect the latter consideration in discounting so heavily Beard's explanation of his study of the Constitution.

Hofstadter's analysis of Beard's research *Weltanschauung* is helpful if taken with these reservations. Certainly Beard was conscious of the Progressive thesis on property, profits, and politics. But it may be recalled that he learned the basic principle involved, but with a different nuance, in the parlor of his own home. Beard no doubt anticipated, as Hofstadter suggests, the potential influence of his study. Yet involvement in reform politics does not hinge on a commitment to the profit motive thesis. There is still reason to believe that Beard had more in mind. A second look at the book seems to verify Beard's avowed purpose of testing a portion of Madison's general theory. Beard immediately announced that the work was "frankly fragmentary" and "designed to suggest new lines of historical research." And within a few pages he specified his particular method: "the inquiry which follows is based upon the political science of James Madison."²⁷

²⁶ "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines," in *America in Crisis*, ed. Daniel Aaron (New York, 1952), p. 173.

²⁷ *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, pp. xix, 14.

Such use of the phrase "based upon" has no meaning save in the sense of being "guided by." This would seem clearly to indicate Beard's interest in evaluating Madison's theory. The more so, since he next proceeded to clarify which proposition he chose to test. Essentially it was very simple. He proposed a direct check on the correspondence between the economic standing of a given group of citizens and the political opinions and actions of the same group. An identity would create, he argued, "a reasonable presumption in favor" of Madison's conclusion that "the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property." That is all Beard claimed for the book. "To carry the theory of the economic interpretation of the Constitution out into its ultimate details," he carefully noted, "would require a monumental commentary."²⁸

Hofstadter sees an ambiguity in Beard's refusal also to deal in similar detail with the political ideas of the group in question. There are two comments, beyond an exposition of Beard's own answer, which seem relevant to a discussion of this emphasis in Beard's research. First, the Constitutional Convention was the focus of a crisis situation. The men in attendance agreed on basic issues. Their compromises in Constitution Hall were tactical in nature, not strategic. The strategic compromise came later, when the decision was made to accept the Bill of Rights. Second, the political ideas of the Constitution-makers had been explored in considerable detail. Beard could reasonably assume that his readers were acquainted with that side of the story.

Hofstadter also comments on Beard's occasional references to the fact that certain of the document-writers were personally involved in the "outcome of their labors at Philadelphia." And he would seem, in the final judgment, to interpret such remarks as evidence for Lerner's argument that Beard was concerned with a theory of economic motives rather than with a general theory of economic determinism. But in view of the basic structure of the book on the Constitution, which follows Beard's announced object of running a simple, if detailed, correspondence test, Hofstadter's argument can not be accepted without considering the companion study of Jeffersonian Democracy.

Nor does the fact that specified, particular men acted from economic motives contradict, deny, or destroy a broader theory of economic determinism. Certainly not for Marx. Marx many times said that he was not primarily concerned with moralizing about motives. But he never denied that businessmen did, upon occasion, act from economic motives. And Madison, working within the general concept that property influences opinion, also left room

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

for motives. "No man is allowed to be a judge in his own cause because his interest would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity." All Beard said in the book on the Constitution was that a given body of men did, in a specific crisis, act in keeping with their interests. Upon this evidence he concluded that his correspondence test had, in fact, "a reasonable presumption in favor" of Madison's insistence that property was the most common and durable cause of faction.²⁹

The thesis that Beard's volume was in essence the work of a Progressive in scholarship sheds even less light on the *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*. This book was published but two years later. And it was in progress for at least two years before its release in September, 1915. It may seriously be doubted that Beard wrenched himself out of the Progressive milieu in the interval. His resignation from Columbia was still to come. That act certainly fitted the Progressive ethic—as did his statement of termination. Yet his study of the Jeffersonians is cut to the same theoretical pattern as the volume on the Constitution. The fathers of Progressivism come off no better than the authors of the Constitution. Beard concluded that the Republicans, too, went into politics on the basis of their economics. This opens up something of a gap in the argument that Beard's book on the Constitution was at bottom a Progressive indictment of wealthy conservatives on the ground that they were economically motivated. For such an interpretation offers no explanation of Beard's similar conclusion about the motivation of the Jeffersonians.

The study of the Jeffersonians goes beyond the technique of the correspondence test to an analysis of ideas. Beard does establish, of course, a correspondence between opinion and property as the basis for subsequent research. In this he found that factions began to arise within the property-holding class soon after its various elements had collaborated to establish a creditor's government. This division was based on the kinds of property within the wealth-owning group. This correlation set the stage for further inquiry.

Beard's chapters on the political economy of John Adams, John Taylor, and Thomas Jefferson are clearly designed to examine two other aspects of Madison's theory: first, the degree to which noneconomic causes account for factions; and second, the time at which the reciprocal influence of property on opinion begins to act. Beard's analysis of the ideas of these three men is some of his best work. It might more often be remembered by those who criticize so freely his volume *The American Spirit*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.

Beard strikes to the core of the problem in the essay on Adams. Adams, like Madison, in the beginning goes beyond economic facts to account for the origin of faction. But, as Beard emphasizes, Adams immediately qualifies this by remarking upon the influence of property on native endowment. "Generally those who are rich and descended from families in public life," Adams points out, "will have the best education in arts and sciences, and therefore the gentlemen will ordinarily, notwithstanding some exceptions to the rule, be the richer, and born of more noted families."³⁰ This proposition reinforced Madison's general theory, and Beard interpreted it in such fashion. By thus establishing Madison's system in time and society, through considering men as born into an existing correspondence between ideas and interests, Beard felt he had done much to verify Madison's system. "The grand conclusion," he wrote in *The Economic Basis of Politics*, "seems to be exactly that advanced by our own James Madison in the Tenth Number of the *Federalist*."³¹

Beard went on to interpret the whole span of American history within this framework. Or, more exactly, that seems to have been his thought and intention. But he did not apply rigorously the very theory of causation which he had worked so hard to validate. He was at the outset confronted by a Gargantuan job of research. His recognition of the immensity of the labor involved may have been, indeed, a realization that helped ultimately to turn him away from his original concern with "predictive realism."³² His poignant remarks about not being able to encompass history-as-actuality need to be read in the context of his comment, in 1913, that the "ultimate details" of an economic interpretation would require a "monumental commentary." The following comment on *The Rise of American Civilization* and *The Idea of National Interest* is made with such limitations in mind. Even so, the books are certainly among the best Beard ever wrote.

Beard had several difficulties when he began to interpret the sweep of American experience with his general theory. The first was a product of his tendency to think primarily in terms of the crisis situation. This would seem understandable because his two inquiries into the validity of the theory were based on research into such circumstances. But it made him overconscious of Madison's first class of economic inequality, that between creditors and debtors. He was further inclined, on the basis of his early research, to stereotype that division as commercial and agrarian. This, too, tended artificially to freeze the flexibility of Madison's system.

³⁰ *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 300-303.

³¹ *The Economic Basis of Politics* (New York, 1945 ed.), p. 70.

³² *Discussion of Human Affairs*, pp. 25, 40-41.

Another factor bears on Beard's later problems. Both his early studies were made at a time when the aggregate property was fixed. In a crisis situation in which aggregate property remained static, such as the large property holder's drive to overthrow the Articles of Confederation in 1787 and the landed interests' bid to capture the national government in 1800, the broad division into creditor and debtor, or commercial and agrarian, remained generally valid when applied to specific kinds of creditors. Beard handled the breakup of the Constitutional coalition quite well on this basis.

A crisis version of Madison's system continued to work satisfactorily when dealing with similar episodes, such as the Civil War and the turn of the trade balance, in later American history. Thus Beard saw the Civil War as the "Second American Revolution" and stressed the shift from continental to overseas economic expansion. But a crisis version of Madison's system did not serve to interpret satisfactorily the decades of accumulative change: periods when the aggregate property was increasing or decreasing, and when different kinds of property led to the rise of factions within the creditor and debtor groups. Had Beard worked more closely within Madison's system, he would have avoided criticism of the kind made by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker in his study *The United States and the Independence of Latin America*. Whitaker analyzed, with exceedingly fruitful results, the functional factions within the commercial and agrarian classes.³³

Beard had further difficulties when he began to apply Madison's theory to American history after 1880. Then he had to contend with a highly complex industrial system. Here Beard knew fewer facts and understood far less about the system itself than he did when dealing with the pre-Civil War period. Nor did he take time to do the necessary research. He never prepared a monograph on industrial America that compared in quality or scope with his studies of the Federalists and the Jeffersonians. But he was perceptive enough to recognize his weakness.

Perhaps Beard's awareness of this limitation is implicit in the last chapters of *The Rise of American Civilization*. There his succession of bold generalizations begins to give way to a well-written recitation of events. He openly acknowledged his troubles a year later when he published *The American Party Battle*. He still praised and used Madison, but he also entered several reservations. Most of them pertained to the problem of getting the facts. "It takes a great deal of research and discernment to find the roots of 'different sentiments and views' in any particular political situation," he commented

³³ *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 36. Whitaker's best analysis may be found in sections IV and V of chapter 3, pp. 87-99.

with obvious disappointment, "especially as it is hard to get all the pertinent data in the case."³⁴ Yet despite these weaknesses in using Madison's general theory, *The Rise of American Civilization* and *The Idea of National Interest* stand among the very few first-rate generalized reviews of American history. They may suggest, in fact, that historians need not cringe when their contemporaries among the social scientists speak of the need for a general theory.

Beard's turn to the German theorists who were laboring to develop a new historiography is beyond the scope of this essay. Yet it may be suggested that his shift was neither sudden nor complete. He cited German scholars as early as 1913, in the book on the Constitution. Their influence reappeared in his discussion of Madison in *The American Party Battle*. He credited Max Weber and Friedrich Meinecke for portions of the conceptual framework of *The Idea of National Interest*. And he gleaned other key ideas from Karl Mannheim, Karl Huessi, and Albert Schweitzer.³⁵ But it seems dubious to conclude that Beard gave up his interest in a general theory in the course of his journey among the Herrenvolk. He did abandon, in the early 1930's, his search for predictive realism. But he quickly took up the challenge of a general theory that would promote an understanding of historical change and contemporary events. Then, to accomplish this, he put the Germans in harness with Brooks Adams for the purpose of bringing Madison's theory up to date. The result was the 1945 revision of the 1916 lectures, *The Economic Basis of Politics*.

Beard announced the end of his effort to achieve predictive realism through scientific history in his statement on "Written History as an Act of Faith." He openly joined those who were "rightly suspicious of this procedure."³⁶ And he appeared to accept, as a new basis for interpretation, the extremely relativistic code of "to each his own." Soon thereafter he consigned the efforts of Henry Adams, Oswald Spengler, and other like-minded prophets "to the realm of curiosities."³⁷ Personal, professional, and philosophical critics saw these remarks as Beard's white flag of surrender.

Yet Beard was trying to formulate something entirely different from the absolute relativism with which he has been charged. Beard abandoned predictive realism but he did not forsake the idea of valid generalizations. He

³⁴ *The American Party Battle*, pp. 5-11.

³⁵ *The Idea of National Interest*, p. 4, nn. 7 and 8, and continuing through the chapter. For a full review of Beard's work with the Germans see Lloyd Sorenson, "Charles A. Beard and German Historiographical Thought," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLII (September, 1955), 274-87.

³⁶ *Discussion of Human Affairs*, pp. 40-41, 87; "Written History as an Act of Faith," *AHR*, XXXIX, 222-23.

³⁷ "Currents of Thought in Historiography," *AHR*, XLII, 478.

did not give up his view that "relationships in history" could be ordered in "a certain coherence." Nor did he ever retreat wholly from his emphasis on the importance of economics. "An examination of the history of the forms of government action impinging on economy shows," he insisted, "that few if any of them originate outside the sphere of economic interests."³⁸

This left Beard with the old problem of the connection between economics and politics, and with his difficulties with relativism. He temporarily neglected the dilemma of relativism while he concentrated on the relationship between economics and ideas. This problem became acute, as he pointed out in 1928, when "two persons in the same economic situation and cherishing the same 'sentiments' may differ as to the best plan of action to advance their interests. Their motives may be purely economic and their prejudices identical, but their reasoning divergent."³⁹

Beard seemed, for a time, to view technology as the missing link. Men solved their production problems with solutions conditioned by the job. But engineering concepts also organized men as well as materials. These newly structured men then acted socially within the framework of their economic organization. "New economic facts," i.e., the production problem to be solved, "produce new political facts," i.e., the social action of the men organized by the job.⁴⁰

This line of thought led Beard into the sociology of knowledge. Here Huesli and Mannheim helped him avoid the absurdity of absolute relativism. Everyone has a frame of reference, concluded Beard, but the number available "are relatively few in number and their respective natures may be fairly well defined." He never hedged his debt to the Germans for their work in this area, calling it the "most important contribution of contemporary historiography to thinking about human affairs."⁴¹ Beard then used Schweitzer's methodology and schema of *Weltanschauungen* in an effort to define and understand the "American spirit."⁴² But he was unable, after establishing the concept in the first chapter, to pull the personal and group world views into one national *Weltanschauung* for the United States.

Beard's incomplete mastery of the Germans stemmed in considerable

³⁸ *Discussion of Human Affairs*, pp. 71, 73; "Currents in Historiography," p. 481.

³⁹ *American Party Battle*, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁰ C. A. and William Beard, *The American Leviathan: The Republic in the Machine Age* (New York, 1930), pp. 4-5, 84; and see C. A. Beard, "The Political Heritage of the Twentieth Century," *Yale Review*, XVIII (March, 1929), 459-60, 463; and "A 'Five Year Plan' for America," *Forum*, July, 1931, pp. 1-11, for further evidence of his interest in technology.

⁴¹ *Discussion of Human Affairs*, p. 111.

⁴² C. A. and Mary R. Beard, *The American Spirit* (New York, 1942), pp. 6-7; but compare all of chapter 1 with Albert Schweitzer, *The Philosophy of Civilization* (American ed., New York, 1949).

measure from his preoccupation with things more American. He gave the Germans less than full attention because he was tumbling along in the roughhouse debate over American foreign policy and the increasing centralization of economic and political power, and because he was excited about his rediscovery of Brooks Adams. Beard seems first to have responded to Adams in 1920. At that time he described as "troublesome" the introduction which Brooks provided for the publication of Henry's essays on methodology and scientific history.⁴³ But there is no trace of Brooks, or of his ideas, in Beard's published writings from 1920 to 1938.

The shock of the Great Depression seems to account, directly or indirectly, for Beard's return to Adams. Those were the years, to be sure, when Beard was abandoning the goal of predictive realism. Yet the depression cast new light on Madison's general theory. For Madison had called the shot on that major crisis from the distance of a hundred years. He had written, in 1829-1830, that economic and political tension would reach a critical point in a century, when the nation's aggregate wealth was again static, largely in the hands of a few citizens, and intensively developed.⁴⁴

Beard had the same trouble with Henry Adams. In 1920, when he was still strong on Madison's theory, Beard thought Henry's effort to create a science of history was a "barbed shaft into the center of the target." By 1936, when in full flight from predictive realism, Beard consigned Henry's work to the "realm of curiosities." But in 1937 it was difficult to forget Henry's prediction that a major turn in world history would occur about 1944. Henry looked even then to be something more than a disillusioned dilettante. By 1943 Beard had come full circle. Henry's ideas ranked "high among the most comprehensive, penetrating, and profound utterances ever made, at least in the United States, on the office of the historian and the nature of history."⁴⁵

Thus in the very years that Beard most decisively discounted the search for a general theory he was forced to admit that James Madison and Henry Adams advanced good briefs for the opposition. Beard soon thereafter discovered that behind the fame of Henry stood the mind of Brooks. It is difficult to establish precise dates for these events which renewed Beard's interest in a general theory. But it seems reasonable to hypothesize that they occurred between 1936 and 1939. For one thing, Beard had the idea of a restricted number of frames of reference by 1935. And in 1936 he summarized

⁴³ "Henry Adams," *New Republic*, Mar. 31, 1920, p. 62.

⁴⁴ Beard's references to Madison's prediction may be found, among other places, in *America in Midpassage* (New York, 1939), II, 936-38; and in *The Republic: Conversations on Fundamentals* (New York, World Book ed., 1943), p. 286.

⁴⁵ "Henry Adams," pp. 62-63; "Currents of Thought in Historiography," p. 478; "Introduction," to Brooks Adams, *The Law of Civilization and Decay* (New York, 1943 ed.), p. 13.

the other concepts he gained from the Germans. Yet his comments before a Senate subcommittee, at the end of January, 1937, on the proposal to license corporations at the federal level suggests that he was both familiar with and attracted by Brooks Adams' thesis on the steady and irreversible centralization of power.

Beard began his testimony by mocking the "futile antitrust battle of dust and wind" that had been going on for fifty years. Then he demanded that the federal government intervene to squash, once and for all, the "irresponsible and reckless . . . corporate jugglery" that threatened to ruin the country. This was quite in keeping, both in character and tone, with Brooks Adams' arraignment of Economic Man and his proposals for salvation.⁴⁶ Perhaps this testimony of January, 1937, sets too early a date, but there can be little question that Beard had rediscovered Brooks Adams by 1938. For, either late in that year or early in 1939, Beard wrote Malcolm Cowley that "Brooks Adams' two books are thumping [good]."⁴⁷

Adams attracted Beard for several reasons. Perhaps the most important was that Brooks, with Henry, had evolved a general theory that appeared to stand the test of later events. "With striking emphasis," Beard pointed out in 1946, "history-as-actuality since 1900 has verified many of their predictions."⁴⁸ Adams also used concepts very similar to those that Beard found among the Germans. He had done much to synthesize the two approaches, moreover, linking his Imaginative, Military, and Economic men to the material world in which they appeared and thrived. Thus Adams offered Beard a general theory that not only predicted within high probability limits but went far toward establishing a comprehensive connection between economics, psychology, politics, and ideas.

Beard could no more have resisted the appeal of Brooks Adams than he could have sailed away from America as an emigrant. Every major piece of historical writing that Beard published after 1940 bore the impact of Brooks Adams' two major volumes: *The Law of Civilization and Decay* and *The Theory of Social Revolution*. Beard first mentioned Brooks directly in *America in Midpassage*. Then, beginning in *The American Spirit*, Brooks received more and more attention. Beard took over almost verbatim his interpreta-

⁴⁶ *Federal Licensing of Corporations: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary on Senate Bill No. 10* (Washington, D.C., 1937), Part I, pp. 70, 72, 79. I am indebted to Professor Orde S. Pinckney, a colleague at the University of Oregon, for calling my attention to this testimony; it is not listed in the bibliography in *Beard*. C. A. Beard, "The Anti-Trust Racket," *New Republic*, Sept. 21, 1938, pp. 182-84.

⁴⁷ Quoted in *Books That Changed Our Minds*, ed. Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith (New York, 1939), p. 19.

⁴⁸ Comment in *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin 54 (New York, 1946), p. 13.

tion of John Quincy Adams. In later pages he discussed at some length Brooks's thesis on the causes and patterns of human activity.⁴⁹

A year later, in 1943, Beard republished, with a revealing and stimulating introductory essay, *The Law of Civilization and Decay*. And many of Beard's comments in *The Republic*, also published in 1943, are clearly related to the Adams thesis. Perhaps most striking of all is the space allotted to Adams in Beard's one-volume summary of American history, *A Basic History of the United States*. Beard gave approximately four pages of this small volume to a man he had ignored in the massive *Rise of American Civilization*.⁵⁰

Nor can Beard's last two volumes on foreign policy be dissociated from his work with Adams.⁵¹ The underlying theme of these volumes is Beard's fear that the inability to deal effectively with major domestic problems inclined political leaders to seek other explanations and solutions for their failure. Beard's concern with this tendency was apparent, of course, prior to his rediscovery of Adams. But the recession of 1937-1938 and Roosevelt's Quarantine Speech coincided with his intensive study of Adams. He began at this time to emphasize even more dramatically and militantly the ethics of centralized power.⁵² The temper and tone of these last two books was unique among all Beard's work. Beard was a patriot of the highest quality and this explains much of his intensity. But it does not appear unreasonable to associate these volumes with Beard's growing familiarity with the ideas of Brooks Adams. Adams argued persuasively that Economic Man was incapable of stabilizing his own creation. Outsiders had to take command. If this new leadership did not appear, or if it failed to accept or measure up to its responsibilities, the centralized corporate system would stagnate or destroy itself in war. The similarity between this thesis and Beard's last book is, at any rate, suggestive enough to be pointed out.

Beard had been at first shy of the cyclic theme in the early work of Adams. He could no more accept an Adams cycle than a Darwinian or Marxian utopia. He solved this by emphasizing Brooks's final conclusion that the future could develop along any of three lines: a reversion to barba-

⁴⁹ *America in Midpassage*, II, 921; *American Spirit*, pp. 21, 158-61, 379-83.

⁵⁰ "Introduction," to Adams, *Law of Civilization and Decay*. *The Republic*, chap. XIII, and pp. 273, 284, 324, 336. One can not but wonder whether Beard's new emphasis, in *The Republic*, on the activities of military leaders after the Revolutionary War did not stem, in part, from his reading of Adams. C. A. and M. R. Beard, *A Basic History of the United States* (New York, 1944), pp. 303, 367, 378-79.

⁵¹ *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940: A Study in Responsibilities* (New Haven, 1946); *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities* (New Haven, 1948).

⁵² G. R. Leighton, "Beard and Foreign Policy," in *Beard*, pp. 169-81.

rism, stagnation, or a new resolution followed by further development. But Beard was denied the time to assimilate and use the Adams thesis. He was an actor in the very play he sought to understand. He could not spend himself warning of the dangers in the current scene and at the same time work out the plot for the next act. Thus his hurried revision of *The Economic Basis of Politics* was confused and self-contradictory. He attempted to transpose Adams into Madison. The translation was too rushed, too literal, and based on too little thought to be successful.

But once again Beard was trying to formulate and state a general theory. The struggle to comprehend, to know and understand, was ever the battle closest to Beard's heart. In this he stood a head taller than his contemporaries. They were content to write well of the particular. Beard aimed to speak significantly of the general. How well he knew exactly what he had in mind. "When I come to the end, my mind will still be beating its wings against the bars of thought's prison."⁵³ Indeed it was. And for that reason Beard will remain both a challenge and a measuring rod for American historians and their historiography.

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⁵³ Quoted by Goldman, in *Beard*, p. 7.

The Significance of Medicine in American History

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

AVERAGE life expectancy at birth, in the United States, is estimated to have been about thirty-two years in 1800. From this point it rose gradually to about forty-one in 1850 and to almost fifty in 1900. During the last half century, the increase accelerated and the figure reached approximately sixty-seven by 1950. Even males, the weaker of the two sexes, have now attained this limit. In a rough way, the rising expectancy up to 1900 can be credited to improvements in living standards, whereas acceleration in the rate of increase since that date can be ascribed to the impact of medical science.

No more basic change can come over the life of any people than such a rise in life expectancy. The phenomenon is characteristic of modern societies and is replete with social implications. It involves, at one end of the life span, the saving of vast numbers of young lives. It leads, at the other end, to the survival of increasing numbers of elderly persons—with all their attendant economic, physical, and psychologic difficulties. One may view this outcome as a fair exchange or even as a sign of progress. Were we to revive the disease conditions of 1850, consternation would ensue and we would face—in current parlance—a major threat to national security.

There are able critics, to be sure, who take a less optimistic view of medical achievements. It is pointed out that many whose lives are now saved by therapy, survive only in a state of chronic ill health. Since such persons may become burdens to themselves as well as to society, the question is raised: what price survival on these terms?¹ Whether or not the results have been ultimately beneficial, however, is beside the present point. For better or for worse, medicine has become one of the major institutions and influences in contemporary society. Stating the matter in terms of life expectancy is simply an abstract way of summing up a situation which expresses itself in many tangible forms.

In the economic field, for example, medicine has become big business. Total annual costs for medical services in the United States now exceed ten

¹ See, e.g., Peyton Rous, *The Modern Dance of Death* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 48; Iago Galdston, *The Meaning of Social Medicine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 32 and 82 ff.

billion dollars.² The hospital system is one of our largest industries in respect to funds invested and numbers employed. So, too, has health insurance grown to the proportions of a major business. One phase of this, compulsory government insurance, became a political issue during the last decade; and controversy in this area will probably command public attention for some time to come. Meanwhile, the changing age distribution of the population has initiated a series of social reactions. These include pension plans, novel types of hospitals, programs for employing elderly workers, and migrations to Florida and California; to say nothing of new medical specialties and of a mushrooming literature on all aspects of old age.

The implications of modern medicine are by no means limited to domestic developments. One of the serious problems in world affairs, today, relates to the impact which science and public health programs are exerting upon so-called underdeveloped regions. Some of these areas are already densely populated, yet the United States is committed to encouraging the improvement of their health services. If, in consequence, death rates fall and birth rates are not lowered, the specter of overpopulation will become very real. Tensions will arise which may transcend national boundaries and affect the international relations in which this country is involved.

It is unnecessary to labor further the significance of medicine in our own day. But what lies behind the present complex of medical science and services: how did this phase of our civilization evolve, along with other social institutions, over preceding centuries? In some respects, the story is only one aspect of the larger history of science. Recent medicine has been largely a matter of applying physical and biologic science to the particular problems of human illness.

On the other hand, medical history is somewhat distinct from that of the physical and biologic sciences for two reasons.³ First, some of the major trends in medical research—prior to the last seventy-five years—evolved in relative isolation from studies in the basic sciences. Second, the external or social history of medicine has been quite different from that of the other sciences. The interplay between medical science and its social environment was long more direct and intimate than was the case with sciences which seemed more remote from human concerns.⁴

² Odin W. Anderson, *National Family Survey of Medical Costs . . .* (Health Information Foundation, New York, 1954), p. 25.

³ Cf. George Sarton, "The History of Science versus the History of Medicine," *Isis*, XXIII (1935), 313-20; and Henry E. Sigerist, "An Open Letter to George Sarton," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, IV (1936), 1-13.

⁴ R. H. Shryock, "The Interplay of Social and Internal Factors in the History of Modern Medicine," *Scientific Monthly*, LXXVI (1953), 221-30.

It is true that the medical sciences, like others, have an internal logic of their own—a sort of intellectual homeostasis—which is independent of their cultural setting. The degree of this independence may not be as great as first appears, since ideas or values derived from a social context have a way of insinuating themselves into the thought of the most objective investigators. Yet situations do arise in which discovery *b* can follow only on discovery *a*, regardless of time, place, or circumstance. And if one restricts the account of a science to the development of this internal logic, then much of medical history may be treated, as noted, just as one theme in a general narrative about science.

Some scholars prefer to do this, holding that the history of scientific ideas should be detached from social and professional backgrounds. They are disturbed by the manner in which Marxian historians have correlated social factors and ideas, and they wish to avoid this procedure as a contamination of the history of pure science.⁵ To some of us, this reaction seems like throwing the baby out with the bath. We are convinced that social factors and the developments internal to a science are interrelated, and that any history which does not present these relations gives but part of the story and is apt to be misleading.⁶

If this view is accepted, medical history should include both internal and environmental aspects. And in that case the subject, although overlapping with the general history of science, has a certain autonomy of its own. It may be envisaged by the general historian as analogous to the history of education or of religion since, like these two other fields, medicine meets a need which is basic to all societies. Obviously, the term "medicine" is being used here in a broad sense, as including all efforts to preserve health and combat disease. It therefore encompasses occult, religious, and folk healing as well as science; and it involves social medicine, public health, and "medical care" as well as individual, curative services.

So conceived, medicine cuts a wide swath and its record should be included in any general history which seeks to explain the present scene. Some historians may hold, of course, that they are not primarily concerned with the background of current developments: they wish to take their cues from the past rather than from the present. And if the past is to be studied for its own sake, or by way of contrast, then the historian should emphasize those things which appeared significant to contemporary observers. Such premises, how-

⁵ See David Joravsky, "Soviet Views on the History of Science," *Isis*, XLVI (March, 1955), 3-13.

⁶ A discussion of this theme, by the present writer, appears in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIX (1955), 329 f.

ever, lead to much the same conclusions as would "presentism," as far as medical history is concerned. There is no lack of evidence that our ancestors took medicine seriously, in a literal as well as a figurative sense. How else, when medicine was constantly concerned with their most vital interests—with life and with death and with so much that mattered in between?

Sometimes this interest in medicine took dramatic form, as during serious epidemics. Recall Boston in 1721, when smallpox attacked half the population and when preventive medicine was introduced by the clergy—for the first time in history on any scale—over the violent protests of physicians and townspeople alike.⁷ Or picture Philadelphia in 1793, when yellow fever so terrified the town that federal, state, and local governments all disintegrated amidst general confusion. Everyone turned to the physicians for guidance and treatments, only to receive divided counsels and diverse therapy. The picture would be ludicrous were it not also tragic: with Benjamin Rush, patriot "signer" and physician extraordinary, proclaiming a sure cure through bleeding and purging. More realistic was his critic William Cobbett, who termed Rush's panacea "one of those great discoveries which are made from time to time for the depopulation of the earth."⁸

Epidemics frightened people into being good, in the sense that they led men to demand public health controls. For this reason we owe much to those diseases which happened to meet the specifications for arousing fear. Statues might well be erected, especially to yellow fever and to cholera, in commemoration of such services. But these were not the really devastating diseases: more menacing were the endemics which the public failed to take so seriously. Children's "complaints" and the chronic infections, malaria, hookworm, and tuberculosis: these were the millstones which ground slowly but exceeding small.⁹

There is no way now of measuring the results of endemic illness before 1900, yet these were far-reaching in the "sickly" American population of 1850 or even of 1875. Much so-called laziness in the rural South, for example, must have resulted from chronic malnutrition (grease and grits), hookworm infection, and malaria.¹⁰ But rural America had no monopoly on medical problems. "Consumption" was the great scourge of the cities. Little was done

⁷ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 345 ff.; Otho T. Beall, Jr., and R. H. Shryock, *Cotton Mather: First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (Baltimore, 1954), pp. 93 ff.

⁸ William Cobbett, *The Rush Light* (New York, Feb. 28, 1800), p. 49; John H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead* (Philadelphia, 1949), *passim*.

⁹ Mazyck P. Ravenel, "Endemic Diseases versus Acute Epidemics," *American Journal of Public Health*, X (1920), 761 ff.

¹⁰ R. H. Shryock, "Medical Practice in the Old South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXIX (1930), 160 ff.

about it and that little wrong. Indeed, the disease exerted after 1800 a sort of morbid fascination and is one of the few in history which was actually romanticized. A favorite subject among artists and literary lights, it was said to be a mark of genius; and many outpourings were devoted to the genteel female who went into a fascinating and hectic "decline."¹¹

Despite this contribution of "TB" to art and letters, the masses did not enjoy the malady. But what could they do about it? Physicians shook their heads and declared it hereditary: fatalism seemed the easiest mental adjustment which could be made. Public attitudes must depend, in large part, on scientific knowledge and knowledge was inadequate. Yet medical science was actually making marked progress in the nineteenth century and this opens up a significant theme in the history of ideas.

How was it that Rush could declare in 1800 that there was only one disease in the world, that by 1850 this doctrine was considered nonsense, and that by 1950—in a much modified form—it once more could be taken seriously? Whatever may be true in the physical sciences, medical thought does not proceed onward and upward in a straight line. It moves, rather, in an ascending spiral; in the course of which it returns to earlier positions on a higher level of understanding and effectiveness.

Rush stood for a generalized pathology, according to which the body was capable of only one basic disease reaction regardless of the nature of adverse stimuli. In Rush's view, this reaction was a sort of vascular hypertension and it could be relieved by generalized treatments—chiefly by bleeding and purging. Having the courage of his convictions, he was ready to remove up to four fifths of the patient's blood when faced by any clear and present danger.¹²

In reaction against such sweeping theories, the great "Paris school" of 1800–1850 developed a localized, structural pathology aimed at the identification of distinct or specific diseases. This was done by correlating clinical observations with autopsy findings, a method which is still essential in current medicine. Specific pathology thus opened the way to research, whereas the older, generalized pathology was static: a thinker like Rush knew all the answers.

Most Americans of 1800 accepted generalized pathology and therapy as a matter of course, though such an observer as Jefferson was highly critical of prevailing concepts. But after 1825 the fame of Paris attracted American students, who later returned to the States to preach the new medical creed. With

¹¹ René Dubos, *The White Plague* (Boston, 1952), chaps. 1–111.

¹² Benjamin Rush, "A Defence of Bloodletting," *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, 2d ed., IV (Philadelphia, 1805), 335.

few exceptions, they did just that but no more: they failed to establish pathologic research in this country on the French model. Meantime, medical education was commercialized and the results were disastrous. Why this failure?

The easiest answer is the old cliché about a "new country." Yet the United States possessed, by 1850, all that research needed in the way of wealth, urban centers, and medical institutions. Perhaps the fact that the country was expanding rapidly had some import, since this apparently contributed to a deterioration of professional standards. (Westward expansion precipitated other difficulties besides those concerning slavery.) Yet the failure to establish basic science in this country goes deeper into the nature of our culture. Briefly stated, the explanation seems to lie in the traditional practicality of Americans. Those who shared this outlook saw little that was useful in pathologic investigations.

Of what value was it merely to identify maladies, if no means of prevention or cure were available? Imagine the plight of the patient who was told that his case could now be diagnosed as typhoid rather than as typhus, but who was informed in the same breath that nothing could be done for either condition. This attitude of "clinical nihilism" was adopted in the best centers after the Parisians re-examined traditional therapy and found it wanting. Almost as discouraging was the fact that clinicians, in concentrating attention on diseases as such, lost from view the patient as a person and saw him only as an "interesting case" of this or that. The trend did not make for considerate treatment in the wards. Hence scientific medicine tended to rob patients—especially the poor—of such hope and comfort as they had once had. Under these circumstances the American public had small inclination to support the pure curiosity of medical investigators.¹³

In due course many Americans also lost faith in regular medical practice and turned to the sectarians (homeopaths, Thomsonians, and others) who promised the cures which candid physicians no longer believed possible. These sects, in their appeals to the people, took on the protective coloring of current attitudes—notably of anti-intellectualism, equalitarianism, and romanticism. There was some suspicion of a learned profession and of its Parisian inspiration. Oliver Wendell Holmes, trained in France, is said to have remarked that all good Americans went to Paris when they died. But one would gather, from lay comments, that admiration for French medicine had little to do with this particular vision of immortality. Gallic methods were

¹³ R. H. Shryock, *American Medical Research, Past and Present* (New York, 1947), pp. 30 ff.

ridiculed as a mere vogue, and pious Americans distrusted French physicians as cold-blooded materialists.

The sects were all for liberty and equalitarianism. If unorthodox religion was tolerated, why not also unorthodox medicine? If anyone could minister to souls, why not also to bodies? And if the success of churches depended on the judgment of the people, so too should the fate of rival medical professions. A state senator at Albany, who wished to license irregulars, declared in 1844 that: "A people accustomed to governing themselves . . . want no protection but freedom of inquiry and freedom of action."¹⁴ And a decade later, an editor of the *Democratic Review* suggested that the public choose between regulars and irregulars by comparing the death rates in their respective practices.¹⁵ Thus did the common man declare his inalienable rights to life, liberty, and quackery!

Nineteenth-century romanticism pervaded medicine on all levels, although it was somewhat inhibited in the best centers by the positivism of French science. There was a medical as well as a literary version of transcendentalism, which led physicians to orate solemnly on Nature and on Nature's God. This enabled them to hide their lack of originality behind a dignified religious or metaphysical façade.¹⁶ Sectarians and lay leaders were less restrained. The popular health cults of mid-century were inspired by the same ecstatic humanitarianism which characterized other social reform drives. Thus Sylvester Graham, of "Graham crackers" fame, envisaged an almost perfect world if men would but practice his "rules of life" and stay away from the doctors.¹⁷ Hygiene became a sort of secular religion, in whose name the more devout were willing to lead a truly austere life.

One should not imply, by all this, that Americans took no interest in serious medical science. Certain individuals made technical contributions which were well recognized in Europe; for example, those of the pathologist Gerhard in Philadelphia, of the surgeon Marion Sims in Mobile and New York, and of the physiologist Beaumont on the Michigan frontier. Yet even those contributions which Americans did make reflected, in most cases, their utilitarian outlook. Advances in dental and gynecologic surgery are good examples. Outstanding, of course, was the discovery of anesthesia in the 1840's.

¹⁴ C. B. Coventry, "History of Medical Legislation in the State of New York," *New York Journal of Medicine*, IV (1845), 160.

¹⁵ *U. S. Democratic Rev.*, whole ser., XXXV (1855), 263 ff.

¹⁶ See, e.g., D. L. Lord, *Introductory Lecture . . . at the Georgia Medical College* (Augusta, 1856), p. 11.

¹⁷ R. H. Shryock, "Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (1931), 172 ff.

The motivation for this achievement arose from current—and very practical—needs in dental practice. Having found means for repairing as well as pulling teeth, American dentists desired repeated visits from patients and some means for relieving the fears which this prospect aroused. General surgeons, in contrast, rarely expected to see the same patient a second time. Having long accepted the old pathology of humors and tensions, there had seemed to be little for them to operate on except obvious physical emergencies. Under these circumstances, there had been no strong incentive for revolutionizing traditional procedures. Indeed, when Humphrey Davy suggested the use of inhalation anesthesia about 1800, the idea was overlooked or ignored.

On the other hand, surgeons did adopt anesthesia rather promptly after Morton demonstrated it in 1846. But during just the interval between 1800 and 1846, generalized pathology had been superseded by specific, localized concepts of disease and possibilities for major surgery were beginning to appear. Greater interest was therefore developing in the whole field, and with this a desire for improved procedures. American dentists came up with an empirical answer and it was seized upon with enthusiasm. In this sense, anesthesia was a consequence as well as a cause of modern surgery.¹⁸ Europeans provided the essential outlook, Americans the method which fitted nicely into this conceptual scheme.

The next great advance in surgical procedures—the introduction of antiseptic methods—grew out of basic studies in bacteriology. And here, it will be noted, American medical men played no part. A number of them had advocated the “germ theory” during the early decades of the nineteenth century, but did so only on the grounds of epidemiologic evidence. They never carried the problem into the laboratory and hence arrived at no solutions. Whether this was because experimentation seemed impractical, or because no time or means for pursuing it were at hand, or just because of lack of imagination, is not clear. Whatever the explanations, fundamental science eluded American physicians in this as in other areas.

Basic medical research was not really cultivated in the United States until it gave promise of many useful applications. This happy stage was reached, about the end of the last century, when bacteriology, endocrinology, and a new surgery emerged from specific pathology. A more effective pharmacology, based on physiology and chemistry, also contributed to the same end. Americans, trained in these fields in Germany, were able to establish medical

¹⁸ Henry E. Sigerist, “Surgery at the Time of the Introduction of Antisepsis,” *Journal of the Missouri Medical Association*, XXXII (1935), 169.

research in this country as their French-inspired predecessors had been unable to do. The transit of culture was finally achieved after nearly three centuries of colonial dependence. The process was facilitated by the concomitant growth of wealth in this country and by the organization of the great foundations. These bodies made medical education and research, hitherto ignored by philanthropy, their chief beneficiaries.

As a result, the medical schools were transformed within a decade (1910-1920) and practice benefited accordingly. Here, again, the program came at an opportune time. Higher education as a whole was being thought out anew in this era and the process provided a favorable setting for reforms in professional training. Several leading medical schools, such as those at Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Michigan played important parts in the story. But it was no accident that the Johns Hopkins University, the first to emphasize research-centered, graduate programs, also provided outstanding leadership in the metamorphosis of medical education.¹⁹ By about 1920, medicine in this country had attained the levels of European science and had surpassed them in some areas. The general status of medical science, indeed, afforded one of the best indications that American culture was approaching maturity.

It was at this point that medicine began to exert the influence upon society which was noted at the outset. In earlier periods the relations had been chiefly unilateral: social conditions had profoundly influenced medicine but the latter had had no marked impact upon society. Thereafter, these contacts involved a two-way process.

The public became aware, even before World War I, that medicine was making contributions of great utility, and further achievements were eagerly anticipated. This popular concern was reflected and further stimulated by contributions to the popular magazines. Articles of this sort have become so numerous, indeed, that physicians themselves now need to know what patients have learned from lay sources; and a journal with the title "What Patients Read" has been provided in this connection. The public, nevertheless, continues to express traditional attitudes. There is little understanding of the basic studies behind discoveries, but tremendous acclaim is given the man who puts that last, finishing touch on research which renders it immediately useful. This lack of understanding may lead to distortions in public policy and is probably the price we pay for having overlooked the history of medicine and of other sciences in our educational programs.

Meantime, the fact that medicine was exerting a real influence upon society

¹⁹ R. H. Shryock, *The Unique Influence of the Johns Hopkins University on American Medicine* (Copenhagen, 1953), *passim*.

posed new problems. Because the public was now impressed by "the wonders of modern medicine" there was an increasing demand for medical care. But the very progress which aroused this demand also made services more costly and therefore more difficult to provide. A paradox appeared: the more people desired medical care the less they could afford it. One way out was to revive the eighteenth-century idea of health insurance, of which a vestige survived in the Marine Hospital system. This idea was all the more congenial after 1910 because economic developments had led to a demand for social security, and health insurance could be easily envisaged as part of a larger security program. Medicine thus became involved in one of the major social trends of our time, despite the opposition of many physicians whose outlook was primarily an individualistic one. We are all familiar with the resulting controversy over government health insurance and with the concomitant evolution of voluntary insurance of the same type.²⁰

While these interactions between society and medicine were under way, advances continued to be made within medical science. Technical progress ensued in many fields, but the public was naturally most impressed by therapeutic achievements—notably by the advent of the sulpha drugs, of the antibiotics, and of cortisone. Such drugs have increased the control over infections which was begun, more than two centuries ago, through preventive measures. Moreover, these same therapeutic advances—and especially the use of cortisone—have been associated with a partial return to generalized concepts in pathology. It is once more realized that the body reacts to adverse stimuli in general as well as in specific ways, and the employment of cortisone affects the general rather than the specific responses. Hence this hormone helps in treating various, quite distinct conditions—much as bloodletting was once believed to do.²¹

Hereafter, medicine must heed generalized as well as specific aspects of illness, and the former will include not only body reactions as such but also their relation to mental states and social backgrounds. Broader perspectives of this sort reflect the rediscovery of the patient as a person; that is, as a totality in which somatic conditions are interrelated with personality and the latter, in turn, with social and cultural circumstances. Familial or occupational tensions, as well as physical factors, may be involved in the genesis of disease. More attention, finally, should be given to the sociologic aspects of the healing

²⁰ R. H. Shryock, *The Development of Modern Medicine* (New York, 1947), pp. 403–30.

²¹ See George W. Grey, "Cortisone and ACTH," *Scientific American*, CLXXXII (1950), 35 f.; Hans Selye, *Physiology and Pathology of Exposure to Stress* (Montreal, 1950), pp. 1 ff., 774 ff.

arts and institutions, if these are to attain maximum effectiveness.²² This orientation, although not yet well established, is basic and promising.

Today, with control over infectious and deficiency diseases well advanced, the great challenges to science are the mental, the malignant, and the degenerative diseases. There is no certainty that these problems will be solved in the near future, but they are being increasingly attacked on biologic and psychologic as well as on empirical levels. If science achieves a measure of control over these chronic conditions, comparable to that accomplished against many infections, the average life span will be further extended. Even a modest rise in this figure, say of three to five years, would have social repercussions.

Whether any major increase of life expectancy at birth can be now anticipated—such as actually occurred, 1900–1950—remains a somewhat speculative question. Condorcet, Franklin, and other eighteenth-century savants envisaged the indefinite prolongation of life as a goal of science; but it has been often pointed out that recent achievements have not extended the maximum (and presumably biologic) limits of the life span. If the day ever does come when a much higher expectancy is attained, the most momentous results would obviously follow. The future of society would then turn in no small degree on developments in medicine, much as the outcome in medicine has always depended in part upon trends within society.

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²² See, e.g., Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine* (New York, 1954), *passim*; also the work by Galdston cited in note 1 above.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

CARL BECKER: ON HISTORY AND THE CLIMATE OF OPINION.

By *Charlotte Watkins Smith*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 225. \$3.75.)

To the outsider, someone who never saw Carl Becker but merely came to read him one day, as he might have read any one of a dozen other sparkling historical writers, it may seem curious that for ten or eleven years Becker has been dead and still no substantial study of him has been published. A number of brief memoirs, of course, Leo Gershoy's and George H. Sabine's in particular, informal and intimate and charming. But no life. Perhaps, one might have concluded, there had been no life to write, nothing but an intellect at work. Perhaps Becker's work stood by itself, requiring no explanation and no defense.

Not everyone has thought so. Indeed, quite apart from anything else, there have been enough attacks upon Becker's relativist approach to make it worthwhile saying a little more about him. The present study attempts to define the limits of his thought, the art of his writing. Possibly someone will one day have a complete collection of papers at Cornell and sit down to write a full biography; the glimpses of him offered by his friends, and now by Mrs. Smith, suggest it could be a good one. The author has here limited herself principally to analyzing his work, not, however, without revealing the warm-hearted, outwardly cool, somewhat shy, culturally limited (music and art were evidently closed to him), sympathetic, and unorthodox teacher committed to the tragic view of man; a writer who found a theme, a skeptic, an intellectual relativist who established a scale of values and did what he could toward the end of his life to fight for them. Drawing on his occasional diaries and notebooks, his surviving letters, his files of notes and his formal works, as well as some of his friends, she has filled out the familiar picture, distinguished him successfully, I think, from Charles A. Beard, and reviewed again the inconclusive Becker-Mandelbaum debate. And not without recognizing the essential weakness of his philosophical frame of reference (the assumption that ultimate truth, that the possibility of knowledge itself, existed). For Becker never quite pursued relativism to the end. He was, to some extent, firmly committed. He therefore occupied a place somewhere between the positivists and the relativists *à outrance*. If it was not logical, it made sense to him in his time. And that was enough.

Every reader knows that Becker wrote well—all those drafts, the search for perfection, the effort. Thus two of Mrs. Smith's chapters may seem less than

happy. Perhaps it is useful to try to dissect the art of writing, I don't know. Perhaps when you have a draft or two which you can compare with the finished work the temptation is irresistible. But you are bound, whoever you may be, to be somewhat clumsy about it. And does it really help the subject, or anyone else? Can you be sure why this word was struck out, and that one shifted from here to there? If it isn't exactly a mystery, isn't it all a little too personal a process to be communicated by some third person? Doesn't analysis here tend to suggest too much the crude mechanics of something highly subjective, sensitive, which can be experienced but hardly demonstrated? We are not Becker; we cannot even look over Becker's shoulder. Mrs. Smith does her best, but, to be frank, even this sometimes made me wince. Might not the shade of Becker repeat what once he said to another complimentary lady, "Well, Madam, for forty years I have been sitting behind a desk doing nothing but write and I should be able to express myself lucidly"?

One last niggling criticism. Surely to call him "Mr. Everybody's Historian" is to suggest some role he never had. Of course Becker was read. But he did not write *for* everybody; he never wrote *about* everybody. If he was interested in anything, it was not so much everybody's mind as the minds of the few, the more or less intellectual few. Mr. Everybody has never had a historian (not Green, not Macaulay), unless—as Becker might have said—it was Mr. Everybody himself. It could never have been this man who, as Mrs. Smith says of one of his books, was "filled with the tragic sense of life without being pessimistic; . . . humane and sympathetic without being sentimental." Whatever he may have been as human being, as historian Carl Becker viewed the past too subtly ever to have become a very popular author.

But to conclude: the study is a good one. Informative, careful, sympathetic, it is a fine introduction to one of the really fascinating historical thinkers and writers of our time.

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JOHN C. CAIRNS

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. Volume I, THE BIRTH OF BRITAIN. By *Winston S. Churchill*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1956. Pp. xxii, 521. \$6.00.)

THIS is a workmanlike account of the progress of the English from Early Man to Bosworth Field. The monographic literature has been abundantly drawn upon; some of the best of the sources have been quoted with effect. The author has had no easy task, to cover a long segment of the past and to make a good story out of it, and he is less gifted in narration than in exposition. He can explain British geology and archaeology; he can set forth situations and clarify issues. To tell what happened next he finds harder, until he comes to wars and battles, and then his prose becomes suddenly spirited and vivid.

Sir Winston has had much help from learned men who have checked and re-

checked his chapters. He has not always allowed them full scope; he has insisted, perversely, it will seem to some, on including the good stories, appending the proper qualifications. Of Fair Rosamund and the silken thread he says: "Tiresome investigators have undermined this excellent tale, but it certainly should find its place in any history worthy of the name."

The well-known episodes, many of which we read long ago in Dickens' *Child's History of England*, of the White Ship, of the tanner's daughter of Falaise, of Hubert de Burgh and the blacksmith, etc., are to be found in this volume. Nor has the author forgotten Green's *Short History of the English People*, of which there are faint echoes. There is much familiar to old teachers of English history. Sir Winston has adopted the paradox that "capable rulers by their very virtues sow the seeds of future evil, and weak or degenerate princes open the pathway to progress." I wonder who started that paradox. I find it neither in Macaulay nor in Stubbs, though Stubbs came close to saying as much. Like Stubbs and other Victorians, Sir Winston writes of good and bad kings, in the manner parodied in *1066 and All That*.

Yet he does not see men in black and white; his characterizations are done with discrimination, as well as with zest. If he seldom makes his figures come alive—he is dealing with the dimly lit centuries—he has drawn on his understanding of men and events to give judgments upon those figures, their reach and grasp. He has, too, a Greek sense of the tragedy of the human career; he sees young men going forth in their strength to conquer and to organize; he glances at them as old men, tired and weak and disillusioned. He pauses at the death of Henry II, remembering, I feel sure, J. R. Green's unforgettable description of that scene, and then continues, "Such is the bitter taste of worldly power." Like the author of *Ecclesiastes*, he is constantly aware of the vanity of human ambitions. Much of this book was written in 1938 or before.

I have found it amusing to underline throughout the book sentences that have the authentic Churchillian ring. Sir Winston talks of the Lollards sympathetically and of their persecutions, and goes on: "Thus did orthodoxy and property . . . march together." He comments on the medieval village and says that "few lights burned after sundown." He closes the account of Richard Lion-Heart by appraising him as "worthy by the consent of all men to sit with King Arthur and Roland and other heroes of martial romance at some Eternal Round Table which we trust the Creator of the Universe in His comprehension will not have forgotten to provide."

Of more general interest are these two passages:

"Parliament in its youth was eager for war, improvident in preparation, and resentful in paying for it."

"There stood triumphant the Catholic Church, combining in a strange fashion Roman imperialism and Christian ethics, pervaded by the social and military system of the age, zealous for its own interests and authority, but still preserving all that was left of learning and art."

The most significant feature of English history—at least as thus far written—has been the development of the constitution, the Curia Regis with its many offshoots, the common law with its gathered decisions, and parliament with its powers slowly won. In those subjects one can discern order and symmetry, beauty, and something like poetry. Sir Winston has been ably advised and assisted by students of the constitution and has avoided those hidden pitfalls that throw many a horse and rider. Cautiously he has moved over dangerous ground and has shown institutions in operation at different times, not overlooking the economic and social factors involved. He has failed, however, to put forward any great generalizations about the growth of the constitution, to quicken our pulses. Who indeed among living men could draw that bow? Yet much investigation has taken place on the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, if less on the fifteenth, and the time has nearly come for someone of sweeping views and daring imagination, preferably someone who has soiled his hands with rolls and manuscripts. The sweeping views of the amateur are not always helpful. But Sir Winston has extracted the meaning from many documents; he is a man of imagination in affairs, and of an experience granted to few historians. It is encouraging that he is always looking ahead to the Stuart period and it is possible that he will have more philosophy to offer there. This volume is but an introduction. In later volumes he will be treading the more solid ground of modern history. In any case, we must not ask too much of the greatest man of action of his time. Let us be grateful that such a man is bestowing thought on the course of English history and that in this volume he has already set down many incisive comments upon the rulers of men and their ways.

New Haven, Connecticut

WALLACE NOTESTEIN

FEUDALISM IN HISTORY. Edited by *Rushton Coulborn*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956. Pp. xiv, 439. \$8.50.)

THE book under review is the result of a conference on feudalism held at Princeton University on October 31 and November 1, 1950, under the general sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies. One of the purposes of the book is to explore "uniformities in history," of which feudalism is thought to be one. A brief introductory essay on the "idea of feudalism" by Joseph R. Strayer and Rushton Coulborn is called Part I, being followed by a series of eight chapters on the alleged feudalism of various times and places (Part II), with a final summation of the more important points made in these chapters and a comparative study of feudalism by Coulborn (Part III). The book falls into two quite different halves. The contributors to the first half (Part II) have given rather factual accounts of their assigned subjects: western Europe by J. R. Strayer, Japan during the Shogunate (E. O. Reischauer), China under the Chou and after the Han dynasty (Derk Bodde), ancient Mesopotamia and Iran (B. C. Brundage), ancient Egypt following the sixth and the twentieth dynasties

(W. F. Edgerton), India (Daniel Thorner), the Byzantine empire (E. H. Kantorowicz), and Russia (Marc Szeftel). These chapters are all valuable syntheses of their subjects, rather rigorously historical in presentation. Their authors, unlike Coulborn, give no evidence of having been persistent readers of Darwin, Spencer, W. G. Sumner, and the modern anthropologists and sociologists.

Mr. Coulborn is a historical sociologist, well read in anthropology. His half of the book (Part III) traces the course of certain societies, chiefly the eight dealt with in Part II, from empire into the political and social disunion of feudalism, thence into periods of "nationalist" rivalries and finally into the reunion of empire. Coulborn has worked hard to show the occurrence of "uniformities" in the rise and fall of these societies; with less effort he could have shown the lack of uniformity.

If your definition of feudalism is sufficiently broad for it to lose the characteristic content of western European feudalism (fiefs, aids, relief, incidents, etc.), you can acknowledge the existence of feudalism in Japan, but even here you should contrast, say, the social seclusion of women in Japanese society with their conspicuous roles in European society. Who could imagine the courts of love and the dawn songs of the Provençal poets in Japan? But suppose such queries are unimportant or even irrelevant. The authors of Part II have still found little feudalism in their assigned areas. Bodde writes that the political aspects of feudalism, the importance of which is emphasized in the introductory essay by Strayer and Coulborn, "are found to be largely or totally absent under most of [the] major dynasties [in China]" (pp. 49-50). Brundage informs the reader that he "will not find a definitive judgment as to whether feudalism ever existed in the ancient Near East in anything approximating its full development in medieval Europe" (p. 93). To Edgerton "it seems sure that Egyptologists who have applied the term 'feudal' to certain periods of Egyptian history have not had in mind any such substantive concept of feudalism [as that in the introductory essay]," and that Egyptian institutions "were not truly feudal" (p. 120). (The consideration of Mesopotamian and Egyptian feudalisms are confined to antiquity: medieval Islam is not considered in the book; otherwise some profitable attention might have been given to the development of the *futūwah* by the caliph an-Nāṣir [1180-1225], which for a while looked a little like an order of chivalry.) Concerning India, Thorner says, "using feudalism, then, in the sense of a method of government . . . we have to conclude that neither the Rajput states nor the Muslim regimes of northern India were feudal" (p. 150).

Such were the discouraging judgments facing Coulborn when he gathered in his colleagues' chapters and studied them as the background for his comparison of feudalisms. Coulborn does not write with the vigor of Spencer or the lucidity of Sir Arthur Keith, but his genuine love of ideas has carried the reviewer through more than two hundred pages of (somewhat wordy) abstraction with much meandering back and forth through time and space. Coulborn begins with Sumner's famous contrast between in-groups and out-groups (pp. 191-92, quot-

ing Sumner's *Folkways*, 3d ed., Boston, 1940, pp. 12-13), which remains basic to various aspects of his treatment of feudalism, much as in another realm, for example, Sir Arthur Keith introduced his theory of evolution with precisely the same text (*A New Theory of Human Evolution*, New York, 1949, pp. 12-13). Coulborn's essay contains many penetrating observations, but there are certainly historians who will be rendered uneasy by the statement that "a fief . . . is an in-group whose purpose is defence against out-groups" (pp. 289-90). It would be easy to quote other statements that some historians would want to qualify to the point of gainsaying.

This book is a broad, bold attempt to deal with the general idea, but not the particular institutions, of feudalism. Feudalism is a modern concept, something more than a century and a half old; there is nothing sacred about the term; it is quite proper to take it apart and put the pieces together in new patterns. This is what Coulborn has tried to do. Is feudalism a recurrent phenomenon in history? Only in a vague, unnegotiable sort of way. William Crooke, an authority on northern India, is quoted by Thorner (pp. 140-41) in protest against the superficial comparison of the tribal institutions of the Rajputs with European feudalism: "It is of little service to compare two systems of which only the nucleus is common to both, and to place side by side institutions which present only a factitious similitude, because the social development of each has progressed on different lines."

This criticism is relevant to the present book. It is far easier to compare and contrast, say, the work of the early Chinese alchemists with medieval Westerners' efforts to make gold. Despite the different motives of the two groups (Chinese alchemy having longevity for its main purpose), the data are specific, the problem manageable. The comparison of a variety of feudalisms is a much more difficult undertaking, which Coulborn has faced up to with honesty and courage.

University of Pennsylvania

KENNETH M. SETTON

DER NEUZEITLICHE REVOLUTIONSBEGRIFF: ENTSTEHUNG UND ENTWICKLUNG. By Karl Griewank. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1955. Pp. xv, 327. DM 13.60.)

PROFESSOR Karl Griewank's death in 1953 found his study of the concept of revolution in modern European history incomplete. Fortunately his pupil and assistant, Frau Dr. Ingeborg Horn, has been able by the exercise of great editorial skill to piece together the *Nachlass* into a sound whole, which has none of the unevenness, the obvious lacunae, so often found in posthumous works. No doubt Griewank, had he lived, would have expanded his treatment here and there, and notably for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; but even on Marx and Lenin he has left a clear final word.

This is a historian's book; it is not a sociology of revolution, not a study of revolution from the point of view still best labeled "philosophy of history." It is

not of a piece with the work of Spengler, Toynbee, or Rosenstock-Huessy. It is in part a study in retrospective semantics. Griewank has asked himself, just what did a given political thinker or historian mean when he used the word "revolution"? Some of the most useful parts of the book are those in which the author traces carefully, from the end of the Middle Ages to the Romantic period, the various uses of the concept or idea of revolution. This is not a monograph, not an exhaustive study of any one country or period, but rather a sampling of a wide range of thinkers concerned with political, social, and cultural change. It is always complete enough to be soundly suggestive, as, for example, in its treatment of Machiavelli, Voltaire, or Herder.

Griewank has, however, a wider purpose than mere analysis at a semantic level. He has a more general thesis which makes this book a study in the history of ideas. Very briefly, he sees the development of the concept of revolution as essentially a characteristic of a modern world which can believe in planned change achieved by deliberate human action. Classical antiquity did not even have the word. The Middle Ages, with their belief in a divinely regulated *Gesamtordnung*, could not possibly mean by "revolution" what we mean. With Marx and Lenin the concept of revolution has widened to embrace a whole cosmology. In between, from Wyclif to Burckhardt or Ranke, it had gradually acquired a wealth of overtones—notably those which associate it with a dynamic of human destiny on this earth, with concepts of growth, progress—the careful tracing of which is the main thread of this suggestive book.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL, 1889-1914. By G. D. H. Cole. [A History of Socialist Thought, Volume III.] (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: St. Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 518; viii, 519-1043. \$16.00.)

THE high standard of exposition, analysis, and literary craftsmanship evidenced by Professor Cole in the first two volumes of his still-to-be-completed "History of Socialist Thought" is continued here in Volume III. The first of the three parts into which this volume is divided treats the organizational activities of the loosely federated Second International. Until 1905 the delegates to its congresses were primarily involved in discussions of industrial and political problems and debates on "participationism" and "revisionism," both of which were roundly condemned. But after 1905 the heightening imperialist and nationalist rivalries invoked increasing discussion of proper tactics in the face of threatening war or the outbreak of war itself.

War, it was recognized, was socialism's Achilles' heel. Not only could it be used as an excuse to crush the antimilitaristic socialist movements but it could also solidify the powers of existing governments and postpone indefinitely the orderly and democratic transfer of political power which socialists, with unwarranted optimism and justification, imminently hoped to achieve. But it was also

clear that the socialists, particularly the German Social Democrats, had no intention of jeopardizing their own hard-earned political position by opposing their governments on matters of national concern. The famous antiwar resolution adopted by the 1907 Stuttgart Congress, while calling on socialists to use all possible parliamentary means to avert war, did not ask for a general strike or an insurrectionary movement to exert pressure on war-bent governments. Perhaps such may have been implied in the vaguely worded resolution, but at best this is highly conjectural.

Certainly the socialist leaders in the belligerent countries abided by the Stuttgart resolution until the actual outbreak of war. Those who accuse the socialist parties of failing in the hour of supreme crisis may be asked whether the socialists in 1914 had the power, even if they wished to exert it, to bring the masses out into the streets and whether such demonstrations would have deterred the leaders of their governments. Professor Cole believes that it is hardly likely that they would.

This brings up, in effect, the great dilemma of international socialism which is discussed in part three (part two is a country-by-country study of the various Social Democratic, labor, syndicalist, and social revolutionary movements). Throughout the early years of the twentieth century the Social Democratic movement, despite its official condemnation of Bernstein's "revisionism" and its repeated declarations of faith in "revolutionary socialism," was moving steadily to the right. The need to broaden the base of the parties required such a course of policy, as the proletariat—and obviously not all proletarians were Social Democrats—was not in itself enough to give the socialists in any country a decisive political majority, one which would allow them to capture political control both legally and democratically. Also, it was a recognition that contemporary issues, particularly those involving social and economic reform, had to be faced lest socialists be charged with obstructionism. But herein came the rub. Despite the rise of large socialist parliamentary parties in western Europe, nowhere were the socialists even in sight of the majority that would allow them to take power. In point of fact the debates on revisionism versus revolution were largely verbal, as one could be both a revisionist and a revolutionist without an implicit contradiction. For what the Social Democrats meant essentially by "revolution" was simply the replacement of the capitalist state by the co-operative commonwealth.

Professor Cole has had to dig deep into an enormous amount of socialist literature. As might be expected his treatment of the various socialist groups and Social Democratic parties varies to the degree of his mastery of materials and his personal knowledge of the movement. For example, one finds excellent characterizations of the British socialist leaders generally lacking elsewhere. But all in all his labors have been exceedingly fruitful and one may eagerly look forward to Volume IV.

EUROPE'S CLASSICAL BALANCE OF POWER: A CASE HISTORY OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ONE OF THE GREAT CONCEPTS OF EUROPEAN STATECRAFT. By *Edward Vose Gulick*, Department of History, Wellesley College. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association, 1955. Pp. xvii, 337. \$5.50.)

THE present book reflects the author's conviction that the balance of power has never been written about in adequate detail. This may have been due to the fact that, as Cobden expressed it, the theory was never translated into practice and that therefore the balance of power was merely a chimera which existed only "in the precincts of the politician's brain" and which, in actuality, was "an undescribed, indescribable, incomprehensible nothing." It is more likely, however, that the lack of extended analysis is attributable to the fact that the principle of balance of power was too simple and obvious to warrant elaborate argument. After all, it was, as Francis Bacon pointed out, an elementary rule, "that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them than they were." In any event, Professor Gulick is plainly disappointed to have found so little. His analytical review, while clear and reasonable, does not mark a significant advance over earlier writers. One cannot, in fact, help regretting that he did not investigate more fully the varying conceptions of what constituted a balance according to times and places, or the changing standards of measurement of power, such as territory, population, resources, trade, armed forces, etc. It might likewise have proved profitable to examine a little more closely Cobden's contention that princes tended to view the balance with "a Cyclopean eye" to their own aggrandizement rather than with an eye to their own security and the preservation of the states system. Finally, something might be learned from a study of the nature and methods of the combinations organized from time to time in defense of the balance of power.

Actually only a third of Professor Gulick's book is devoted to consideration of the theory. The remainder consists of a review of the diplomacy of the period 1813-1815 with an eye to determining the importance of the doctrine of balance of power in the construction of the great coalition against Napoleon and the subsequent remaking of Europe. This field has been so well plowed by others that the author has been unable to do much more than call attention to specific references to the principle, and to point out various instances of its application. He might have made some contribution had he attempted to analyze the relative weight given to state interests, to the famous barrier policy, and to the nascent idea of the concert of powers.

Professor Gulick repeatedly uses the word *equilibrist* as an adjective applying to statesmen and policies. Neither Webster nor the Oxford Dictionary gives any warrant for this use. Since Webster defines the noun as "one who balances himself in unnatural positions and hazardous movements," I suggest that the

word might well have been avoided. In a serious study care might also have been taken to guard against such statements as those on page 97 (the French military spirit, "fostered partly by a degeneration of fiery revolutionary principles"), page 257 (the final act of the Congress of Vienna provided international lawyers with "a fascinating new toy"), and page 270 (after Waterloo "the statesmen of the smaller powers flew around Paris like ill-fed horseflies, buzzing the urgency of a partition").

Harvard University

WILLIAM L. LANGER

THE MEANING OF YALTA: BIG THREE DIPLOMACY AND THE NEW BALANCE OF POWER. By John L. Snell, Forrest C. Pogue, Charles F. Delzell, and George A. Lensen. Edited by John L. Snell. With a Foreword by Paul H. Clyde. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 239. \$3.75.)

DURING the last year the evidence on the Yalta conference, already voluminous and scattered, has been greatly increased by the bulky Department of State volume *The Conferences of Malta and Yalta, 1945*, the Department of Defense mimeographed report *The Entry of the Soviet Union into the War against Japan: Military Plans, 1941-1945*, and several significant biographical and autobiographical accounts. The authors of this small volume have rendered a valuable service by evaluating and summarizing this mass of evidence.

Forrest C. Pogue sets the stage by a swift review of the war aims of Britain, Soviet Russia, and particularly the United States, and by sketching the military situation on the eve of the conference. He properly emphasizes the conviction in Washington that co-operation with the U.S.S.R. "was essential and must be obtained," and the fact that the military situation gave the Russians great bargaining power.

John L. Snell then examines the negotiations with regard to Germany, centering the story on the contrast between the "Morgenthau plan" of 1944 and the "moderation" of the American position on Germany at Yalta. There are, as Dr. Snell points out, many gaps in our knowledge of the "Morgenthau plan," and he urges that "Morgenthau should provide historians with a full and frank account of his motives and his actions." At Yalta, the Russians, "sounding more like Morgenthau every minute," sought to break German power permanently. Churchill and Roosevelt had no desire to create a power vacuum in central Europe, but they were unable to do more than postpone decisions on the dismemberment of Germany, on reparations, and on the eastern frontier of Germany.

On the discussions at Yalta concerning the fate of Poland and the states of southeastern Europe it is impossible for anyone to write either from firm knowledge or with complete detachment. Charles F. Delzell's account of this most difficult and painful part of the negotiations is as unbiased as can be expected at this time, but the result of his efforts to do justice to all of the contestants is to

leave many aspects of the problem obscure. In particular, the duplicity of the Russians with regard to the vital question of free elections does not become obvious.

George F. Lensen's chapter on "Yalta and the Far East" stresses the fact that "the United States did not 'give away' at Yalta anything that it was within her power to withhold except by making war against her Russian ally." But on the motivation of both American and Soviet policy in the Far East this chapter is open to debate.

The volume closes with two chapters by Forrest Pogue, one on the United Nations, the other on "Yalta in Retrospect." As factual summaries, these chapters tell the story admirably. However, in his anxiety to prove that Yalta was not in fact a "betrayal and sellout," Mr. Pogue occasionally goes beyond the evidence.

Indeed, one can say of the volume as a whole that, while it is a most useful summary of the available evidence, it does not make clear the *meaning* of Yalta, as the title promises.

University of California, Berkeley

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

Ancient and Medieval History

GREEK SCIENCE IN ANTIQUITY. By *Marshall Clagett*. (New York: Abelard-Schuman. 1956. Pp. xii, 217. \$4.75.)

To write a new book on Greek science requires a certain amount of daring in the face of existing works by such masters as J. L. Heiberg, George Sarton, A. Reymond, Charles Singer, P. Brunet, and A. Mieli. Such a book must be at least the equal of its predecessors, it must encompass the collective findings of the monographic literature, and it should add something new. It is, therefore, a sign of Professor Clagett's gifts as a historian that he has achieved these three goals and that he has composed a book that will at once satisfy the highest professional standards and the needs of the nonspecialist.

Writing primarily for the student reader and the general historian, Professor Clagett's major aim has been to produce an introduction to medieval and early modern science. The title sounds like a tautology, but it was the author's intention to clarify his purpose thereby. In antiquity there was more than a Greek science; for instance, there was a Mesopotamian science and there was a Chinese science and also a Hindu science. The stress on "Greek science in antiquity," therefore, derives from a primary concern for that science which led eventually to the great scientific revolution in the West, consummated in about 1600-1800, but with rumblings in late medieval Europe and with more distant origins in Islam and in ancient Greece. Professor Clagett does not ignore the sciences of antiquity other than the Greek, but he tries to stress those elements that were eventually fused with the Greek tradition.

"Greek science in antiquity" has another signification, because there are pos-

sibilities of a book on, say, Greek science in Islam or Greek science in the Middle Ages. One of the most attractive parts of Professor Clagett's book is Part Two, dealing with late antiquity, where he presents information on science and spiritual forces and contributes a valuable essay on science and patristic literature. In the conclusion, there is a chapter on Latin science in the early Middle Ages and one on Greek science in the age of Justinian. Finally, there are appendixes containing technical theorems and proofs from ancient mathematics and exact physical science.

This well-written book should serve admirably as a textbook for courses in the history of science and as a source of outside reading in courses in general cultural history. Even more, it should delight and inform anyone who wishes to see in its early stages the way human reason and ingenuity has tried to comprehend and to order the bewildering array of experience of natural phenomena.

Harvard University

I. BERNARD COHEN

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP. By *Solomon Zeitlin*. [Jewish Quarterly Review, Monograph Series, Volume III.] (Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. 1956. Pp. xvi, 154, plates.)

IN the early spring of 1948 the discovery of the original lot of Dead Sea Scrolls was announced by the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and the Hebrew University. Professor Solomon Zeitlin immediately took an uncompromising stand against them, calling them a "hoax." For years he refused to define this ambiguous term, but recently he came out specifically for a medieval date, though he has nowhere insisted that they are all genuine and presumably still admits the possibility of a certain amount of forgery. Meanwhile cave after cave has been found—generally by local Beduin—and completely excavated by European and American archaeologists. The discovery of new caves containing scrolls of sheepskin has continued ever since, and the mere fact that nearly all the original scrolls are preserved only in fragments does not alter the fact that they were once whole. The latest find of complete scrolls was made in February, 1956. There have been several careful campaigns of excavation at the quasi-monastic installation at Khirbet Qumran, overlooking the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea and within a stone's throw of several caves containing manuscripts. Hundreds of datable coins, quantities of pottery, and fragments of writing from the "monastery" establish the fact that it was occupied from about 100 B.C. in two phases down to the year ending in A.D. 69, when Vespasian overran the region and destroyed Jewish settlements in it. Moreover, two radio-carbon counts, one in Chicago and the other in Pittsburgh, yield a date between about 175 B.C. and A.D. 50 for the harvesting of the flax from which was made the linen in which the scrolls of Cave 1 were once wrapped.

Internal evidence is just as convincing. The script, represented by hundreds

of different hands, is dated by all competent paleographers either between the third century B.C. and the middle decades of the first century A.D. (at Qumran), or between the middle of the first century A.D. and the end of the Second Jewish Revolt in A.D. 135 (at Murabba'at). The content seems to nearly all specialists who have written on the subject during the past five years to agree perfectly with a time of composition no later than these dates. The Jewish sectarians who occupied the area have been identified by nearly all students with the Essenes. Light on the history of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Jewish background of the New Testament is revolutionary in its significance to scholars—though its novelty has been unduly stressed by some specialists and many non-specialists.

Against this evidence Zeitlin brings arguments which belong for the most part in courtrooms and debating arenas, and which have little to do with serious scholarship. The first short paragraph of his introduction misquotes the reviewer drastically, and the rest of the monograph (mainly consisting of material reprinted from the pages of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* during the past seven years) swarms with slips of the pen, printers' and proofreaders' errors, as well as with innumerable misunderstandings and baseless arguments of every kind. This reviewer is unable to accept a single argument presented by the author and recommends critical examination of every sentence in the book.

Johns Hopkins University

W. F. ALBRIGHT

ANCIENT ITALY: A STUDY OF THE INTERRELATIONS OF ITS PEOPLES AS SHOWN IN THEIR ARTS. By 'Gisela M. A. Richter. [Jerome Lectures, Fourth Series.] (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955. Pp. xxiv, 137, plates. \$15.00.)

THOUGH this book was written as a study of art for students of art, it is of great value to the historian as an informative account of the vast and complex archaeological material (except architecture) from the hand of an outstanding authority. The main theme of the book is the Roman imitation and adaptation of Greek originals. The historian will note that Rome's insatiable demand led to mass production of replicas of famous sculptures made possible by invention (*ca.* 100 B.C.) of an apparatus for mechanical copying of statues. The known contributions of Rome, in portraiture and in narrative reliefs, are commented upon briefly in the last chapter. It is perhaps a pity that only thirty pages have been allotted to Italy before the Roman age. As to the historical problem intimated in the subtitle of the book, the author's interest is genetic, her main concern is with "influences," and the main thread of her interpretation is that of nationality. Though she stresses the fact that the masters of Roman art were mostly Greeks, she speaks of "Roman" of "Greek" or "Etruscan," etc., arts, as if these convenient labels were living constants of history. For the verism of Roman portraits the author seeks antecedents

in Hellenistic art (cf. her paper in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1955, pp. 39 ff.). The factual tendency of Roman portraits is explained by "a strictly practical outlook of the Romans" (p. 28)—as if the Athenians of Aristophanes, who demanded idealized portraits, walked on a cloud. In fact, the age which saw the emergency of Roman verism was also one of Roman revolution. Yet, it is unjust to demand more from a book than its author has set out to give. It is a remarkable achievement to have covered so much ground in so small a space, and to have found a place to relate Italian works to the Greek arts. The volume is generously illustrated by some three hundred reproductions on plates.

Columbia University

ELIAS J. BICKERMAN

ROME ET SON EMPIRE. By *André Aymard* and *Jeannine Auboyer*. [Histoire générale des civilisations, t. II] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1954. Pp. 783.)

THIS, the second volume in the "Histoire générale des civilisations" published under the direction of Maurice Crouzet, continues the first one, written by the same authors, *L'Orient et la Grèce Antique* (see this journal, July, 1954, p. 905), through the period when the Roman Empire provided a united framework for much of ancient civilization until its eventual dissolution. In the preface to the first volume the general editor explains that the series is directed toward the general cultivated reader, hence will dispense with references and critical discussions, and will be content with a summary bibliography. It is not intended to present a philosophy of history but rather to describe and to explain its course. Judged by this standard the volume before us achieves a high degree of success. It is a description of the major aspects and trends of the civilization of the Roman period, taking account of the many interdependent relations of political, economic, social, religious, and intellectual factors rather than the record of events; so much so, in fact, that the ordinary cultivated reader in this country will have to go beyond the helpful chronological tables at the end of the volume to a connected history of the events that form the background of the discussion. Yet the authors have a keen eye for the relation of cause and effect, and much reflection as well as erudition lies behind the judgments and the comprehensive views that they present. Where interpretations are disputable or the evidence uncertain the fact is clearly noted. In a work of this scale, examples, however illuminating, must be few, and on many of the main questions one must go to more detailed works for the evidence on which the judgment is based. Too often it is necessary to make remarks such as, on page 164, "il serait vain de prétendre exposer ici, dans un détail parfois très contesté, l'évolution de la législation agraire." The bibliography, though up to date, is scanty and insufficient for international scholarship. The illustrations are excellent but lack commentary which would relate them to the text.

Initial chapters deal with the civilizations—Etruscan, Gallic, and Punic—which

yielded to Rome and mark the contributions they made. Rome itself is treated under three headings: the civilization of republican Rome, that of the Roman "unité" of the first two centuries of our era, and finally that of the Late Empire, in which the Severan dynasty and the military anarchy of the third century are with due warning and not without justification included. The last section, by Mlle. Auboyer, deals with East Asia, primarily India and China, from the beginning of the Christian era to the end of the fourth century. Within each section, subtly changing proportion with the changes in material, the treatment of political, economic, social, religious, and, finally, intellectual and artistic aspects of civilization follows a set order.

Within this framework the connection with the previous volume is kept by frequent references to the continuance, or the development with Roman mutations, of elements of Hellenistic civilization. Emphasis on Roman expansion and its effect, the creation of a Mediterranean world, has limited discussion of Rome before the Punic Wars and of the important question how far a tradition of relationship with other communities and of extension of citizenship, so important to the unity of the empire, was created then in Italy. References to trade and travel in the East are used to link the section on East Asia with the part which is unified by Rome, but it remains a somewhat artificial addition, since India and China appear to have their own historical rhythms which do not accord fully with the main divisions of Western history. In a canvas which extends from the wall of Antonine to Korea and Japan there should be more on so central a power, at least geographically, as Parthia, and perhaps more on the cultures (if not yet civilizations) of the nomads of central Asia.

The work, however, is informed by a lively sense of the interconnection between the several aspects of a civilization, for example, the effects both of the failure of the citizen army under the republic and of a costly professional army under the empire on an economy too thin and too burdened by the demands of Rome and of the upper classes to stand up in a time of general stress. Like Rostovtzeff, whom he quotes, the author makes much of urbanization and the contrast between city and country. But this may be carried too far: how may a city be separated from its *territorium*? Like Rostovtzeff also, he sees the element making for social revolution during the military anarchy in an army recruited largely from the country, but he is aware how far the necessity of crushing opposition, as at Byzantium under the Severi, or of securing funds to pay the soldiers and carry on the government may explain the evidence. The pressures and needs that created the bureaucracy and led to the statism of the Late Empire are well described. Had Professor Boak's recent work, *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West*, been available, there might have been more emphasis on this factor which so insidiously conditioned military, social, economic, and administrative aspects all at once, a splendid illustration of the interconnection in which the author is so interested.

Again, in the cultural field emphasis rests upon the continuity of Greek and

Hellenistic influences amid Roman adaptations and contributions, but recognizes Rome's attainment of literary maturity and her sense of the importance of her own history. It was in sculpture and painting that she was less original, as her own writers recognized. The achievements of the Augustan Age and the early empire reviewed, the author describes how with the unity of the empire a common culture, based on a common education and on a real bilingualism in most of it, marked, in spite of local variations, the fulfillment of Alexander's dream. But the question why this unity produced so little intellectual advance, though discussed, remains easier to ask than answer. A fixed scheme leads to treatment of the Christian fathers in their literary aspect as late representatives of the forms learned in the standard rhetorical education, but weakens appreciation of their place, not unknown to the author (see pp. 427, 583), as new voices which reject many of the central values of the classical past.

Errors of fact are remarkably absent in a work of such scope. The dispute about the year of Caesar's birth makes him a poor example of one who attained office *suo anno* (p. 115). It is at least uncertain that the denarius was the coin devalued during the Second Punic War (p. 132). The knights received special seats at the shows under the Lex Roscia of 67 (p. 140), not from C. Gracchus. But in each of these cases the tendency noted is correct. This book contains too little narrative history for a beginner and too little presentation of evidence for a specialist. It finds its place as a stimulating survey, at once thoughtful and comprehensive, of the civilization of the Roman world.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

THE FAILURE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By *R. E. Smith*, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Manchester. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 202. \$4.75.)

THE thesis of this very interesting book is that the Roman state, with the senate in control, was still in harmony in 133 B.C., that the senators were gradually working out a system of empire and would have found a solution if the Gracchi had not undermined the prestige and authority of the senate by referring their measures to the people without senatorial support; that the policies introduced by the Gracchi created a "spiritual crisis" that was the "first cause" of the failure of the Roman Republic in the century of revolution, an era well described by the author as the "progeny and progenitor of success." The book is vividly and cogently written, and there is much that is suggestive, particularly in the discussions of literature and religion (which was not, however, as divorced from politics in the pre-Gracchan period as Professor Smith believes). The volume can be read with pleasure and profit by every student of the history and literature of the period.

But this reviewer disagrees with Professor Smith's premise that the Roman state was in harmony in 133 B.C., not discounting, as he does (chapter VII), the

effect of the influx of wealth, of the growth of large estates worked by slave labor, and of the consequent diminution of the numbers of small farmers who had once manned the Roman legions. The lack of recruits for the legions, a major reason for Tiberius Gracchus' land law (see pp. 62 f.), was accompanied by a lack of voters in the Roman tribes, many of which became "rotten boroughs," and by an increase in the landless proletariat that presented a social problem of great magnitude. A selfish aristocracy in control of the senate had rejected an earlier plan to rectify the situation. Tiberius was right in taking his land law directly to the people without the authority of the senate. He had precedents in the legislation of C. Flaminius in 232, of C. Valerius Tappo in 188, in the activity of the tribune C. Licinius Crassus in 145, and probably in the two laws providing secret ballots, carried by tribunes of 139 and 137. The really revolutionary act of Tiberius Gracchus was the deposition of the opposing tribune Octavius, an act that, combined with Tiberius' campaign for re-election, led his senatorial opponents to the extremity of revolution—the murder of an inviolate tribune. Both sides were responsible for inaugurating the hideous century of revolution that followed, but the prime cause for the failure of the republic must be sought in the effect of the spoils of empire on the body politic.

Bryn Mawr College

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

DIE NICHTLITERARISCHEN LATEINISCHEN PAPYRI ITALIENS AUS DER ZEIT 445-700 Volume I, PAPYRI 1-28. TAFELN. By *Jan-Olof Tjäder*. [Svenska Institutet i Rom, Skrifter 4°, XIX, 1, 3.] (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1954, 1955. Pp. 522; xiii, 160 plates.)

THIS is the first comprehensive and independent edition of the Ravenna papyri since Marini's *Papiri diplomatici* of 1805. They are legal instruments for the most part which have in common the fact that the church there was an immediate or eventual beneficiary. Most of Marini's other texts, notably papal and Merovingian documents, have been re-edited, often several times. But the Ravenna papyri present formidable obstacles: they are widely scattered, their content is often obscure, many are poorly preserved fragments, and their hands are difficult for the most experienced paleographer. Dr. Tjäder has been preparing this edition since 1948, and various grants have permitted him to devote several years entirely to it. The volumes, handsomely printed on excellent paper, are themselves evidence of the liberal support given to scholarship in Sweden, and are quite appropriate for what will surely be a standard work for decades.

The first volume includes general introductory materials, papyri 1-28, a full bibliography, and indexes. The second, to appear shortly as Volume XIX, 2, in the same series, will contain papyri 29-55. The third is a set of excellent plates completely reproducing all the texts in the collection, in their present state with one exception. There is no need to stress their importance and value.

The introduction in Volume I contains sections on such expected topics as the Ravenna archive, the dispersal and fate of its papyri, earlier editions, and orthography and phonetic changes. However, the longest and most important parts are, first, a series of concordances and detailed catalogues intended to cover all known medieval Latin texts on papyrus from western Europe, both literary and documentary, whether extant or lost (pp. 33-72); and, secondly, a full and expert discussion of the hands (pp. 86-146). Tjäder is quite aware that many other topics might have been covered, and historians would have welcomed an analysis of the complex historical setting, with its mixture of peoples and institutions, by the scholar who knows these documents most intimately. But he was certainly right not to delay publication in order to make the introduction more comprehensive.

Tjäder's essential contribution of course is the revision of the papyri and the elucidation of the texts. He has studied the originals in all cases except four, in which he had to be content with photographs. Marini often had to rely on faulty transcriptions of others. As one would expect, Tjäder's readings are substantially more accurate and fuller than any hitherto available, and there are improvements even in the texts recently studied by other scholars. Further, Tjäder's careful analysis of formulas and procedures enables us to understand the fragments especially far better than ever before. Each category of texts has an elaborate introduction, tracing the development of legal forms and presenting parallels and the literature for both the classical and medieval periods. Each text in turn has its own introduction, a translation, and a full commentary. The chief category covered in Volume I is gifts (nos. 10-28); others include wills, a receipt, and a manumission.

In dealing with a work of this scope and high excellence, minor corrections or additions to bibliography would be out of place. Two points, however, seem to deserve comment. Tjäder's decision to print only texts of which the originals have survived, though actually several exceptions are made, means that one must still go to Marini for five papyri that fall within the limits of the present work. It would be well worth the space required if they could be included in an appendix to Volume II. Again, the fact that the first two volumes will have separate indexes will certainly confuse casual users of the work who are looking up one or two words. But perhaps they deserve no more consideration.

In summary, this is a product of meticulous and solid scholarship presented in an attractive and convenient form. One may hope that it will encourage others to investigate a period too often neglected by medievalists and ancient historians alike. Dr. Tjäder has himself discovered an important new papyrus of 425-450 since these volumes were in press (p. 66) and announces his intention of also publishing another of a later date (p. 49).

LE MOYEN AGE: L'EXPANSION DE L'ORIENT ET LA NAISSANCE DE LA CIVILISATION OCCIDENTALE. By *Edouard Perroy, et al.* [Histoire générale des civilisations, t. III.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1955. Pp. 681.)

THIS is the third in a seven-volume general history of civilizations of which five other volumes have now been noticed in this *Review* (LIX, 80, 905; LX, 58; LXI, 606; and above, p. 105). It treats both European and Asiatic cultures during the period from Theodosius the Great and Chandragupta II to the discovery of America. The first part, entitled "Prééminence des civilisations orientales (v^e-x^e siècles)," is about evenly divided among three topics: the decline of Roman society and the growth of post-Roman, Germanic civilization, the rise of Islam and developments in the Near East, and the cultural history of Asia (India, China, the nomads, Malaya, and Japan). The second part, "Les temps de l'Europe féodale, de l'Islam Turc et de l'Asie Mongole (xi^e-xiii^e siècles)," is not so long as the first. Two thirds of this is devoted to feudal Europe (an unusually interesting description), the rest to the Moslems and Mongols. The third part, "Les temps difficiles (xiv^e-xv^e siècles)," is almost entirely European, except for a chapter on the Ottoman Turks. This is a very effective synthesis of a confused period. At the end there is an extensive, select bibliography and an elaborate chronological table. There are eighteen useful, simplified maps and nearly fifty excellent illustrations.

Most readers of this *Review* are familiar with the trend in American college teaching which emphasizes the history of civilization and which has produced numerous college texts along that line. The volume under review is not one of these, but it could be very useful to teachers of courses devoted to that topic. For a sophisticated reader already familiar with the historical story this book can be both stimulating and illuminating. Your reviewer became aware that he got much more from the chapters on Europe and the Near East than he did from those on China, India, and Southeastern Asia, and he concluded that this was because he had such limited knowledge of the narrative history of the latter regions. It may be, however, that detailed information in European history, even for the "dark ages," is greater than for Asiatic countries and that this also makes for better understanding and more subtle insight.

In this connection also the reader may ask himself what is gained by the juxtaposition of chapters on civilizations which were contemporary but which had no significant interconnection with each other. Maybe in a Toynbeesque age there is philosophical enlightenment in becoming aware that Hindu civilization flourished when European civilization declined even though this seems to be a mere coincidence. Possibly it can be argued that there is cultural linkage between these remote and otherwise unconnected cultures in their somewhat common exposure to pressures from the central Asiatic nomads. It is indeed thought-provoking for the student of civilization to be reminded that the predatory Turks and Mongols

"despite their intelligence, their mental balance, and their practical sense, remained in a pastoral state, while the sedentary population of towns and countryside, possessors of an advanced agricultural technique, seemed to be softened by the calm, regular life which their work demanded." There certainly is an enlarged understanding from seeing the spread of Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity as comparable and semicontemporary phenomena. In general the reader may be impressed by the fact that Western culture in the medieval period was not superior to other cultures and not always equal.

Perhaps it should be noted that the phases and features of cultural history, when described in general terms, take on an appearance of marked similarity in spite of differences of time and place. At this point the conservative historian shrinks back, for that way lies sociology, and this historian wants to know why these cultures were different, as he still insists they were, despite apparent basic similarities. The general theme might be described as a study of cultural equilibrium, which appears to require social self-confidence, which in turn is due to an expanding economy, stimulated by technological improvements, and adequate to support a growing population. For this the ability of society to avoid civil war, to resist conquest, and to maintain public order is necessary, conditions which are essentially political. For the most part the political narrative is taken for granted, but the development of governmental ideas and institutions and of the techniques of warfare get adequate attention. The neglect of events means an emphasis on economic influences and changes. The skill with which this is made the basis for explaining social and institutional changes, without overemphasis, is marked. Indeed one of the impressive features of this treatment is the sense of continuity which comes from reading the book through—one becomes aware of the constant interplay of different influences in cultural progress. This is particularly noticeable with respect to agricultural and business techniques, and in the field of architecture, which gets special attention. Considering that this is a collaborative work, this impression of continuity must indicate skillful editorial synthesis.

Williamstown, Massachusetts

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

DAS STRANDRECHT IN NORDEUROPA IM MITTELALTER. By *Vilho Niitemaa*. [Annals of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, Series B, Vol. XCIV.] (Helsinki: the Academy. 1955. Pp. 416. 1,400 mk.)

Strandrecht refers to that body of legal practices and principles relating to jurisdiction over coastal regions and the salvage of stranded goods. It applies to seashores and the marginal areas along those shores. This monograph undertakes to explain the origins of this type of law and define the earliest distinctions that appear within this legal area as set forth in the folklaws of northern Europe. The author then proceeds to show how this legislation develops through successive phases of a fairly well defined process of legal evolution across the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century.

Niitemaa begins by stressing the basic general principles of early Nordic custom which held that all unclaimed and unidentified objects found on sea-shores belong to the finders. This includes not merely marine life and driftwood but wreckage and wrecked ships, not merely flottage and flotsam but also jetsam or goods jettisoned by ships at sea. This law of the shores must be distinguished carefully from the fishing laws of the open sea.

The main portion of the study deals with the development of *Strandrecht* into a system freed from the arbitrary restrictions of early custom. In this process the great impetus imparted by the vast expansion of marine transport accompanying the Crusades plays an important part. The medieval concept of the "peace" tends to alleviate the harsher features of the *Strandrecht* so that acts of pillage may not be concealed as legal salvage. Ecclesiastical influences exercise a liberalizing effect in behalf of clerics, pilgrims, women, and eventually merchants. Underlying these factors was the unconditional opposition of the Roman law to the custom of the strand. Finally the collision between the Hanseatic League and the northern nations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries leads to the further liberalization of the *Strandrecht* along economic lines and its transformation into a more purely mercantile law under the leadership of the trading cities. The ultimate goal of these cities was the freedom of the shores as well as the freedom of the seas.

The work is based on much unpublished material from the city archives of Reval, Königsberg, Riga, and Lübeck as well as the Danish and Swedish royal archives. The secondary treatises are listed fully in the bibliography. This is a substantial piece of original research in an uncultivated field.

Rice Institute

FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

GESCHICHTE DER SÄCHSISCHEN KAISERZEIT (900-1024). By Robert Holtzmann. (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey. Pp. 575. DM 19.50.)

THIS work, a reprint of the second edition, which appeared in 1943, will be of interest to the general historian, the history teacher, and the vanishing general reader of cultivated tastes and catholic intellectual interests. It constitutes the first comprehensive attempt since Giesebrecht's romantic *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* to portray, on the basis of the primary sources and the vast secondary literature, the formation of the German monarchy in the tenth century and the origins of the First Reich. The author, who died in 1946, was one of the foremost specialists in this field of study. His efforts at synthesis are focused on developments which established, though for a few generations only, Germany, then the least civilized part of the Frankish inheritance, as the most powerful polity among the succession states of the Carolingian empire. Germany's short-lived pre-eminence in medieval Europe was associated with the revival of the imperial traditions by the monarchs of the Saxon house. Heretofore, the duchy of Saxony, situated west

of the Elbe-Saale line, had been, both economically and culturally, the most backward region of Germany itself.

Professor Holtzmann's account is essentially a personalized chronicle of dynastic politics. Such a conventional treatment of a fascinating theme has its place. Especially in this instance, for the ephemeral political and administrative system which sustained Otto the Great and his immediate successors was founded, above all, on personal power, personal distinction, and the arts of royal nepotism. Unfortunately, the author is not always in command of his material. Since he does not discriminate enough between the essential and the insignificant, his lengthy tale tends to be a little dull and pointless.

The most concise and, also, the most rewarding parts deal with the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the Saxon period. The author throws light upon the evolution of the governing class and of administrative, ecclesiastical, military, and economic organization. No less suggestive, despite its brevity, is his discussion of the problems of land tenure, internal colonization, the eastern agricultural frontier, urban development, and other manifestations of economic growth. More original is the exceptionally well-informed appraisal of the impact of the monastic reform movement of that period. The regional response to this movement is traced in the different duchies—Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, and Lorraine—which then made up "Germany." Holtzmann draws a vivid picture of contemporary historiography and literature and of the work of the episcopal and monastic schools. Numerous pictorial illustrations adorn the book. These help greatly to bring into bold relief the remarkable accomplishments of this "dark" age in the realm of architecture and the decorative arts.

Holtzmann has devoted much energy and zeal to the old question as to whether the whole course of German history took "the wrong turn" with the adoption of an imperial policy a millennium ago. This has been an endlessly debated problem of historiography ever since the famous Ficker-Sybel controversy of 1859-1862, which was precipitated by Austria's defeat in Italy in 1859 and the ensuing struggle between Austria and Prussia over the political reconstruction of Germany. When the issue was reopened under the Nazi regime, Holtzmann stood his ground, as he does in the present book, as the proponent of a critical but old-fashioned and obsolete apologia of medieval *Kaiserpolitik* and its influence upon German history. He argues his case with emotional undercurrents which find expression primarily in nationalistic valuations and moralizing comments. Though he does not identify his professional companions and contenders, it is clear that his "pro-imperial" views are akin to those of Haller, Hampe, and Brackmann. In other words, he rejects the interpretations of that generation of "anti-imperial" medievalists which included such strange bedfellows as the Prussian Junker Georg von Below and the Austrian socialist Ludo Moritz Hartmann.

DIE OSTGRENZE POLENS: POLITISCHE ENTWICKLUNG, KULTUR-ELLE BEDEUTUNG UND GEISTIGE AUSWIRKUNG. Band I, IM MITTELALTER BIS ZUM JAHRE 1401. By *Gotthold Rhode*. [Ostmittel-europa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, No. 2.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1955. Pp. xvi, 457. DM 38.)

POLISH historians, especially of the twentieth century, have been concerned with establishing Poland's role as the defender of Western civilization. Following cautiously in their footsteps the author presents this volume as the first of a projected series of three. He intends ultimately (1) to write a history of the Polish boundary and its fluctuations, (2) to explain the significance of the boundaries and frontiers to the east in the eyes of contemporaries (with particular attention to the process of religious and cultural assimilation), and (3) to define the impact of eastward expansion and of the idea of the *antemurale Christianitatis* on the spiritual life and political ideology of Poland. The last the author will treat in Volume III. The volume under consideration gives a geographical description to 1401 (chapters I, III, V, VII) and an analysis of the significance of the frontier to 1385-1387 (chapters II, IV, VI).

The geographical description is a meticulous piece of work so far as I can judge. Part of the author's intent is not to attribute territory to Poland which he cannot substantiate by direct evidence or by logic and not to determine boundaries with an unwarranted degree of precision. Earlier historical cartographers have erred in the respects in which he has been careful.

The author describes a steady shift in the significance of the frontier. In the period to 1138 he discovers little awareness of a frontier; 1138-1340, only an incipient sense of mission, of the need of crusading, as a result of the influence of the papacy; and 1333-1340 to 1385-1387, a sense of mission in Casimir the Great and his close associates and an awareness of Poland as the rampart of Western Christendom.

The author has expressed himself clearly and organized his material very carefully. He has covered his subject within set limits. He has made minimal use or no use of the works of Kuczynski, Leontovich, and Liubavsky. Just as he is sometimes overly precise in fixing dates, similarly he comes to conclusions about minor issues, for which the available evidence is insufficient. I am convinced neither by the author's argument that Casimir the Great was a sincere advocate of a defensive and offensive policy in the East for the purpose of helping Western Christendom rather than Poland alone (pp. 246-53, 259), nor by the author's attribution to Casimir of a policy of intended assimilation in "Red Russia" (p. 270).

I doubt the basic premise (posed as a question) of this first volume: that the eastern boundary of Poland may be identified with the eastern frontier of the West. Moreover the author eschews any definition of the West.

The maps have been carefully drawn. The use of clear and meaningful symbols should serve as a model. One might object to the failure to show Serensk

as half under Olgerd's control (map 5). The volume contains few typographical errors unless it be some slight errors in the genealogical tables. An extensive bibliography is rendered less useful by the author's failure to indicate the correct number of volumes in sets. The indexes of persons and places are commendable.

University of Kansas

OSWALD P. BACKUS III

CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY AND SOCIAL THOUGHT: A HISTORICAL ESSAY ON THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOME SELECTED ASPECTS IN CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY TO A.D. 1500. By *Ray C. Petry*, Professor of Church History, Duke University. (Nashville: Abingdon Press. 1956. Pp. 415. \$5.00.)

Dr. Petry has undertaken this informing work in a spirit of inquiry rather than of dogmatism, and he has drawn without prejudice from a wide range of interpreters for aid in forming his evaluations. The book exhibits, too, an unusual weight of independent reading of source documents drawn from the fifteen centuries of Christian history before the Reformation era. It is primarily a historical study but shows a keen awareness of the new interest of theology in eschatology, a theological province which the theologians of the "social gospel" found embarrassing, and largely abandoned. Petry has felt the impact of the twentieth-century thinkers in whose work the positive social implications of eschatological belief are, not without surprise, noted and accepted. In the words of Canon Scott Holland, one of many quoted to the same effect in the opening chapter, "a pivot in the transcendent world beyond" is needed "to determine conduct here on earth." While atomic science occasions a dread materialistic eschatology, theologians of social concern are discussing the theme in a new light and attempting to incorporate in their systematic thinking a doctrine of the Last Things. Petry's viewpoint begins to come out clearly in the latter part of the second chapter, where he has been considering prominent elements of medieval eschatology. Christian eschatology he sees holding in focus an ultimate order of life to which the temporal order is subordinate. The latter is to be supplanted, but also meanwhile transformed, by the former and is "socially answerable to the eternal order of life." Cataclysmic and developmental aspects are interwoven. "There may be evolution and growth within cataclysm, and cataclysm within the realm of process." A revived appreciation of eschatology is a requisite for "the recovery of Christian vitality in an exhausted world."

Chapters III to VI treat by historic periods "The Response of the Temporal Society to the Eternal Kingdom"; VII to XII have as their general topic "The Ecclesiastical Community as Servant of the Eternal Kingdom in the Temporal World." A feature of the earlier of these series is the treatment of the conception Jesus held of the conditions of admission to the eternal kingdom. These involve not worthiness or merit but the invitation and gift of God; but there are high requirements to be met, and entrance is only on sincere repentance. In the later

group we see ample illustration of the social character of the church as viewed historically and eschatologically by many writers from the church fathers to the close of the Middle Ages. Professor Petry shows everywhere a warm appreciation of the religious insights of medieval authors and of the eschatological framework of their social ideas. More narrowly eschatological are the two chapters given under the heading "Last Things, the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the End of History." In the longest chapter in the book we have a review of specific expectations of Heaven under the title "The Heavenly Beatitude and the Mutuality of the Eternal Kingdom." To summarize the ideas of his medieval writers on this point, our author makes use of passages from Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Sanctorum Communio*.

A thoughtful concluding chapter, "Retrospect and Prospect," contains both appreciation and discerning criticism of the thought reviewed in the book. A brief quotation may be permitted—and may it not be too misleading because of its brevity: "It is obvious, first of all, that the Church's eschatological views did not result in social paralysis but rather tended to a conscious reinvigoration of social effort. What eventuated was a kind of social moralism that threatened, ultimately, the very principle of Christian *agape*."

In an age when inhuman eschatologies are being inferred from scientific power, and when eschatologies of privilege largely emancipated from love and responsibility may be found in certain of our flourishing sects, hearty thanks should be offered to the author of this work of research and interpretation. While its value for religion is obvious, its usefulness to historians of social theory must also be rated high.

East Middlebury, Vermont

JOHN T. McNEILL

BYZANTINE STUDIES AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Norman H. Baynes*, Fellow of the British Academy. (London: University of London, Athlone Press; New York: John de Graff. 1955. Pp. xi, 392. \$7.00.)

STUDENTS of the ancient and medieval world owe a debt of gratitude to R. A. Humphreys and A. D. Momigliano of University College, London, for having prepared the republication of thirty-three lectures, articles, and reviews by Professor Norman H. Baynes, the outstanding authority on Roman and Byzantine studies. Professor Baynes is an admirable lecturer and original thinker, with a vast and profound erudition, but he has always been opposed to the writing of voluminous books and long-winded articles. His original ideas and important discoveries are conveyed to us principally through short studies written in an elegant, condensed, and precise style and through reviews of the works of other scholars. All who are familiar with his method of research and writing will agree that everything Professor Baynes has written—be it only a short review of a scholarly book—is well worth reading, for it contains, if not new ideas, at least a new approach to the problem under consideration.

The first two studies reprinted here, "The Hellenistic Civilization and East Rome" and "The Thought-World of East Rome" (pp. 1-47), were greeted with great satisfaction by specialists when they were first published in 1945 and 1947, and, indeed, it would be difficult to find a clearer exposition of the Hellenistic background of Byzantine civilization and of the main features characterizing the vital traditions of Byzantium. These lectures are complemented here by a heretofore unpublished study of "The Byzantine State" (pp. 47-66) and by a paper on "Some Aspects of Byzantine Civilization" (pp. 67-82), published in 1930, and to these should be added what Professor Baynes wrote in 1933 on "Eusebius and the Christian Empire" (pp. 168-73). The reading of these studies affords an excellent introduction to the consideration of Byzantine political philosophy and the organization of the Byzantine state, as well as of the Roman background of Byzantine Christian Hellenism, and it explains why the political structure of Byzantium differed so greatly from that of western medieval Europe.

Byzantium survived and continued to flourish after the western part of the Roman Empire had collapsed principally because it was fortunate enough to have kept intact the reservoir of its economic forces and of its manpower in Asia Minor. This thesis is expounded by the author in his paper "The Decline of the Roman Power in Western Europe: Some Modern Explanations" (pp. 83-97). Most valuable is Baynes's account of the struggle between Constantinople and Alexandria for spiritual supremacy in the East ("Alexandria and Constantinople: A Study in Ecclesiastical Diplomacy," pp. 97-116).

Particular attention should be given to two studies on icon-worship in the early church. The hitherto unpublished study "Idolatry and the Early Church" (pp. 116-43) discusses interesting documents that reveal the hostility against pictorial representation in the churches before Constantine the Great, and shows that, even in this respect, the emperor had influenced the development of ecclesiastical tradition. In his "The Icons before Iconoclasm" (pp. 226-39), the author completes his research on the subject.

Specialists in classical history will find new ideas in this first publication of "Isocrates" (pp. 144-67), in which Baynes disagrees with certain views put forward by Wendland and Jaeger. In his "The Historia Augusta: Its Date and Purpose" (pp. 209-17) Baynes continues to defend his thesis that the work was written during the reign of the emperor Julian. His "Notes on the Reforms of Diocletian and Constantine," "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century" (pp. 173-209), and "The Death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian Legend" (pp. 271-81) appear here, as well as some other essays. The selection of Baynes's reviews of scholarly works is also rewarding. The reader will find among them original ideas on Valentinian, Lactantius, Stilicho, Julian the Apostate, Symmachus, and Athanasius, in addition to ideas on the imperial cults.

The essay on "The Political Ideal of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*" (pp. 288-306) gives a very clear account of Augustine's political theory, although the essayist modestly apologizes for having ventured into this field. And for those

who wish to become better acquainted with the personal ideas of this scholarly "Victorian," as Baynes calls himself, there is his address to the students of University College delivered in 1942 and printed here under the title "The Custody of a Tradition" (pp. 371-88).

Dumbarton Oaks

FRANCIS DVORNIK

Modern European History

KING JAMES VI AND I. By *D. Harris Willson*. (New York: Henry Holt. 1956. Pp. 480. \$6.00.)

SOMETIMES a new life of a historical personage is called for by the mass of fresh evidence that has become available to scholars, sometimes by the lapse of time since the last biography was written, and sometimes by a combination of the two. Professor Willson's biography can be justified mainly by the second reason, because T. F. Henderson's life appeared half a century ago. It is rather surprising that more new materials have not been discovered. All the calendar of the papers of Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury, is not yet published. The Venetian calendar now covers the full reign, and the privy council register, so far as it exists, is printed. The defects of the domestic calendar still render necessary an examination of the original papers. There are no French, Spanish, or Dutch calendars, but Dr. Willson gives occasional references to transcripts of French and Spanish state papers, though not, I think, to Dutch ones. This omission renders more serious the failure to use Sir George Clark's Ford lectures on Anglo-Dutch relations and, especially, the colonial conferences between England and the Netherlands in 1613 and 1615 (*Bibliotheca Visseriana*, XVII, 1951). This attempt to end the conflicts between the English and Dutch in the Far East is ignored, and their relations nearer home are dealt with too perfunctorily. Whether England and Spain were at war when James died is left undecided in the text, though the dust jacket declares they were. In view of the importance of finance two points should have received greater attention—Elizabeth's sale of crown lands which left James with a smaller revenue, and the rise of prices which reduced its real value. Sidney J. Madge (*The Domesday of Crown Lands*) suggests that James sold much more land than Dr. Willson allows.

The chapters devoted to James in Scotland and England are all good, some excellent. The accounts of baronial struggles north of the border and of factions south of it are enlivened by short, pithy sketches of the leaders. No one is likely to agree with all these brief descriptions, but most of them show insight into character and motive. Harsh sentences are pronounced upon Mary, Queen of Scots, and her son. The verdict that as a ruler she was "beneath contempt" may need some qualification, because she was successful during the years immediately after her return to Scotland. When she let her passions control her actions she may deserve the unkind treatment she receives here. The foreign policy James

pursued in order not to hazard his chances of succeeding to the English throne is declared to be "tortuous, secretive, and dishonest." No doubt each adjective could be justified by examples, but the question remains whether he was worse than other rulers of his day. Another criticism, not made here, is that he need not have intrigued at all to secure the acquiescence of foreign powers, whether Protestant or Catholic, because his succession was assured whether they secretly agreed or not.

Probably wisely, Dr. Willson is content to set down the different versions of the Gowrie Plot without indicating which he favors. But it is asserted in a note that James may have retired with Ruthven for immoral purposes but that this is pure guesswork for which there is no proof (p. 452, n. 6). Surely guesses without evidence to support them should be excluded from a serious biography. Later in the text a similar charge is repeated and backed up, this time by a reference to Francis Osborne. The authority is of doubtful value, a remark equally applicable to Arthur Wilson and the writers whose secret histories Sir Walter Scott collected. They may prove that discreditable rumors about James were circulating, but not that the rumors were true. However, little space is devoted to scandal and in general this biography can be most heartily recommended both for its learning and for its literary qualities. The James that is depicted is like the traditional figure, but is better described in more detail than in earlier biographies. He is kept throughout in the foreground, but the background of contemporary history is worth careful study for its own sake even if the reader is not especially interested in James.

Huntington Library

GODFREY DAVIES

CHARLES I AND THE PURITAN UPHEAVAL: A STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT MIGRATION. By *Allen French*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1955. Pp. 436. \$8.00.)

ALLEN French, it is said, was "geographically and spiritually of the Boston-Concord-Cambridge area." The past, therefore, especially New England's past, was never dead and gone to him. Indeed his ability to recapture for his readers a sense of its reality is one of the best features of his writing. He began this book, which bears the subtitle "A Study of the Causes of the Great Migration," in the mid-thirties. He wrote it from a conviction that American historians had given too little attention to the English background of the early emigrants and that those of his generation were, without sufficient evidence, and too lightly, substituting an economic interpretation of the so-called "Puritan Migration" for the traditional religious one.

Others were also thinking along some of the same lines; and, in the intervening years, King Charles's England and the place of the ordinary man in its society on the eve of the American colonization have become much better known to us. One can, however, still read with profit and enjoyment Mr. French's

early chapters on life in London and the countryside. Far less good are his chapters on economic matters. This is all the more lamentable since the materials are extant for explaining many of the problems of the East Anglian farmers and textile workers who are the groups best represented among the emigrants.

Also open to criticism are the chapters on King Charles's foreign wars, his parliaments, and the work of the courts. One can forgive Mr. French for not being a specialist in each of these areas. That is not to be expected; but it is less easy to excuse him for ignoring the work of specialists. Samuel Gardiner's name indeed stands high among nineteenth-century historians, and we owe a tremendous debt to him and to John Bruce for the sources which they edited. But to rest one's study so wholly on the writing and editing of these two men is to ignore almost a century of fruitful work in political and parliamentary history.

The chapter on Puritan thought rings true. The author has worked his way through scores of Puritan writings. He feels and is able to transmit their force and vitality while at the same time preserving proper perspective. But his treatment of the influence of Puritanism on the emigrants and upon their decision to forsake their homes for the New World leaves us still unsatisfied. It is not that he has failed to show that the East Anglian movement was closely linked with Puritan activities. He amply demonstrates the role of the Puritan clerics who were its leaders, and we are grateful for what he has added to our knowledge of them. But we are still left pretty much in ignorance of the impact of both religious and economic forces on the lesser laymen of East Anglia. They were not very articulate. We shall probably never have their story in full. But it was they and their families who filled the emigrant ships.

Vassar College

MILDRED CAMPBELL

WEST-INDIA POLICY UNDER THE RESTORATION. By *A. P. Thornton*,
Lecturer in British Imperial History in the University of Aberdeen. (New
York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 280. \$5.60.)

THIS volume supplements the panoramic view George Louis Beer provided in *The Old Colonial System*. It gives us a microscopic examination of documentary sources concerning Anglo-Spanish relations regarding Jamaica and the administration and defense of the West Indies. Better still it helps us see living men facing Restoration problems.

In the Caribbean the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English eyed one another warily, never knowing when friend would be foe or foe, friend. The Spanish believed all Englishmen intruders to be driven out "in God's good time." The English saw the Spanish as potential customers and misers "ripe for pillage."

The English governor represented a sovereign who sought economic subordination and political obedience from a people who wanted free trade, control of their own taxes, the law of England, and no standing army. He had to maintain his own friends in Whitehall and steel himself to "offhand treatment by official-

dom," to being told what not to do, not what to do. He had to decide at his peril which island faction to support; when to resist and when to yield to the colonial assembly; when the buccaneers were patriotic privateers and when they were pirates to be hanged or driven to the logwood coast.

In London the politicians gradually took over the imperial authority, reducing the merchants "to a position of comfortable subordination" and Charles II himself finally emerged predominant as the politicians knifed each other. Whitehall had much to learn about administrative processes and American realities. The king and his officials made many mistakes; their activities were often ignoble. But, as Thornton says, "a forward policy, assured and independent" was a luxury England could not afford. She depended more on her opponents' weaknesses than her own strength. She suffered from the plague, the fire, the Dutch fleet in the Medway, national bankruptcy, and national hysteria in the guise of the "Popish Plot." Yet she survived; her colonies developed. Jamaica, for example, in 1660 had "little security, less law"; a quarter-century later it was safely settled and adequately governed.

The reader may disagree on some points of detail or interpretation. Too many long sentences, too few short paragraphs make reading difficult and bury many a choice phrase. Nevertheless, Thornton throws valuable light on an era, an area, and a process. He tells not only of mercantilism at work but also of men rising above adversity.

University of California, Berkeley

LAWRENCE A. HARPER

ENGLAND IN THE REIGNS OF JAMES II AND WILLIAM III. By *David Ogg*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 567. \$8.00.)

Mr. Ogg carries forward in this book his study of England in the late seventeenth century which he began with his two-volume *History of England in the Reign of Charles II*, published in 1934 and since revised. "The three volumes," he tells us, "are intended to provide a continuous account of English history and institutions in the period 1660-1702." The present work is to a high degree, however, a self-contained whole.

English history, as Mr. Ogg interprets it, is the narrative of English politics, domestic and foreign, to which is added the discussion of changes in religious, economic, and social thought. The treatment of institutions deals with government, the church, and the economic structure. Educational institutions are perhaps the most notable omission. To compensate for this there is an excellent—and, in the circumstances, unusual—chapter entitled "Freehold and Status" which describes late seventeenth-century meanings of such words as freedom, liberty, and property, and of such relationships as master and servant, husband and wife, and—among one or two professional groupings—stockbroker, scrivener, and banker.

The book consists of three approximately equal parts: an introduction dealing

with the material and social setting, the historical narrative, and the analysis of economic and governmental institutions and of the principal currents of thought which affected public life. The items in the last two parts are effectively interwoven, and lead to a final chapter, "The Dawn of the Eighteenth Century." Throughout there is abundant evidence that Mr. Ogg has mastered the literature of his subject, and has, in particular, a wide knowledge of the pamphlets.

In this, as in the earlier work, Mr. Ogg is a shrewd, dispassionate observer of the political scene. Others have told the intricate story of the events immediately preceding the Revolution of 1688 and those following it, but no one, I think, has put together in a simple, lucid narrative so much detail and so balanced a judgment of the weakness and strength of the principal actors. The Revolution does not stir him to praise or denunciation; he deals with men as they were and, in consequence, produces a story which keeps down to earth and is human and compassionate in its explanation of motive.

It is the story of a people quickly moving to a new stage of political maturity; of a people who, having maneuvered their way with diffidence—almost with apathy, as Mr. Ogg sees it—through revolution, soon found their bearings and adapted themselves to a new role in world affairs. "Parliament," he says, as he brings part of his story to a close, "now became permanent and national, directing the state through its first European war and committing it to another in which the foundations of world supremacy were to be laid." He draws on pamphlets and newspapers to describe the sudden development of interest in public affairs and social conduct, and he uses the early career of Daniel Defoe to show the greatest of contemporary journalists at work among the new reading public.

This is a lively and engaging book whose qualities derive partly from the author's fresh approach to a fast moving period of English history and partly from his skill as a writer. The style is graceful and conveys the qualities of a mind that is exact and judicious, and of a mind lightened by humor. Thus, "nor did the business conducted in council during the late summer of 1688 give any hint of the crisis through which the dynasty was passing; for the Trial of the Seven Bishops was ended with the issue of a proclamation against profaneness and debauchery, a proof that in high places things were considered normal."

Cornell University

FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM

THE DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN. In six volumes. Volume I, INTRODUCTION AND *DE VITA PROPRIA*; Volumes II-V, *KALENDARIVM*, 1620-1649; Volume VI, ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS, INDEX. Now first printed in full from the manuscripts belonging to Mr. John Evelyn and edited by E. S. de Beer. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 171; 579; 639; 654; 622; 630. \$50.40.)

THE seventeenth century was an age of diary-keeping. Puritans were admonished to keep diaries and to set down their spiritual experiences as a religious

exercise. Others kept diaries from a variety of motives. Second only to the diary of Samuel Pepys in interest and historical importance is the record kept by John Evelyn throughout his adult life.

John Evelyn, who was born in Surrey in 1620, lived through some of the most momentous events in modern English history and recorded his reactions to life around him from early manhood until a month before his death in February, 1706. Unlike Pepys he did not keep his diary in shorthand. Indeed, the surviving documents, commonly called his diary, are in part copies from original notes that Evelyn kept in the blank pages of almanacs and later copied, edited, altered, and expanded. From internal evidence and allusions to events long after the date of the entry, it is possible to prove that Evelyn worked over much of the material in the earlier portions of the diary. Some of the entries, however, survive as they were written down at the time, and the whole is an extraordinary record of social history as seen through the eyes of a pious Anglican and royalist, a country gentleman, and a man of letters. Pepys and Evelyn knew and respected each other, but never were two men more unlike in personality and attitude toward life. Their two diaries, covering parts of the same era, complement each other in an extraordinary fashion.

Evelyn's diary, or what passed for it, was first published by William Bray in 1818. Bray himself published two further editions, in 1819 and 1827, and, as the present editor points out, "all later general editions and reprints of the Diary, apart from a few passages in some of them, reproduce the text contained in the second or third edition." It has long been known that Bray's text was incomplete and inadequate but not until the present edition has the historian known precisely how inadequate was Bray's work. This pioneer editor, however, deserves credit for rescuing the Evelyn papers from oblivion and possible destruction. How near posterity came to losing the documents was reported by one of Bray's collaborators, William Upcott, who himself took credit for rescuing the papers. In 1813, Upcott and Bray were visiting descendants of John Evelyn at Wotton, near Dorking. In the course of an evening's conversation, Lady Evelyn pulled out of a drawer some old papers, a part of which had already been used for dress patterns. Other papers in the batch had been sent to the kitchen for use as waste paper (I, 53). Upcott and Bray persuaded the family to save John Evelyn's letters and journals, and ultimately Bray gained permission to publish a selection. This selection became the basis of the subsequent versions of the diary. The quality of Bray's editing was incredibly bad. Determined to make the diary easy to read and intelligible, he changed Evelyn's words and phraseology when it suited him. He omitted everything that he thought displeasing to the family, too intimate, or inappropriate for any reason. He rewrote passages to make them more "literary" and elegant. His alterations frequently changed Evelyn's meaning entirely. But this was too often the practice of editors in the nineteenth century, and many examples might be cited to show that Bray was no worse than many a contemporary of greater editorial experience, some of whom did not hesitate to take por-

tions of several letters and put them together when printing the correspondence of literary and historical figures.

But at last we have available a definitive edition of Evelyn's diary, superbly edited by Mr. E. S. de Beer from the family archives, and printed in a readable, attractive, and convenient format by the Clarendon Press. For more than twenty-five years Mr. de Beer has worked on this six-volume edition, which will remain a monument of erudition. The annotation is detailed, and the index, which occupies most of Volume VI, makes accessible by name and subject all the vast complex of observations that Evelyn made in the eighty-six years of his life. Volume I provides a biography of Evelyn, a description of the diary and of the manuscripts upon which it is based, an analysis of previous editions, an essay on the credibility and historical value of the documents, a list of Evelyn's writings, and the text of Evelyn's *De vita propria*, which contains autobiographical material repeated in somewhat different form in the *Kalendarium*, as Evelyn entitled the main portion of his diary. The *Kalendarium* occupies Volumes II-V. The editor has wisely put his textual and explanatory notes at the foot of the page where the reader can use them most easily. In Volume VI, in addition to the index, he has placed a few further explanations and corrections that came to light in the printing. In a work of scholarship, the reader could hardly ask for more than Mr. de Beer has provided in this excellent edition.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE LETTERS OF EDWARD GIBBON. Volume I, 1750-1773, LETTERS 1-236; Volume II, 1774-1784, LETTERS, 237-618; Volume III, 1784-1794, LETTERS 619-878. Edited by J. E. Norton. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. xxix, 407; xiv, 423; xiii, 464. \$30.00.)

A LONG history lies behind this carefully prepared and beautifully printed edition of the letters of Edward Gibbon. Two years after the historian's death, his friend Lord Sheffield published about three hundred letters, or parts of letters, in his edition of Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works* (2 vols., 1796), and others were added in the second edition (5 vols., 1814). Almost a third of these letters were written to Gibbon rather than by him. The next important step came in 1894, when Lord Sheffield's grandson transferred all the Gibbon papers in his possession to the British Museum. Mr. R. E. Prothero then published his *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon (1753-1794)* (2 vols., 1896), which included 647 letters, most of them written by Gibbon to his stepmother, Mrs. Dorothea Gibbon, or to Lord Sheffield. About the same time, Meredith Read and others published many letters written by Gibbon to friends in Switzerland, and other letters have since been published elsewhere. Miss Norton now republishes the entire set, along with several hitherto unpublished, in a collection of 878 letters. She modestly remarks that still other letters may turn up, but her search has been so diligent and so thorough that further major finds seem unlikely.

The value of the present edition lies less in the letters themselves than in Miss Norton's brilliant editorial work. She has carefully examined the original manuscripts, except in the few cases where they have been lost or destroyed, and she has contributed hundreds of extremely helpful notes identifying persons or explaining references. Her three indexes will win the gratitude of all who use the book. In addition to a general index and one of names, with biographical information about each person mentioned and a brief summary of his relations with Gibbon, there is an elaborate index to what the letters have to tell us about Gibbon's life and personality. This edition of the letters is the most valuable addition made to Gibbon studies since Bury's monumental edition of the *Decline and Fall*.

Miss Norton first made her reputation as a Gibbon specialist a few years ago with her *Gibbon Bibliography* (1940), in which she learnedly traced the mechanical preparation and publication of Gibbon's various books. She there showed herself to be a first-rate bibliographer, and the same quality is shown in the brevity and factuality of her notes to the letters. But it would be a pity if her enormous knowledge of Gibbon and his times remained buried in footnotes. In recent years she and other scholars have assembled a vast amount of new information about the great historian. These new studies began when D. M. Low edited *Gibbon's Journal to January 28th, 1763* (1929). Georges Bonnard of Lausanne followed with *Le Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne, 17 août 1763-19 avril 1764* (1945), and "Le séjour de Gibbon à Paris du 28 janvier au 9 mai 1763" (in *Miscellanea Gibboniana*, 1952), and he is said to be preparing an edition of Gibbon's journal during his Italian trip of 1764-1765. Unfortunately no one since Birkbeck Hill has attempted a critical edition of the *Memoirs* (1900), but Geoffrey Keynes has published a valuable study, *The Library of Edward Gibbon: A Catalogue of His Books* (1940), and Giuseppe Giarrizzo (a pupil of Croce) has examined Gibbon's place in the development of European historiography in his *Edward Gibbon e la cultura europea del settecento* (1954). A number of popular biographies of Gibbon have appeared in recent years, though none can compare in interest with Lord Sheffield's edition of Gibbon's own *Memoirs*. A full-dress scholar's biography of Gibbon is now urgently needed, and Miss Norton has shown herself to be the person to write it.

University of Illinois

J. W. SWAIN

UNREPENTANT TORY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ANDREW BONAR LAW, 1858-1923, PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.
By Robert Blake. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. 556. \$9.00.)

ROBERT Blake's admirable life of Bonar Law fills the gap which has so long remained in our shelf of biographies of the leaders in British politics during the First World War. No important figure of that generation is now uncommemorated, though it is becoming clear that two at least, Asquith and Curzon, are in

need of a fresh and unblinking scrutiny. Mr. Blake as a biographer has many virtues: a taste for political history and a thorough knowledge of it, a clear and unobtrusive style, a gift for narrative, a liking for his subject which warms but never blinds him. And he has made full use of documentary material, hitherto untouched, and quotes liberally from it, particularly from the Bonar Law papers in Lord Beaverbrook's possession, and the Royal Archives at Windsor.

Yet it is other qualities which bring distinction to the book. It is fair and frank (e.g., on party funds and the award of honors, pp. 100, 255, 499, and in the whole treatment of the Ulster crisis). It does not shrink, when it is necessary, from judgment. Only once, I think, does Mr. Blake fail to convince: in his account of Bonar Law's candidacy for the leadership of the Conservative party in 1911. For it is clear, from his own evidence, that Bonar Law's candidacy created the deadlock between Austen Chamberlain and Walter Long out of which its success came; and the reason for such persistence can only have been Law's ambition, and Lord Beaverbrook's.

From Mr. Blake's hands Bonar Law emerges as a much more important figure than is usually recognized. His influence in the Ulster crisis was powerful and, surprisingly, more moderate than that of many of his colleagues. As leader of the Opposition in 1914-1915 his policy was one of restraint (in the face of Lord Fisher's extraordinary epistolary indiscretions). When the time came, he took the lead in inducing Asquith to form the coalition government. He forced the decision to evacuate Gallipoli. His part in the fall of Asquith was crucial, particularly when he stood by Lloyd George after the latter's resignation, in contrast with the apparent deceitfulness of Curzon and the wavering of some other Conservatives (Mr. Blake's lucid account could hardly be bettered). In 1918 his decision made possible the postwar coalition, just as his speech at the Carlton Club meeting ended it. On these occasions he showed his stature: while serving the nation's interest he also preserved his party's unity. The most interesting fact in British politics today is the survival of the Conservative party; this the Conservatives owe to many forces, many leaders, but not least, as Mr. Blake has so convincingly shown us, to Bonar Law.

University of Chicago

C. L. MOWAT

UNE FAMILLE DE MARCHANDS, LES RUIZ: CONTRIBUTION A L'ETUDE DU COMMERCE ENTRE LA FRANCE ET L'ESPAGNE AU TEMPS DE PHILIPPE II. By *Henri Lapeyre*. [Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, no. 8.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1955. Pp. 671.)

THIS important and well-documented history of a company of international bankers contributes much to the understanding of the differences in the economic development of France and Spain and the other Catholic countries, Italy and Austria. There is impressive evidence that the weaknesses of the second gen-

eration in the Ruiz family both in Spain and in France were not an isolated phenomenon. When the attitudes of the second generation are considered in relation to the problems of usury and interest, it becomes evident that the development of capitalistic enterprise in France and Spain was obstructed as seriously by social considerations as by ecclesiastical prohibitions. This careful history of the Ruiz families in Spain and in France is, therefore, of great importance. Throughout the sixteenth century, the Italians dominated international banking and finance in France. The facts have long been known, but the Weber-Sombart theses have closed our eyes to their significance. The record of the Ruiz families is, therefore, an illuminating contribution to the understanding of the history of capitalistic enterprise in the sixteenth century.

The core of new documentation is the collection of letters and accounts in the Ruiz Hospital at Medina del Campo. These records cover much correspondence with the family in Nantes, and some supplementary material is available in France, notably in departmental and communal archives. The techniques of foreign exchange and of accounting are presented in general terms from the contemporary treatises, with full commentary upon any special features in the practice of the Ruiz firms, whether in exchange dealings or in accounting. The theological and ethical problems of exchange are, therefore, covered in great detail. The solutions were formal. Interest was not separately computed. It was included in the rate of exchange. To draw bills without providing coverage was regarded by the theologians as a patent usury, but it was not easy to prove deliberate intent to arrange no cover for bills. So there was a substantial flow of funds in re-exchange.

The activities of the Ruiz families involved much active trade between Brittany and Spain. Linen and grain were exported from Brittany. Wool was exported from Spain. There were, also, many minor lines of trade. Despite a great increase in lending to the crown, the Ruiz business was never exclusively a banking business. Within the period of the archives of the hospital at Medina del Campo, the fairs at Medina and Lyons were still clearing a substantial trade in goods. These trades are described in detail.

Despite the richness of the Ruiz archives, they add little to our knowledge of sixteenth-century business practice and procedure, because there were few changes at that time. The records cover the critical period in which the concept of negotiability was emerging in several jurisdictions, but they come to a close before the concept was securely established anywhere. The Ruiz records, therefore, establish an important date line. They show that in major financial centers like Lyons and Medina del Campo the new practices had not gained any foothold. The history of the family, however, adds immeasurably to our understanding of the sixteenth century. It is an essential supplement to Ehrenberg's great work on the age of the Fuggers.

SÉVILLE ET L'ATLANTIQUE (1504-1650). Première partie, PARTIE STATISTIQUE. Tome I, INTRODUCTION MÉTHODOLOGIQUE; Tome II, LE TRAFIC DE 1504 A 1560; Tome III, LE TRAFIC DE 1561 A 1595. By *Huguette and Pierre Chaunu*. [Ecole pratique des hautes études, VI^e section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, Routes, Trafics, Volume VI.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1955. Pp. xv, 332; 603; 571.)

ONE of the many pitfalls in the way of the economic historian is the temptation to rest content with a history of economic policy. The temptation is particularly strong in dealing with an institution like the Spanish Empire, whose government attempted a meticulous regulation of all economic activity, embodied its policies in a formidable mass of legislation, and enforced that legislation through a powerful and highly organized bureaucracy. The historian's attention is constantly drawn to the organization, the system; the facts of the trade or industry, which the system existed to regulate, may escape him.

The trade between Spain and Spanish America, throughout the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, both in value and volume of goods carried, was by far the biggest trans-Oceanic trade in the Western world. It was confined, at the Spanish end, to Seville and its satellite ports on the Guadalquivir, and was a monopoly in the hands of a corporation of Seville merchant houses, the *Consulado*. The crown, in establishing these restrictions, was moved by considerations political, religious, and strategic, as well as fiscal and economic. Regulation was entrusted to a powerful official organization, the *Casa de la Contratación*, and protection provided by an elaborate system of convoys. The system is fairly well known, through a number of notable books, particularly the seventeenth-century *Norte de la Contratación* of Veitia Linaje, and the modern works of Haring and Artiñano; but these administrative studies do not answer—or indeed ask—many of the questions which perplex the economic historian: how many ships, and of what tonnage? where built? by whom owned and by whom commanded? what cargoes? by whom shipped, at what prices and at what rates of duty? what were the profits, and who got them? To qualitative description, then, the economic historian must add quantitative analysis.

To make possible a quantitative assessment of trans-Atlantic shipping year by year, M. and Mme. Chaunu propose to tabulate every voyage between Spain and the Indies for the century and a half of their study. There are to be eight volumes: an introductory volume on sources and methods, five volumes of tables, one of charts and graphs, and one of summary and interpretation. Quantitative analysis on this scale has been undertaken fairly frequently in the history of prices, notably by E. J. Hamilton in studying Spanish prices during roughly the period covered by the present book. In the history of sea-borne trade it has been more rarely attempted. The classic example, with which the present book invites comparison, is Nina Ellinger Bang's great work on the Sound Tolls. The material used by the Chaunus, like the Sound Toll Registers, is voluminous, complicated, intractable, but remarkably continuous over a long period. Every ship sailing between Seville

and the Indies was required to register with the Casa for each voyage, out and back. Each *registro* formed a substantial volume, containing a detailed account of ship, company, and cargo. Some *registros* have disappeared; many were deliberately mislaid or mutilated for fraudulent purposes; but many have survived, in whole or in part. For convenience of reference, a catalogue of *registros* was kept in the Casa—a series of bound volumes which, miraculously, have survived intact. These *Libros de Registros* have been used by other scholars—by Haring, for example—but have never before been so thoroughly and critically analyzed. They supply the thread of continuity, the reference base of our authors' statistical construction. With the *Libros* as their guide, the authors have summarized the contents of some 580 bundles of *registros* and collated them with the corresponding (and chaotic) series of customs records (the *Avería*) and with the general correspondence of the Casa. From this great mass of papers, they have compiled, in the volumes at present under review, systematic and remarkably complete tables of the recorded movements of shipping between Seville and the Indies from 1504 to 1595.

Movements of shipping, not movements of goods. The officials of the Casa throughout its history were allied by many ties—friendship, marriage, *compadrazgo*, community of interests, more or less clandestine financial deals—with the great merchant houses of the Consulado. Their duty was to regulate trade; the actual collection of customs was separately farmed. Accordingly, the registration of shipping was rigorously enforced, because it was a means of maintaining the Seville monopoly. The registration of merchandise, on the other hand, being the basis for the assessment of duties, was systematically arranged to conceal the nature and value of the goods. The over-all quantity of goods could not, of course, be readily concealed; but containers were merely counted; formal statements of their contents were accepted, and the Casa regularly and successfully opposed requests of the *almojarifes* to be allowed to open them for inspection. The basis of assessment was thus arbitrary, formal, largely fictitious. Because of this "psychosis of fraud," as the authors call it, the nature of shipments to the Indies can be ascertained only in the roughest quantitative fashion. The authors do not even hazard estimates.

This, of course, is an inherent defect of the sources, and implies no criticism of the manner in which the sources have been used. Within the limits which they set for themselves, the authors have undertaken a task demanding perspicuity, immense industry, and technical competence of a high order. They have accomplished this task, in the volumes so far published, with conspicuous success. The lists and tables which they have compiled form an outstanding contribution not only to the history of the Spanish Empire but to the study of economic history in general; and every future historian of Atlantic shipping will have reason to be grateful.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION SEEN FROM THE RIGHT: SOCIAL THEORIES IN MOTION, 1789-1799. By *Paul H. Beik*, Associate Professor of History, Swarthmore College. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLVI, Part 1.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1956. Pp. 122. \$2.00.)

THIS study, which deals exclusively with the Right, is the first product of Professor Beik's projected examination of the conflicting social theories of the French Revolution. By his definition the Right refers to those men who were willing to incorporate the Estates General regularly into the political life of France but who refused to press reform beyond that point. Obviously all the spokesmen of this "Right" could not be studied; the author has limited his task to the analysis of twenty-one cases which he has selected with rare discrimination. Through these twenty-one spokesmen we are given an intimate glimpse into the social philosophy of the Right as it evolved during the decade after 1789. For most cases the starting point is political opinion, followed by a search for, and examination of, beliefs about social classes, history, religion, social science, and "whatever else the observer found necessary to an explanation of his times" (p. 4).

Starting with the dualism of French conservatism in 1789, on one hand the "absolutists" who sought to strengthen the edifice of absolutism by immobilizing the various corporate groups which helped to paralyze the royal administration and on the other hand the "aristocrats" who tried to limit royal power for their own interest, the author, after studying the twenty-one cases, reaches in his last chapter, "Social Theories in Motion," challenging and thoughtful conclusions. By 1799 he finds the revival of absolutism and conversely, if we remember the dualism involved, the decline of "the aristocratic limiting" which had so strongly endorsed the calling of the Estates General in 1789. As students of the Revolution might guess, he marks August, 1792, as the watershed of the Right's willingness, in political theory, to have the people on its side. As the Revolution grew older the Right relied increasingly upon the nobility as an intermediary power between king and people; religion more often became a premise for political viewpoint and a guarantee of justice and social order; traditionalism increased; and finally there was greater subordination of the individual "to the corporate parts and to the whole" (p. 107). As a result of Professor Beik's careful and penetrating analysis, we gain new insights into why French conservatism, which in 1789 was in part liberal, became rather solidly reactionary a decade later, losing touch with "the socially and politically possible" (p. 110).

This is an admirable piece of scholarship and original thought which will help all students of the Revolution and of France since 1789 to understand the thought and action of the Right. It is to be hoped that the author will continue his study of social theories in action until he has given us an equally profound analysis of the Moderates and the Left.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

ASPECTS DE LA CRISE ET DE LA DEPRESSION DE L'ECONOMIE FRANÇAISE AU MILIEU DU XIX^e SIÈCLE, 1846-1851. Etudes sous la direction de E. Labrousse. [Bibliothèque de la Révolution de 1848, tome XIX.] (La Roche-sur-Yon: Imprimerie Centrale de l'Ouest. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 356. 700 fr.)

PROFESSOR Labrousse has argued cogently that the study of the French economic crisis of the mid-nineteenth century calls for a collective effort. The latest volume of the "Etudes" of the Société de la Révolution de 1848 offers a valuable collective effort under his direction: twelve local monographic essays by sixteen younger historians and geographers and an introductory, unifying essay by Professor Labrousse himself. The essays themselves are individual works, except for the interesting joint study of the industrial crisis in the Nord by five scholars associated with the promising new Centre d'études historiques régionales of the faculty of letters of the University of Lille.

Each essay considers a *département* or city or region in the provinces, with the exception of one chapter on the 1847 crisis as seen by the "milieux d'affaires" of Paris. The authors are concerned chiefly to find out how each phase of the crisis (or each of the separate crises) of 1846-1851 arose, how it came to an end, and the incidences on various social groups and on agriculture, trade, and industry in rural and urban areas. Some explore more than others the relationship of political and psychological factors to the purely economic factors. There are heroic efforts to marshal quantitative data from the municipal, departmental, and national archives, the chamber of commerce records, the registers of bankruptcies, and the press. Agricultural and bread prices naturally furnish the most solid time series. The wage data and figures on employment and unemployment are sketchier, as are the ingenious attempts to utilize *octroi* figures on lumber arrivals to deduce changes in construction and general economic activity. But in this realm, "guesstimates" are welcome.

All the essays offer more detailed factual information than confident explanation. As Professor Labrousse remarks (p. iv), "a veritable study of causality . . . would require a much vaster chronological and geographic framework." Among the merits of the book is its wealth of suggestions for further research.

Comparative history may be coming back into its own, if it will be sober and touched with humility as well as imaginative and venturesome. Perhaps as useful as international comparisons are the comparisons of regions, industries, and social and occupational groups within a single nation. For such study no country is richer and more rewarding than France. The authors of this volume have given us significant materials and insights for such comparative history, and for the general analyses of economic crises and the preludes to revolution and reaction, as well as for the specific study of 1848 and the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851.

HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DE LA TROISIÈME RÉPUBLIQUE. Volume I, L'AVANT-GUERRE (1906-1914). By *Georges Bonnefous*. Preface by André Siegfried. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. xvi, 434. 1,500 fr.)

AMONG the standard reference works on modern French history, *L'Année politique* has long held an eminent place. It appeared regularly from 1874 to 1905 and was resurrected in 1945. M. Bonnefous, shortly before his death in 1946, undertook to fill the long gap in the series by producing four volumes which will summarize, in chronological fashion, the political events of the period 1906-1940. Few men would have been better qualified to assume that task, for M. Bonnefous was himself a deputy from 1910 to 1936 and was several times a cabinet minister. But he possessed an even more remarkable qualification: under the pseudonym André Daniel, he was compiler and author of the old *Année politique* for several years prior to 1905. It is rare indeed that a historian finds time and energy to return to an interrupted task a full four decades after abandoning it.

Within the limits that M. Bonnefous has set for himself, he has done an excellent job. He has summarized the activities of parliament, nothing more nor less; and in doing so, he has sought to preserve the most rigid objectivity. No one can fairly quarrel with him for having chosen to summarize the facts rather than to interpret them. Still, the value of such a chronology published fifty years after the event may be open to some question. The book ought to be useful, but somehow it is difficult to see just who will find it so. Reviewers must always be wary of scolding an author for having failed to write a different book; yet in this case one cannot help regretting that M. Bonnefous did not do so. After all, few Frenchmen possessed his remarkably intimate knowledge of politics in the Third Republic, or could recall many years of daily association with Jaurès, Clemenceau, Poincaré, and most of the prominent men of a whole historical epoch. A scholarly insider's account of French parliamentary life—of the pressures that are brought to bear on deputies, of the mechanics of party organization, of the way in which parliament really arrives at decisions—would have been invaluable to future historians of the Third Republic. Occasionally M. Bonnefous does give the reader a brief glimpse of life among the politicians; and when he does (as in his account of the Rochette scandal), the book suddenly rises above mere chronology. One can only hope that, in his later volumes, M. Bonnefous will be more sparing of the carbolic acid and the rubber gloves of the antiseptic school of historians.

University of Oregon

GORDON WRIGHT

TRE PROFILI: BENEDETTO XIV, PASQUALE STANISLAO MANCINI, PIETRO ROSELLI. By *Emilia Morelli*. [Quaderni del Risorgimento, 9.] (Rome: Ateneo. 1955. Pp. 162. L. 1300.)

EMILIA Morelli, editorial secretary of the *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, has achieved a fair degree of success in her difficult attempt to appraise the role of character, habit, and temperament in the careers of three able men who might have been great but somehow failed to be more than important. Though there is no preface to tell us so, the subjects of these essays have two things in common, and these characteristics may hold the answer to the author's unsolved dilemma; they were all prodigiously hard workers who might well have lived only to contradict *dolce far niente* as an Italian attitude, and they were all, in their way, "moderates."

Benedict XIV was best known in his time as a wit, a patron of archaeological studies and as a master of canonical subtleties. Later students of the papacy give him full credit for these qualities but have tended to deal harshly with him as the man who failed to deal firmly enough with threats to religion and papal prerogatives on the part of kings, Jansenists, and Jesuits. Miss Morelli concludes, in her search for the mainsprings of his action, that Benedict might have done more harm to the church if he had been less "liberal," that he was at least honest, and that he cannot be fairly blamed for not seeing the great crises that came after his death.

Pasquale Stanislao Mancini was a moderate of the next century. A brilliant poet, journalist, and lawyer, his private practice won him the sobriquet of "Bellini of the Bar," and his writings, particularly after his exile in Piedmont, are supposed to have "raised nationality from the level of sentiment to that of scientific dignity" (p. 88). His weighty tomes on the law of nations never won Mancini the public acclaim enjoyed by his fellow moderates Gioberti, Balbo, and D'Azeglio, but his importance as inventor and annotator of the ideas they used is fully worthy of Miss Morelli's new efforts. It is notable, however, that although she lays emphasis upon Mancini's anguished development from Neapolitan to Piedmontese and from Piedmontese to Italian, the author has nothing to say of his abandonment of moderation to become the imperialist who acquired Assab in 1869 with the declaration that "the keys to the Mediterranean are in the Red Sea" and, later on, the radical nationalist who fervently defended the triple alliance against bitter parliamentary opposition.

The rather obscure fame of Pietro Roselli depends upon the fact that it was he and not Garibaldi who was placed in supreme command of the forces defending the Roman Republic in 1849. Mazzini felt that it was most important to have this respectable moderate in the European limelight rather than the red republican, but his decision meant that the courageous master of guerrilla warfare would be under the orders of a papal professional who despised irregulars and was far more familiar with the theory of war than its practice. Garibaldi may have made more than his share of wild mistakes in June of 1849, but it was almost certainly the incapacity of Roselli that lost the Janiculum and with it the Roman Republic. Interesting though it is for its ironic upshot and for the evidence that Roselli felt his guilt, this brief search for the psychological roots of Roselli's incompetence

fails to reveal the qualities in him that caused Mazzini both to like him and to trust his professional ability.

Northwestern University

GEORGE T. ROMANI

DER RUNDFUNK ALS INSTRUMENT DER POLITIK: ZUR GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN RUNDFUNKS VON 1923/38. By *Heinz Pohle*. [Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe für Rundfunk und Fernsehen, Band I.] (Hamburg: Verlag Hans Bredow Institut. 1955. Pp. 480. DM 15.80.)

WITH untold possibilities of development after the initial technical problems were solved in the early 1920's, the radio quickly challenged the newspaper press as the most effective instrument of mass communication. Historians have nevertheless been slow in coming to grips with it, for it involves not only the technical difficulties of treating propaganda in general but others as well. As a result, little of the necessary spadework has so far been done. For the use of the radio in German politics, Dr. Pohle's monograph goes far to meet this need. Sponsored by the Hans Bredow Institut (Bredow was to a large extent the founder of the German radio) of the University of Hamburg, it is the first volume of a series on radio and television and a worthy addition to the valuable contributions of German scholarship to the study of the newspaper press. It calls attention to the need of similar studies in other countries.

The author combines the chronological and analytical methods with good results, treating the Weimar Republic and the early years of the Third Reich in the first two parts and selected problems of National Socialist foreign policy in a third. Since the totalitarian purposes and methods of National Socialist propaganda have already received much attention, Dr. Pohle's discussion of the Weimar period is fresher and, in some respects, more enlightening. It reveals a progressive increase of governmental ownership and control through successive directives until von Papen virtually completed the process in 1932; in this direction, little remained to be done by the National Socialists. At first and in theory, the republican government used its control in support of a neutral attitude in politics in order to foster independence of judgment, as in panel discussions by spokesmen of various parties—the Communists and National Socialists always excepted—but practice departed more and more from theory. President Hindenburg, Foreign Minister Stresemann, and other officials spoke over national hook-ups without providing equivalent facilities for the opposition to reply, and news reports were not allowed to depart from the sense of officially prepared texts. Under von Papen, the government planned a more thorough political exploitation of the radio, but the Hartsburg Front enabled Gregor Strasser, Joseph Goebbels, and others to expound Nazi doctrine freely over the air.

While Dr. Pohle believes with reason that the Republic erred in not using the radio more extensively in its own defense, it is a fact that the radio had little or nothing to do with Hitler's rise to power. Hitler and Goebbels, who had con-

stantly attacked the Republic's radio policy, promptly seized it, expanding its sending installations and its audience in every possible way, and integrated it into the vast propaganda machine. In regard to techniques, there was a good deal of trial and error, but the author's conclusion is doubtless correct that the radio played a large part in impressing the National Socialist pattern and the Hitler myth upon the German people. The discussion of the *Anschluss* and the Saar plebiscite, though interesting and useful for the administrative details it contains, has little that is new.

For the substance of his study, Dr. Pohle's most valuable sources are the hitherto largely unexploited professional journals and other contemporary periodicals, and he acquired useful oral and written evidence on key questions from surviving witnesses. He was unable, through no fault of his, to use the possibly nonexistent archives of Goebbels' propaganda ministry. It is high time that their fate should if possible be ascertained and any surviving material released for scholarly research along with the greater part of Goebbels' diaries that is missing from Louis P. Lochner's book.

Duke University

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

DAS HEER UND DIE REPUBLIK: QUELLEN ZUR POLITIK DER REICHSWEHRFUHRUNG, 1918 BIS 1933. By *Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf*. (Frankfurt a. M.: Norddeutsche Verlagsanstalt O. Goedel. 1955. Pp. 399. DM 14.80.)

To describe this interesting and important volume as a "source book" is to do it scant justice. Mr. Schüddekopf has indeed brought together—from printed documentary series, contemporary memoirs, newspapers and periodicals and unpublished papers—a body of source materials which will in themselves be enormously useful to students of military policy in the Weimar period, especially since the selections are supplemented with exhaustive notes which are filled with valuable bibliographical information. But the author's balanced and objective introductions to the various sections of this book and his thoughtful and lengthy comments on the materials presented are as interesting as the selections themselves; and this book must therefore be included in any list of the best histories of the German army in this period.

As one would expect, Mr. Schüddekopf's main theme is the failure of the army leadership to adjust itself to the situation created by the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republican government in 1918. This was a failure, he shows, that was attributable, among other things, to the shock caused by the enforced break with tradition, to the effects of the war in destroying the homogeneity of the officer corps, to the emphasis within the army upon technical proficiency at the expense of other values (a theme which Friedrich Meinecke elaborated in his last work), and to a propensity for playing politics while professing to be nonpolitical, a failing which led in the end to a fatal alliance with the most

disciplined and "national" of the political parties, the NSDAP. But the author does not blame the army's failure exclusively upon the military chiefs themselves. He insists that it was due in part to the difficulties caused by the doctrinaire and unrealistic military policy of the Social Democrats. Much that he has to say in this latter respect, and many of his documents, have a striking relevance to the current army debates in Germany.

The selections are arranged in seven sections: the first two dealing with the revolution of 1918 and the Ebert-Groener agreement; the third with the Freikorps; the fourth largely with the Kapp *Putsch* and the troubles in the Ruhr in 1920; the fifth with the Seeckt period; the sixth with relations between the army and the republic in the late twenties; and the seventh with relations between the Reichswehr and the NSDAP between 1930 and 1933. This last section includes, among other things, the most satisfactory discussion of the effects of the so-called Ulm *Prozess* that has yet appeared, in addition to some most interesting illustrations of the policies of Kurt von Schleicher.

Most of the materials in the first four sections (which occupy less than a third of the book) will not be new to students of the period. The last three sections, however, include a good deal of material that is either new or from sources that are hard to come by; and the hundred-odd pages on the army and National Socialism are especially rich in selections from the Groener papers (as edited by Reginald Phelps and others) and the Schleicher collection at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

PREUSSEN UND RUSSLAND VON DEN ANFÄNGEN DES DEUTSCHEN ORDENS BIS ZU PETER DEM GROSSEN. By Kurt Forstreuter. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 23.] (Göttingen: Muster-schmidt Verlag, 1955. Pp. 257. DM 16.80.)

THIS excellent outline of the early phase of Prussian-Russian relations is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's previous study *Preussen und Russland im Mittelalter* (Osteuropa Verlag, 1938. Osteurop. Forschungen, N.F. Bd. 25). More than half the book (pp. 17-182) is devoted to the diplomatic aspects of the Prussian-Russian relations against the extremely complicated international background of eastern Europe. The second part of the book deals with the personal contacts between the Russians and Prussians ("Russen in Preussen," pp. 183-88, and "Preussen in Russland," pp. 189-95), trade (pp. 196-214), and cultural interrelations (pp. 215-34).

The difficulty in handling his subject, which the author has overcome in a masterly way, is that neither Prussia nor Russia remained the same during the period the author deals with (1240-1700). Prussia changed completely her political and ideological face after the Reformation, and Russia had not one but several faces in the early part of the period studied by the author. Until the seculari-

zation of 1525, the Teutonic Order *was* Prussia. As the Livonian Order became part of the Teutonic, Prussia was involved in Livonia's struggle with Novgorod and Pskov, often against her own interests. The Teutonic Order constituted a militant branch of Roman Catholicism, not a territorial state. The Order was supposed to wage a permanent war against the unbelievers (to which class the Russians as "schismatics" belonged). The Order could conclude, when necessary, an "armistice" with the unbelievers but no permanent peace (pp. 19, 48). It was only when Prussia became a secular duchy that the principles of her foreign policies toward Russia could have been officially changed. As for Russia, during the Mongol period Belorussia and Ukraine recognized the authority of the grand duke of Lithuania, and Galicia was annexed to Poland. The two city-states, Novgorod and Pskov, were virtually independent, while in the east the Grand Duchy of Moscow grew steadily.

In view of the complex and constantly changing situation, the author had to deal separately with "Prussia and Ukraine" (pp. 21-42), "Novgorod and Pskov" (pp. 43-57), and "Prussia between Lithuania and Moscow" (pp. 58-74). Not until the beginning of the sixteenth century did direct relations between Prussia and Moscow become important, and it is with these relations that the remaining chapters in the first part of the book are concerned: "Prussia and Moscow, 1511-1525" (pp. 75-100); "Herzog Albrecht and Moscow, 1525-1568" (pp. 101-15); the fantastic "Interlude" of the adventurers Hans Schlitte and Veit Seng (pp. 116-36); "Prussia, Poland, and Russia, 1572-1640" (pp. 137-57); and finally "Brandenburg and Russia, 1640-1700" (pp. 158-82).

Forstreuter's work is based on a careful study of the German archive materials, as well as on that of the published documents, both German and Russian. The book will be of great assistance to the students of the history of both Prussia and Russia, as well as of that of eastern Europe at large.

Yale University

GEORGE VERNADSKY

ISWOLSKY UND AEHRENTHAL VOR DER BOSNISCHEN ANNEXIONS-KRISE: RUSSISCHE UND ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHE BALKANPOLITIK, 1906-1908. By *W. M. Carlgren*. (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri. 1955. Pp. xii, 334.)

RUSSIA and Austria-Hungary were rivals in Balkan affairs from the eighteenth century on, and in the successive crises of the nineteenth century usually took opposite sides. In 1897, however, because Russia was becoming increasingly involved in the Far East and Austria was torn by internal dissensions, Balkan problems were "put on ice" by an agreement to maintain the status quo. This was reinforced in 1903 when the conservative Russian minister Lamsdorf and the cautious Austrian minister Goluchowski worked out the Müritzsteg program for reforms in Macedonia. Both ministers retired in 1906, and their successors, A. P. Izvolsky in Russia and Baron Aehrenthal in Austria, were both ambitious men whose

recklessness led to a crisis of the first magnitude, that produced by the Austrian annexation of Bosnia in October, 1908.

It is with the activity of the two ministers prior to the annexation crisis (which has been fully explored by other writers) that Mr. Carlgren concerns himself. He has been able to use the archives of the Vienna foreign office and the private papers of some Austrian diplomatists, and also various Russian documents published in *Krasny Archiv* and elsewhere. But he does not confine himself to Austro-Russian relations; he shows how these were affected by the policies of Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Turkey. He has produced, then, a well-rounded study which offers a safe and sure guide to a complicated situation.

Long before he came to the Ballhausplatz, while he was ambassador in Russia, Aehrenthal had conceived the plan of annexing Bosnia, Serbia, and Old Serbia to the Habsburg state—and of paying Russia for this by agreeing to a Russian seizure of Constantinople (p. 19). Since Izvolsky took office with the determination to change the existing rule at the Straits (p. 74), a "deal" seemed likely enough, and at first the relations between the two ministers were cordial. But Izvolsky was intent on an *entente* with Great Britain, which Aehrenthal did not relish, while the latter was anxious to revive the Three Emperors' League, which the former did not like. Further disagreements followed about Macedonian reforms and Balkan railways, with the result that Austro-Russian relations became more strained than they had been for twenty years. Mr. Carlgren tells this story clearly and fully, leaving no doubt that Aehrenthal, somewhat unscrupulously, outplayed Izvolsky and maneuvered him into proposing, on July 2, 1908, to trade Russian consent to the annexation of Bosnia (hitherto withheld) for Austrian support for the opening of the Straits. In view of his previous experiences with Aehrenthal, Izvolsky might have been wary, but he did not hesitate and plunged into a course which led to his undoing. Mr. Carlgren stops at this point.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

BELORUSSIA, THE MAKING OF A NATION: A CASE STUDY and A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO BELORUSSIA. By *Nicholas P. Vařar*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Vol. XXII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 297; xii, 63. \$6.50, \$2.00.)

THE chief difficulty in the study of Belorussia's history lies in defining the scope of the topic. The term "Belorussia" and its derivatives include at least three distinct and by no means fully compatible ingredients: the territory presently incorporated in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic; the population of this territory, consisting of Belorussians proper as well as Jews, Russians, and Poles; and, finally, the Belorussian national movement. The territory of Belorussia lacks an independent history: its history is that of the Kievan state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian Empire, and its successor, the Soviet Union. The population which inhabits this area—native and non-native alike—

has at no point in the past displayed definite awareness of a specifically Belorussian national consciousness, and, insofar as it was called upon to show preference, tended to identify itself with its culturally superior neighbors, particularly Poland and Russia. As for the nationalism of the Belorussian intelligentsia, the best that can be said for it is that it represents a belated and rather faint echo of the nationalist movement which has been agitating the minorities of the Russian state ever since the nineteenth century. It has failed dismally in establishing any lasting contact with its own population, and played virtually no part in the history of either the territory or the people of Belorussia.

The fundamental shortcoming of Mr. Vakar's book is his failure to distinguish these diverse elements of the problem. His ostensible purpose is to trace the emergence of Belorussian nationhood, but since this process is of quite recent origin and by no means clearly manifest, he is compelled to devote a considerable part of his narrative to the history of a territory and a population whose relationship to this process has been of a most tenuous kind. The very title of his book reflects some of the confusion inherent in this approach.

Within these limitations, Mr. Vakar has done a good and workmanlike job. His research has been thorough, and his narrative is dispassionate, steering successfully between the rocks of pro-Belorussian and anti-Belorussian prejudice. The evidence which he adduces tends to confirm the impression prevalent among uncommitted students of the subject that the emergence of a full-fledged Belorussian nation lies still in the future. The Belorussian S.S.R. may well represent a rather unusual example of a people in possession of a "state" (if the term is at all applicable to the so-called Soviet republics) before it has attained to national consciousness. The reason for this phenomenon, as well as for the admission of Belorussia to the United Nations (a fact to which Mr. Vakar seems to attach undue significance) must, of course, be sought in the internal and external needs of the Soviet regime rather than in the pressures of Belorussian nationalism. For the future prospects Mr. Vakar has this to say in conclusion: "The waters are not clear, and Belorussia is still in the making."

The bibliography to this book is unfortunately published and sold under separate cover. This in itself need not be condemned as a bad publishing practice, since it keeps down the price of the text, were it not for the fact that the author uses in his references a code system which can be deciphered only with the aid of the separate bibliography. The main volume is, therefore, not entirely self-contained. The extensive and carefully prepared bibliography includes of necessity a large number of titles which deal not with the Belorussian nation but with its neighbors and political masters. It represents a most useful tool for future research on the subject.

Harvard University

RICHARD PIPES

HISTORIA POLSKI. Volume I, DO ROKU 1764. Part 1, DO POŁOWY XV W. Part 2, OD POŁOWY XV W. Edited by *Henryk Łowmianski*. [Pub-

lished under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of History.] (Warsaw: State Publishing House for Scholarly Works. 1955. Pp. 630; 780; maps.)

THIS volume was published for the express purpose of discussion from which a definitive work is to emerge. It is the first major attempt to interpret the history of Poland in conformity with the ideology and objectives of the ruling Communist party. Judged by the general performance of its authors—as well as by the current attack against Stalin, whose works are cited liberally—this volume will require much revision.

In this symposium by several authors, the history of Poland is presented in terms of continuous class struggle. It reads as a chronology of mass uprisings by workers and peasants against the nobility, the church, and occasionally against foreign invaders. While pursuing this oversimplified theme, the authors have been compelled to devote a great deal of attention to diverse aspects of Poland's economic, social, and political organization. In particular, they have emphasized the relationship among various layers of Polish society, the way of life, the development of technology, and the significance of trade. They have also treated cultural topics at considerable length. Much of the information on these and other problems is based on pre-World War II literature. Some is supported by new source material and archaeological findings. The entire volume is liberally sprinkled with citations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

In addition to examining economic, social, political, and cultural problems, this work attempts to reinterpret the history of Poland's foreign relations. As might be expected, the authors greatly exaggerate the discords between Poland and the West, viz., the Holy Roman Empire, the papacy, and Prussia. Russo-Polish disagreements, on the other hand, are either minimized or attributed exclusively to aggressive policies of the Polish aristocracy and/or the Roman Catholic Church. Hence, the authors contend at great length that one of the basic motives behind the Polish-Lithuanian Union was the desire of the Polish and Lithuanian magnates to enlarge their estates at the expense of the Russian principalities. They regard this desire for expansion as one of the fundamental causes of Poland's downfall, for, in their view, Russia was "consolidated and ready" for any eventuality—notwithstanding the prevailing belief of would-be aggressors to the contrary (Part 1, pp. 514-15; Part 2, pp. 182, 212).

These and other *simpliste* interpretations seem to wander far from the historian's general task of sifting and evaluating diverse source material and reconciling its conflicting testimony. Religious, cultural, political, and defensive considerations, which are almost entirely neglected in this work, weighed far more heavily in establishing the Union than did the alleged desire for territorial expansion.

This new appraisal, motivated as it manifestly is by contemporary political circumstance, is based not on historical reality but on Marxist classics and on the

works of Soviet historians. The entire volume, in effect, bears a striking resemblance to standard Soviet histories on Russia as to interpretation, organization, and presentation.

Despite several valuable sections on domestic problems, the overwhelming one-sidedness of this volume prevents it from meeting the scholarly standards of a historical work. Its chief contribution lies in useful essays on bibliography and historiography, as well as numerous photographs, plates, and drawings. It is to be hoped that in revising this work the authors will be able to provide their readers with more intellectual light that guides rather than blinds.

Portland State College, Oregon

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

THE BALKANS IN OUR TIME. By *Robert Lee Wolff*. [The American Foreign Policy Library, Russian Research Center Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. xxi, 618. \$8.00.)

THERE can be few jobs of historical synthesis more difficult than the writing of a contemporary history of the Balkans. Professor Wolff has successfully done this. Concentrating on the years since 1939, and even more on the period since 1944, which comprises over half the book, he has amassed a tremendous quantity of scattered material to produce a thoughtful account of recent developments in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania. Many students of the Balkans will regret the exclusion of Greece, but the author has chosen to deal only with the Communist-dominated states. Throughout the book looms the shadow of Russia.

A geographical survey of this peninsula of "inner fragmentation and outer accessibility" is followed by a description of the Balkan peoples and by a one-hundred-page history of the area from Byzantium to World War II. This introductory section is sprinkled with observations on the effects of Balkan society and history on contemporary problems. It concludes with an economic survey emphasizing the endemic poverty of the peasantry.

Developments during World War II are taken largely country by country; here the most interesting sections are on the partition of Yugoslavia under Nazi domination, on the Tito-Mihailovich controversy, and on the Yugoslav influence in organizing Albanian Communists. For Westerners perhaps the most instructive part recounts how Communists achieved domination between 1944 and 1948, and particularly how in Rumania and Bulgaria they splintered and destroyed the leadership of other parties. Meanwhile Russian political and economic influence—the latter especially through joint companies like the Sov-Roms in Rumania—increased apace. Albania emerged as a "satellite's satellite," dependent on Yugoslavia. The analysis of the Soviet-Yugoslav dispute and its repercussions is well done. For the years since 1944, Wolff gives as much space to economic as to political analysis, probing the difficulties of forced collectivization and industrial development. Nor does he omit international disputes, some of which reveal pointedly that Balkan Communists cannot forget their nationalism.

In a way it is too bad that Professor Wolff did not have, when he wrote, the full Yalta documents and Krushchev's speech to the twentieth party congress. The latter would have furnished him Stalin's magnificent dictum: "I will shake my little finger—and there will be no more Tito." But it is a tribute to Wolff's book that such revelations would change nothing essential in it. He wrote in 1954, adding in the summer of 1955 an epilogue which adumbrates the recent Yugoslav-Russian rapprochement.

In spots the account is crammed with names of Balkan politicians and parties which will make hard sledding for the uninitiated reader. But other passages are clear and even entertaining. Balkan specialists will find occasional points or omissions with which to quarrel. The author seems somewhat more at home in Rumania and Yugoslavia than in Bulgaria. But this is a painstaking work; though footnotes are held to a minimum, authorities are frequently cited in the text, and a good bibliographical essay is appended. This is obviously not the last word on the recent history of the four countries, but it is certainly now the best.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

Far Eastern History

FAR EASTERN POLITICS IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD. By *Harold M. Vinacke*, University of Cincinnati. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1956. Pp. xii, 497. \$5.00.)

"THE climate of American opinion" on Far Eastern affairs during the past decade has multiplied many times the perils of the contemporary historian whose function even in periods of "normalcy" is difficult enough. Thus the appearance of *Far Eastern Politics in the Postwar Period* is doubly welcome, for it is not only a convenient, detailed survey but also a temperate narrative so unlike the monstrous propaganda of recent years as to suggest the study of some remote time rather than the contemporary scene.

Of its approximately 500 pages slightly more than 100 are given to the historical background setting of 1945. Here the author deals in compressed form with: "The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire," "Power Relationships in the Far East before 1945," and "The Kuomintang Period of the Chinese Revolution." The remainder of the study, save for a brief chapter of conclusions, ranges across the whole area of the Far East, 1945-1955, treating such major fields as: Communism in China, the People's Republic, the Korean war, imperialism and nationalism in Indochina, postwar Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines, and concludes with extensive treatment of postwar Japan.

The major contribution of this study is its presentation of the essential detailed narrative extracted from the great mass of contemporary and confusing evidence available. Each chapter contains a selected bibliography chosen with discrimination. The usefulness of the volume would have been greatly increased by an adequate documentation throughout the text.

The study is not easy reading nor is the style enlivened by the color, the emotion, the tragedy, or the accomplishments of the past ten years. The student who wishes to feel the action, the conflict of Far Eastern revolution, will not find it in these pages. What he will find is a careful factual narrative, a valuable source for reference, and an interpretation marked by such restraint as at times to becloud violent issues rather than to highlight them.

Duke University

PAUL H. CLYDE

American History

THE COLONIAL AMERICAN IN BRITAIN. By *William L. Sachse*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 290. \$5.50.)

It is difficult to avoid the unpatriotic conclusion that a very large proportion (perhaps, even, a majority) of the people who settled the British colonies of North America, especially those of the first generation who had first-hand knowledge of the Old World, would have eagerly forsaken their American homes and returned whence they had come had it been financially or, in some cases, legally possible for them to have done so. Many had come, like thousands of European emigrants in the nineteenth century, with the clear intent to return as soon as they had amassed money and property enough (or both) to join the ranks of the "gentlemen"—or at least of the wealthy tradesmen—of their homeland. Others had come, of course, for conscience's sake—voluntarily, as in the case of the English and many of the Scots and Germans, or involuntarily, as in the case of the French Huguenots and some others. But even among those who had left their homelands for religious "freedom," many would have gladly returned to risk their souls' salvation among the known hazards of prelacy, popery, idolatry, and persecution in preference to the wild, ill-regulated, formless, dangerous, rude, unpredictable, and uncivilizing forces of colonial life. Death cut short the hopes of many; poverty and hard luck born of a lack of initial capital, ineptitude, and poor planning left many more disillusioned and sick at heart, "stuck" in the American wilderness. John Dunton, in his *Letters from New England*, wrote that colonists in the Massachusetts Bay, "even to their 80th year," were "still pleasing themselves with hopes of returning to England." Such hopes were by no means confined to the people of the Bay Colony nor, for that matter, to the English colonists alone.

Professor Sachse presents 207 pages, buttressed with 65 pages more of footnotes, devoted to those American colonists who, by one means and another and for one reason and another, managed to return to Europe and to stay there permanently or, more frequently, to make one or more visits to their homeland, some of which were of several years' duration. Attention is focused almost solely upon English colonists who returned to England, although a few visited Scotland or Ireland and even made something of the Grand Tour of the Continent.

They consisted, generally, of students who went to England for their education; Anglicans who went to London to receive holy orders; sectarian missionaries (mostly Quakers); colonial agents dispatched on official business; land speculators; merchants; persons seeking political preferment; emissaries seeking aid for charitable and educational enterprises; men of science, letters, and arts; pre-Revolutionary patriots petitioning for colonial rights; and Loyalists of the American Revolution. Most of these were persons of means (their own or the public's); very few belonged to that larger, despairing element referred to above, nearly all of whom were doomed to remain in the colonies and to become the immediate forefathers of the United States of America.

There is much information about the perils of ocean voyages, the rising costs of transport, where colonials stayed in London, the favorite inns and coffee-houses, the clubs, the places visited, etc. American colonials seemed to do about the same things that tourists do today. Professor Sachse finds Anglophilism widespread in the colonies until the eve of the Revolution. Some colonials who visited England after about 1765 appeared to believe that the homeland was becoming decadent; but most of them still considered England "home" even after the Revolution.

This is a meticulous, detailed, solidly founded, matter-of-fact book. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the book fails to impart the emotional aspects of "going home" or of yearning to return "home" that so patently affected large segments of the colonial population.

University of Illinois

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

TRAVELS IN THE OLD SOUTH: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Volume I, THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1527-1783: FROM THE SPANISH EXPLORATIONS THROUGH THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume II, THE EXPANDING SOUTH, 1750-1825: THE OHIO VALLEY AND THE COTTON FRONTIER. Edited by *Thomas D. Clark*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, No. 19.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 330; xv, 292. \$20.00 the set.)

SEVERAL years ago the University of Oklahoma Press published E. Merton Coulter's *Travels in the Confederate States* (1948) in its "American Exploration and Travel Series." Chronology recovers lost prestige in the first and second volumes of southern travel bibliography which Thomas D. Clark and his associates have been compiling for a dozen years. Seven historians—A. B. Thomas, Hugh T. Lefler, Lester J. Cappon, John D. Barnhart, William B. Hamilton, Walter B. Posey, and Culver H. Smith—have contributed period-regional segments to the present installment. Five hundred and seventy entries are listed for the three-century span; nearly four hundred of them are for its last seventy-five years.

Among observers of early southern life and institutions were explorers, soldiers, land hunters, and immigrant agents; Quaker, Anglican, and Catholic mission-

aries; teachers, farmers, and merchants; political philosophers and sightseers; surveyors, physicians, and scientists. Many of them were Americans, but British, French, Spanish, German, Dutch, and other foreigners made valuable reports on what they saw and experienced, often surpassing natives in accuracy and comprehensiveness. Travelers wrote about the long ocean voyage to America; the habits, religious practices, and intertribal warfare of the Indians; the conflict between homeland and colonies; governmental structure, public officials, and democracy; brickmaking, shipbuilding, and flour manufacturing; staple crops, agricultural methods, and Negro slavery; flatboats on the western waters, overland travel conditions, inns, and taverns; social experiments and social affairs of the pioneers; George Washington ("America's most notable tourist attraction"), Jefferson and Monticello, Madison, and George Mason; natural history, diseases, and a hundred and one other subjects that stimulated thought or aroused curiosity.

The travel bibliographies are designed, the general editor asserts, solely for scholars in search of eyewitness evidence of life in southern commonwealths. Some slight changes in form have been made since the publication of the Confederate volume, the editor has made a more systematic search for other editions of annotated titles, and the entries have been lengthened from a half-page average to nearly a page. The annotations in the present volumes vary from a few lines to two or three pages, and include biographical notes, the circumstances of authors' travels, their itineraries, and the nature and value of their works. The critical appraisals are often masterpieces of evaluation. Industry, painstaking search for accurate data, critical and precise presentation are apparent in every segment. A few errors and inconsistencies are of no great consequence, and the editor's modest disclaimer of completeness accentuates the volumes' fundamental worth, which straggling omissions of titles and reprints could hardly destroy.

A compiler comments that "most of those travel accounts that escape the general censure of worthlessness and unreliability are written either by persons who settled down in some particular locality for a generous period or by persons who were learned and skilled in some field of knowledge." Scientists' reports were meritorious "even when they stray[ed] into fields outside their specialty." With some notable exceptions, sojourners' accounts in these volumes as well as in later generations were more illuminating than the recordings of tourists who traveled fast and who were likely to be impressed with the unusual and the bizarre. Collectively, the books and pamphlets of sojourners and tourists illustrate almost every phase of "southern" life. It should be understood that during much of the period covered by Volumes I and II travelers were writing about an area that was southern only in latitude and about people who had not yet developed an awareness of southernism. The compilers do not indicate when travelers began to sense a sectional distinctiveness; perhaps visitors before 1825 saw little evidence of southern consciousness.

JAMES WILSON, FOUNDING FATHER, 1742-1798. By Charles Page Smith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1956. Pp. xii, 426. \$7.50.)

MANY students of the Revolutionary period have called the contributions of James Wilson to the attention of historians—Randolph Adams' *Selected Political Essays of James Wilson*, Julian Boyd's superb sketch of Wilson's career in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and Irving Brant's evaluation of Wilson as second only to Madison in the formation of the Constitution, to name the most obvious. Professor Smith's volume, however, is the first published, full-length biography.

On the whole, the allotment of space given by Professor Smith to various phases of Wilson's career is balanced. The book can be divided into four almost equal parts: the period before 1780; the 1780's until the Constitutional Convention; the formation and adoption of the Constitution; and Wilson's later years. The narrative moves smoothly, although it could be tightened in places—the discussion of the Stamp Act and Wilson's role in the Continental Congress are good examples—where too much general history interrupts rather than adds to the biography.

Professor Smith contributes the most when writing about the personal side of Wilson. We now know somewhat more about Wilson's youth and education, we see his home life in clearer perspective, and we have a sharper picture of his final tragic months when, harassed by creditors, he retreats to North Carolina to spend the last days of his life, broken in body and spirit. In addition, Professor Smith, quite properly, lays stress upon the mind of Wilson. In this respect, Wilson's finest hour comes in constitution-making, which the author clearly recognizes by devoting the better part of five chapters to tracing Wilson's significant role point by point. Throughout the book the author frequently credits the Enlightenment with influencing Wilson's ideas, but this generalization is rather drastically modified in a summary paragraph (p. 261).

Other parts of this biography are less satisfactory. When the author writes of Wilson the lawyer and particularly Wilson the speculator, the results are disappointing. The account of Wilson's land dealings, to cite an instance, lacks substance; and there is little investigation, except in the most general fashion, as to precisely why and how Wilson's personal fortunes became so tangled. Equally disturbing is the author's tendency to claim too much for Wilson, for it leads to distortion. Broader investigation, for example, would correct several factual assertions made with respect to Wilson's part in the debate on finance in the Continental Congress in 1783, and a more exact reading of the evidence would modify certain emphases in the discussion of the Bank of North America. The absence of a bibliography, from the scholar's point of view, is also regrettable. This is especially true of manuscript materials, for the papers of Wilson are limited and a biographer, as a result, is compelled to research exhaustively in the personal papers of many of Wilson's contemporaries.

Professor Smith's understanding biography is important in placing renewed emphasis upon the contributions Wilson made to his country. However, to place Wilson among the first rank of the Revolutionary generation is, perhaps, to miss the essential irony of his career, that a man of second rank was desperately ambitious to be accepted by his contemporaries as a man of first rank—but without success.

Northwestern University

CLARENCE L. VER STEEG

CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL: A REAPPRAISAL. Edited by *W. Melville Jones*, Director, Marshall Bicentennial Program, College of William and Mary. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 195. \$3.00.)

THIS excellent book includes nine papers presented as part of the Marshall bicentennial program at William and Mary. Following prefatory material by the editor, Chief Justice Warren, and Professor Carl B. Swisher, the topics fall into three parts: "Marshall and His Times," with papers by David J. Mays, Arthur N. Holcombe, and Irving Brant; "Judicial Review," by F. D. G. Ribble and Charles Fairman; "Some Special Contributions of Marshall to the Law," by Julius Goebel, Jr., Joseph Dorfman, George L. Haskins, and Donald G. Morgan. All the contributors are well-known scholars, and their papers are worthy of their authors and of their subject.

This "reappraisal" does not substantially alter the generally held picture of the great chief justice, though many interesting facets of his career are newly brought into prominence. Thus Holcombe points out that Marshall's chief reason for supporting the new Constitution was to augment veterans' benefits and to provide "greater security to the special interests of businessmen and property owners" (pp. 27-28). Unlike Jefferson, he had little concern for religious freedom, social reform, or the Bill of Rights (pp. 28, 89). However, he was not a pro-British ultraconservative like Fisher Ames, George Cabot, Theodore Sedgwick, and Alexander Hamilton, but a moderate conservative of the John Adams stamp, even opposing the Alien and Sedition laws as politically suicidal (pp. 30-31, 91). Mays describes the political background of Marshall's youth, emphasizing the degree to which the landed aristocracy "joined" the Revolution in order to retain control of the state government after separation from England (p. 16). Marshall was never an advocate of democracy. In pessimistic mood he wrote, "I fear, and there is no opinion more degrading to the dignity of man, that those have truth on their side who say that man is incapable of governing himself" (p. 33).

Brant emphasizes that, because purchase-money notes for the Fairfax property had to be met, Marshall's acceptance or refusal of public office during the period 1793-1800 was dictated by mercenary motives. He accepted appointment as envoy to France, at a profit of \$15,000, "a year's income almost equal to the combined salaries of the President and his entire Cabinet" (p. 44). Other offices he was obliged to refuse. Had he not had debts to pay, Marshall might have been Secre-

tary of State at the beginning of the Adams administration, and his political adroitness might have changed the course of history by preventing the internal collapse of the Federalist party.

Dean Ribble points out that "political review," operating through local party politics and the power of the Senate, still protects "states' rights" even if the Supreme Court's recent self-restraint has cut down the area of "judicial review" (p. 76). Fairman stresses that "Our federal system offers, not one simple choice between national authority and state sovereignty, but rather a wide range of devices." Like Marshall, "we must employ all our imagination and resourcefulness to fashion the arrangements best suited to the problems of our time" (p. 85).

Goebel lays an ax to the myth that Marshall was not competent in handling legal precedents but relied on Story for his citations (pp. 101, 116, 120). Dorfman and Haskins describe Marshall's concern for property and commerce. Morgan analyzes the influence of Marshall's colleagues on the course of Supreme Court decisions, dispelling the idea that the other members of the Court were nonentities without influence.

Historians as well as lawyers will enjoy this book and rejoice that the lapse of two centuries since Marshall's birth has called it forth.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

THE FIRST REPUBLICANS: POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND PUBLIC POLICY IN THE PARTY OF JEFFERSON AND MADISON. By *Stuart Gerry Brown*, Professor of Citizenship and American Culture, Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 186. \$3.00.)

IN this admirable study Professor Brown traces the guiding ideas that motivated certain of the founding fathers, notably what might be called the "liberals" of the Revolutionary period. These were, in the first place, Jefferson and Madison, and also Mason, Paine, Gallatin, and Monroe. This group of remarkable men—the "first Republicans"—were not only the architects of the American Republic but also, as Professor Brown so clearly demonstrates, the theorists of the American democracy. Indeed, their actions were guided by fundamental political theories and assumptions about human nature as it operates in organized society. This was especially true of the two most famous statesmen-intellectuals of the period: Jefferson and Madison.

At bottom, their ideas derived from Locke and were first given eloquent expression in America by an Englishman, Thomas Paine. His *Common Sense* was the best-seller of its day and had an immeasurable impact upon America at the most critical moment of its nascent history. Paine's writings deeply impressed leading Americans, including the greatest of them, George Washington, whom Professor Brown curiously ignores. Yet it is well known that General Washington was guided by republican ideas which he held with as much con-

viction as, say, James Madison. Although this has not been sufficiently pointed out in the past, an analysis of Washington's writings, especially in the realm of political and religious liberty, shows him to be closer to the Jeffersonian Republicans than to many of his Federalist colleagues.

The theory of republican government which guided the thought and action of the men who dominated the federal government between 1801 and 1825 consisted, according to Professor Brown, of nine elements. These were: the belief that human nature is capable of improvement; human beings had inalienable rights; governments arise by consent of the governed; acceptance of limitations on personal liberties in order to achieve social stability; retention of the right to change the "social contract"; the right of the majority to govern and of the minority to consent; property-ownership as a measure of civic and social responsibility; no right for any government to legislate its own interest at the expense of posterity; the value of government is to be measured "by the extent to which it secures equality of opportunity for individuals and protects civil rights and liberties." Professor Brown might have added another element to his summary, namely, Madison's basic notion that the way to secure freedom in any society is to distribute rather than concentrate power in all possible fields, economic, political, and religious. As he used to put it, the more religious sects there are the more secure they are in their freedom to worship, since no one church would be in a position to dominate the rest.

All in all, this is a fine and, indeed, invaluable book for the student of history, political science, and society in general. It is learned, lucid, concise, and always fair. The only criticism that a scholar may have is that the book lacks an index.

New School for Social Research

SAUL K. PADOVER

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume IV, PHILOSOPHY [CONCLUDED], FINE ARTS. Compiled by *E. Millicent Sowerby*. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. 1955. Pp. viii, 568. \$6.25.)

FOR the scope and method of this truly monumental undertaking one may refer to the reviews of the preceding volumes (*AHR*, LVIII [July, 1953], 930 and LIX [April, 1954], 638). Volume IV contains the last part of the chapters dealing with "Philosophy" (chaps. xxv-xxix) and the chapters treating of the "Fine Arts" (xxx-xxxviii), altogether 952 items, from 3663 to 4615.

Under "Philosophy," which naturally is taken by Jefferson in its eighteenth-century sense, are included the chapters entitled "Mathematics," "Physico-Mathematics," "Astronomy," and "Geography." They bring out aspects of Jefferson's interests often overlooked by his biographers. Despite his practical bent, the Sage of Monticello did not neglect the theoretical side of the sciences. Under

"Pure arithmetic" (3663-3700) and "Pure geometry" (3701-18) are listed the standard works available at the time, thus supporting Jefferson's contention that "my own attachment to the exact sciences has made them the principal enjoyment of my leisure hours" (to Dufief, Dec. 26, 1812). The section on geography is extraordinarily rich (3818-4172). Ancient and modern geography are well represented, but, as could be expected of a citizen of the world who remained intensely American, Jefferson took particular care to gather as complete a library of Americana as he was able to obtain, including early works which even at that time were not easily found (3959-4172). The firsthand materials discovered and reproduced by Miss Sowerby for some of the articles in that section constitute small monographs written in Jefferson's own words. Such are the comments on the *Notes on Virginia*, Chastellux, Volney, and Lewis and Clark.

The part dealing with the fine arts calls for some remarks. The articles on architecture (4225-29) amply confirm the views of Fiske Kimball on the competence of Jefferson, the importance and choice of the items being particularly to be noted. The articles on gardening treat, in fact, of landscape gardening, which is a form of architecture, and should not prevent one from referring to Betts's edition of *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book*. Similarly it will be felt that the list of books on the fine arts (4230-49) hardly justifies Jefferson's contention that he was "an enthusiast on the subject of the arts." The same reservation applies to the items on music (4250-61), very few of which were entered in the catalogue of books sold to Congress, while Jefferson certainly owned a large number of musical compositions. The sequence of the chapters on literature (4262-4615) might well puzzle a modern bibliographer. Some of the titles undoubtedly reflect Jefferson's literary taste, such as the collections of Homer's and Shakespeare's editions and the works of the "ancient poets." The choice of the modern and contemporary writers is probably less significant and certainly less systematic. One must note, however, the place occupied by American authors, who seldom obtained recognition in the college libraries of the time. Omissions as well as inclusions might well give pause to the biographers of Jefferson. Unfortunately, literary comments are exceedingly scarce in his correspondence and he seldom expressed any opinion of the authors he mentioned. For more limited but more precise indications one still has to resort to the thin "Commonplace Book of Philosophers and Poets" preserved in the Library of Congress and published under the title *The Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson* (Baltimore, 1928). For an over-all discussion of the value of the catalogue as a contribution toward a better understanding of Jefferson's mind one must wait for the last volume, which will contain an index, additions, and errata. But already all the Jeffersonians owe a great debt of gratitude to the bibliographer for throwing new light on some facets of the multitudinous personality of the great American whose interests and curiosity were world-wide.

FREEDOM'S FETTERS: THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS AND AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES. By *James Morton Smith*. [Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty.] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 464. \$5.00.)

TEN years ago it could be correctly said that very little that was really new had been written on the Federalist age in the previous thirty years. Since then there has been a renewal of interest in that period and our understanding has been much improved by the significant work of a dozen or more scholars. Now comes James Morton Smith with a bright torch to illumine other dark corners. His work is solidly grounded on the *Annals of Congress*, contemporary newspapers, court records, and private papers.

In his introductory chapter Mr. Smith deals with the central theme of the political history of Federalism—its logical development into the “authoritarian alien and sedition system.” Chapters II–VIII detail the passage of the Naturalization, Alien, and Sedition Acts, admirably summarizing the arguments in the Congress. The question of the meaning of the “general welfare” clause of the Constitution was exhausted by the debaters, Federalists arguing that it was an extension of power while Republicans urged that it was merely a limitation on the power to tax. The tone of the debate was often shocking, just as we are often shocked by legislators’ verbal excesses in any other age of passion. Mr. Smith establishes a new emphasis by his clear showing that President John Adams contributed very much to the creation of the national excitement during which a Sedition Act could be temporarily popular. This he did by his numerous public replies to addresses from warmly partisan public meetings called in reaction to the “XYZ Affair.” (It might have been added that the President leaned very heavily on the European dispatches of the Department of State’s chief “expert” on Jacobinism, John Quincy Adams, who was at no time stationed in France.)

Chapters IX–XVII describe the enforcement of the acts. It seems no longer possible to doubt that nearly all of the prosecutions were political, or personally vengeful, or both, and this description fits the conduct of the judges as well as the executive officers. Judges Samuel Chase and William Paterson were peculiarly unjudicial and vindictive. It is also surprising to notice the myopic lack of fraternity among publishers. Not only did administration organs exult at the suppression of rival newspapers but they even instigated prosecutions, although the prosecutors were nullifying the constitutional right of newspapers to practice political criticism. All completed prosecutions were in courts, but there was an abortive proposal to try William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, at the bar of the Senate, for breach of privilege. This suggestion seems eccentric to Mr. Smith, but is well within our legislative tradition. The only reason today’s contempt-of-Congress proceedings go to court is to save the time of the Congress. The Congress could arrest, try, convict, and incarcerate in its own dungeons, in

every such case from 1789 until now, without reference to attorney general or judge, if it chose to do so.

As a result of Mr. Smith's work the passionate debate on national security in the Federal years need not be restudied in the foreseeable future. By and large, this book is recommended with but a single reservation: the index is not a trustworthy guide to the contents.

Mr. Smith has taught a great moral. The punishment of political critics for the crime of being political critics did not silence the opposition to Federalism. Indeed, the publicity of their trials gained them greater readership than before. Finally, the concluding chapter proves, if proof is needed, that the sense of the American community in the Revolutionary generation was that the guarantees of free speech and free press were positive—they did not merely forbid prior censorship but, affirmatively, were intended to assure the proper information and correction necessary to the functioning of a government of a free people.

University of Notre Dame

MARSHALL SMELSER

CHARLES BEARD AND THE CONSTITUTION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF "AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION." By *Robert E. Brown*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. v, 219. \$3.50.)

EVER since its appearance in 1913, Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* has engendered different opinions. Though William E. Dodd acclaimed the volume in this *Review* (XIX, 162-63) as "extraordinarily stimulating" and felt "the author has certainly succeeded beyond the promises of his preface," a historian of equal eminence, John B. Latané, wrote elsewhere that in "this deliberate attempt to upset all our traditional ideas as to the nature and purposes of the men who formed our national government," Dr. Beard "signally fails to prove his main theses." Now R. E. Brown attempts the first full-scale analysis of this controversial volume. His dissection of Beard's work chapter by chapter reveals the thoroughness of the detail. Brown's chief emphasis is on Beard's historical methods. Such an examination is certainly called for. He concludes in sum that Beard's argument in places is inherently inconsistent, that Beard quoted out of context or omitted quotations damaging to his case, that he relied primarily upon secondary works, that his resort to such sources as he utilized was chronologically faulty, that he drew conclusions from evidence that he himself admitted did not exist, that he used key words like "coup d'état" and "disfranchised" without precise definition, that he often substituted inference and innuendo for fact. Brown concludes, "If historians accept the Beard thesis, . . . they must do so with the full knowledge that their acceptance is founded on an 'act of faith,' not an analysis of historical method, or that they are indulging in a 'noble dream' not history." Among the dangers confronting authors of works like this under review is that the momentum of belligerence may carry them into

objecting to everything and that they may be contaminated by the methodological errors they are criticizing. In my estimation Brown has not entirely escaped this second hazard. But when all reservations have been made, the evidence he assembles is impressive, and American historians, particularly those who have given lectures or written books based on the Beard thesis, ignore Brown's book at their peril. It is impossible to summarize or paraphrase this evidence in a brief review.

What hypothesis does Brown substitute for the "economic determinism" which was neither as primary in the case of the Constitution nor as single in form as Beard thought? For his part Brown asserts that the country at the time of the Constitutional Convention was predominantly middle class and politically democratic and that the work of the founders reflected this milieu. In 1940 Professor Arthur N. Holcombe, for one, somewhat anticipated this thesis in his *The Middle Classes in American Politics*. It will be interesting to see whether American historians will quickly surrender a doctrine so many of them have cherished and taught. Perhaps it will hasten the reorientation if we realize that "Uncle Charlie" welcomed controversy in which he gave and asked no quarter. I believe he would have relished Brown's hard-hitting volume; whether, in the face of the evidence here presented, he would have retreated from his original position is a surmise of a different color. At least the present reviewer recalls that, in the early thirties, he received a personal letter from Beard reflecting the master's dissatisfaction with "economic" factors as explanation for things in general and expressing a preference for emphasis upon "political" interests and considerations.

Bowdoin College

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

LINCOLN RECONSIDERED: ESSAYS ON THE CIVIL WAR ERA. By David Donald. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xiii, 200, xiv. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR David Donald, whose past research has enlarged the factual frontiers of Lincoln literature, thinks that the time has come to halt, or to hold temporarily in abeyance, further research in the Civil War field, and to assess the meaning of the vast collection of knowledge we now possess. As he expresses it, scholars of the period should change their emphasis: "concentrate less upon uncovering some long-forgotten body of manuscripts and more upon rethinking the basic issues of the Age of Lincoln."

Thinking about the Civil War era is the task to which Mr. Donald devotes himself in his little book, *Lincoln Reconsidered*. As a secondary objective, he has sought to apply to Civil War historiography the tools and methods of the related social sciences, previously employed in evaluating other areas of American history by other young historians. Consisting of articles by the author which have appeared in various journals, the book is really a collection of essays dealing with the Lincoln theme. It has, nevertheless, a surprising unity; only the

last essay, "Toward a Western Literature, 1820-60," seems to be tenuously connected with the others.

The titles of the nine essays indicate both the content of the book and the techniques and objectives of the author. Two chapters, "Getting Right with Lincoln" and "The Folklore Lincoln," deal with the Lincoln legend and the Lincoln symbol, and represent an attempt to utilize the methods of the cultural anthropologists and folklorists. "Herndon and Mrs. Lincoln" examines the myths and realities of Lincoln's domestic life. In "Toward a Reconsideration of Abolitionists," Mr. Donald, employing the tools of the social psychologists, suggests that the motivating force behind abolitionism was the social frustration of members of old Northeast families in an industrial society. "Abraham Lincoln and the American Pragmatic Tradition" treats Lincoln's political philosophy in sensible fashion. A particularly penetrating piece is "Refighting the Civil War," which relates military history to cultural patterns and shows the influence of Jomini upon Civil War strategists. Finally, there are two essays on Lincoln's leadership in the war: "A. Lincoln, Politician" and "The Radicals and Lincoln." In the latter, Mr. Donald asserts—with the certainty of arousing dissent—that the Radical Republicans were not a cohesive or a consistent faction and that the differences between them and Lincoln have been exaggerated by historians, notably by the reviewer.

Lincoln Reconsidered is a solid work, in many ways a brilliant one. Its ranging opinions deserve to be pondered by all scholars in the field. In the publisher's blurb, the adjective "seminal" is used, and the term is not an exaggeration.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

LINCOLN'S SONS. By *Ruth Painter Randall*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. xvi, 373. \$5.00.)

THIS is an effort to recover the personality and lives of Lincoln's four sons—Eddie who died at the age of four in Springfield, Willie at twelve in the White House, Tad at eighteen in Chicago in 1871, and Robert at eighty-three in Vermont in 1926. It is more than the story of these four sons for, as Mrs. Randall points out, the father and mother cannot be relegated to minor roles. This is also a moving story of intimate, happy family affairs, of complex family relationships, and finally of high tragedy. It helps to round out immeasurably the picture of Lincoln the President.

The Lincolns coddled their children. The father, anticipating a later attitude toward child rearing, thought it more important for them to be loved and indulged than to be disciplined. Consequently Willie and Tad and the Taft children ran wild in the White House. Tad was the "wildcat" of the gang who could always be counted on for original "plans." Through the lively play of these children, Mrs. Randall contributes largely to a better understanding of all life inside the executive mansion.

After the family left Washington, the portrait of Tad, as he grew into adoles-

cence in Chicago and abroad, becomes somewhat blurred, obviously because of a dearth of material. On the other hand, the portrait of Robert emerges clearer than ever before. To this previous enigma, Mrs. Randall devotes the last three chapters, in addition to liberal treatment in the earlier chapters while he was growing up. Her purpose is to portray Robert's developing personality primarily in relation to his father and mother, not to give a detailed narrative of his life as a lawyer, an opulent businessman, Secretary of War, and minister to England. Much of the snobbery formerly ascribed to Robert either melts away or is understandably accounted for. But much of it continues to lurk between the author's lines, and one suspects that some of the judgments are the author's "feel" rather than the real, which more elaborate research might better have revealed. A thorough investigation in the future of his business and public career will undoubtedly throw much more light on his personality.

Among the interesting new materials here used is a letter of Leonard Swett from the David Davis collection describing Mrs. Lincoln's sanity trial. To tell the unsuspecting woman that she was to stand trial was a real terror, says Swett. Yet, as the evidence shows, he went about it with a minimum of tact and tenderness.

This perceptive book, written with feeling and charm and delightful to read, is a major contribution to Lincoln literature.

University of Virginia

EDWARD YOUNGER

THE CIVILIAN AND THE MILITARY. By *Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 340. \$6.50.)

THE cold war has had many important by-products. Since it has prevented the usual postwar return of the American armed services to a status of comparative insignificance, one of these has been the prolongation of the period of severe criticism to which those services have traditionally been subjected following the nation's ordeals by battle. To the literature of this current criticism Mr. Ekirch, professor of history at the American University and author of other works on different phases of the intellectual history of the United States, has contributed a careful survey of antimilitaristic thinking throughout American history. Although the title might seem to suggest a somewhat broader theme, Professor Ekirch does not attempt a general treatment of past efforts to outline the proper relationship between the military and civil arms of our government. He is content to summarize the record of antimilitarism, which he is careful to distinguish from absolute pacifism. "Unlike the complete pacifist, who is opposed to all use of force, the antimilitarist may accept war and armies as a sometimes necessary evil, although he regards a large military establishment and conscript armies, even when needed, as a threat to the preservation of civil institutions of government" (p. vii).

Beginning with a chapter on the colonial background, the author comes on to the founding fathers and then proceeds methodically to trace out the streams of

antimilitaristic thought which have risen and receded with each successive war in our history. Half the book is devoted to the period since 1900, with one chapter recording the attack on the R.O.T.C. programs in the 1920's and '30's. "Toward the Garrison State" is the heading for the final section on developments since World War II. In preparing his work Mr. Ekirch has made good use of the *Congressional Record*, congressional hearings, and other governmental documents, and the records of various antimilitaristic organizations such as the American Union against Militarism of the pre-World War I era.

Professor Ekirch writes as an uncompromising antimilitarist, although he grants that the typical one "has opposed expansion overseas or intervention in world affairs" (p. vii). The story he tells shows clearly enough that Jefferson and others who have been of the author's general persuasion when out of power have changed their minds when charged with the responsibilities of office and forced to deal with the facts of international political life. But Mr. Ekirch does not choose to discuss in any detail the implications of such shifts or to consider whether the increase in the size and obligations of our present armed services may not necessarily produce in time certain modifications in outlook and a general improvement, if not a semi-civilianizing, of standard operating procedures. At times the reader may feel that the doctrinaire has prevailed over the historian, as when the author attempts to discredit recent public opinion polls which have regularly indicated popular support for conscription (p. 279). But within his chosen limits he has generally written with fully professional competence. He has undertaken to summarize the record of American antimilitaristic thinking and he has produced a readable and useful digest.

University of Michigan

MARSHALL KNAPPEN

PATRIOTISM ON PARADE: THE STORY OF VETERANS' AND HEREDITARY ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA, 1783-1900. By Wallace Evan Davies. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 388. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Davies' book is described in its subtitle, *The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900*; since, however, few such organizations existed in the United States during the years from 1783 to 1865, that period is covered in one chapter of twenty-seven pages, and the rest of the book is devoted to the years from 1865 to 1900. For these years Professor Davies describes or lists, if the count of this reviewer is correct, thirty-four veterans' and twenty-eight hereditary organizations, ranging in size from the Grand Army of the Republic's peak membership of 409,489, to groups with less than 500 members. He describes the composition and varied activities of the veterans' and hereditary organizations—activities such as, among others, social functions, efforts to influence the writing and selection of school textbooks, efforts by veterans' groups to secure legislation favorable to veterans, the expression of "judgments

on public questions," and the support of newspapers and magazines. Professor Davies estimates that there appeared "nearly seventy newspapers and magazines specifically catering to the new audiences opened up" by veterans' and hereditary groups (p. 105). Finally, the book contains comments on the reaction of the rest of the nation to the veterans' and hereditary organizations. No previous book covers the same ground as *Patriotism on Parade*, so far as this reviewer knows, and it is clear that this volume is based on extensive research in the sources. Some portions and some aspects of the story told in this book, however, have been discussed in the published writings of Oliver, Glasson, McMurry, Pierce, Buck, Schlesinger, Gabriel, Heck, Wecter, Curti, and Dearing. Professor Davies makes careful acknowledgment of the writings of these authors, but the excellence of many of their studies reduces the contribution that even an able synthesis like *Patriotism on Parade* can make.

This book has a number of admirable qualities, two of which can be noted in the space available here: the sense of historical perspective and the judicious interpretation which characterize it throughout. Professor Davies constantly relates his account of veterans' and hereditary organizations to the social and intellectual trends in society at large, thus avoiding a parochial approach and placing his subject in realistic perspective. Similarly, he shows intelligent awareness of the problems involved in evaluating the organizations he studies, and he handles this problem of evaluation in an understanding fashion; the book does not contain the stereotyped judgments either of uncritical sympathizers with veterans' and hereditary organizations or of uncritical antagonists of those organizations. Professor Davies evinces a historical outlook and temperament which could well serve as models for all historians.

Patriotism on Parade would have been of greater value to its readers had it presented all the available evidence, or a systematic summary and analysis of all the available evidence, pertinent to its major generalizations. For example, the volume contains such important and interesting generalizations concerning the membership of veterans' and hereditary organizations as these: that the members of veterans' societies came from comparatively low income groups and did not possess a high level of formal education, while the members of the hereditary societies were drawn from propertied business and professional groups with a high level of formal education; and that the hereditary organizations drew their membership primarily from cities in the area extending from the District of Columbia to Massachusetts. It would have been worth while indeed had this volume contained a comprehensive summary and analysis (in tabular form if necessary) of all the available data bearing on these and its other significant generalizations. Such a body of data would go far toward answering any questions concerning the validity of the generalizations contained in the book, and it would also serve as a mine of information for anyone interested in the subject now or in the future.

THE IRISH IN AMERICA. By *Carl Wittke*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 319. \$5.00.)

THE Irish are among the best known of the immigrant groups that participated in the settlement of the United States. Well back in the colonial period, individuals among them already made their presence felt in the New World; and the mass migration that began more than a century ago persisted until our own times. Furthermore, this group was not cut off as some others were by an unfamiliar language. The fact that they spoke and wrote English had a double meaning. It made them familiar to their contemporary neighbors; and it has left the sources for their history more accessible to American scholars than are those of most other immigrants.

Yet, although a number of excellent monographic studies have dealt with particular aspects of the Irish migration, there has been no comprehensive study of its character as a whole. Most of the writers who have dealt with the subject have brought to it a pietistic and anecdotal attitude not compatible with the methods of modern scholarship; and few trained historians have been aware of the importance of these problems. We are therefore most grateful to Dean Wittke for his pioneering effort to bring the story together in a lucid, undogmatic, and objective manner.

The volume focuses primarily upon the century between 1830 and 1930. There are a few scattered comments on the natives of Ireland in colonial America and there are also occasional observations on the more recent past. But the bulk of attention is properly given over to the period of high immigration of the mid-nineteenth century. A succession of topical chapters describes the role of the Irish newcomers in various aspects of American life, economic, political, social, and cultural. Dean Wittke deals extensively with the usual aspects of the problem—the role of the immigrants in the economy and in government. But he also touches upon the less conventional phases—the labor movement, the professions, and the stage. In general, the work follows the lead of the well-known secondary monographic accounts; but the author has, in addition, gone beyond these writings and has dipped into the primary sources deeply enough to enable him to speak with authority.

There are a few significant omissions. It is surprising, for instance, to find no reference to the Ku Klux Klan, although earlier nativist movements are adequately treated. Again, much more might have been said about the fraternal and benevolent societies, which were the way to the development of the Irish-American community. On specific points, also, one could question the interpretations of the author. Yet, on the whole, his judgment is sound and uncontroversial.

The most serious limitation of the study springs from its episodic quality. Each topic is treated, in the chapter devoted to it, without much reference to its place in the whole story. There is no room therefore for the consideration of larger questions. To what extent was this movement similar to, or different from,

the migration of other peoples to the United States? What was the distinctive quality of Irish Catholicism? What was the character of the Irish integration in American life? Dean Wittke's book draws together the material for the answers, although it does not itself supply them.

Harvard University

OSCAR HANDLIN

THE GREAT BURLINGTON STRIKE OF 1888: A CASE HISTORY IN LABOR RELATIONS. By *Donald L. McMurry*. [Studies in Economic History, published in co-operation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 377. \$6.00.)

This is a pioneering book. In spite of the numerous works on American labor history, it remained for McMurry to write the first detailed, complete, and authoritative account of a major strike as seen from the perspective of each of the major participants. Access to the massive records of the Burlington and the Illinois Central railroads gave him particularly full insight into the actions of the managements; available sources for the brotherhoods and government officials were public in nature and less copious.

McMurry has sifted this mass of material with diligent eyes and a judicious head. The results justify his labor. He is able to show, for instance, that the Burlington management was convinced first that no strike would occur, later that a few agitators had misled the men, assumptions that both proved far wide of the mark. He shows that the strikers thought the railroad could not operate without them, a bit of conceit that had woeful results. He shows the schisms and conflicts within the labor forces, both within each brotherhood and among all the brotherhoods, and he shows similar schisms on the management side. We watch the president of the Burlington hand down suggestions and instructions which are sabotaged by his subordinates; we watch while the Illinois Central, for competitive reasons, takes actions which favor the Burlington strikers. And along with this, McMurry gives much information on labor injunctions, secondary boycotts, dynamite in labor disputes, the role of the Pinkertons, the staggering arrogance of corporate officials which was to be immortalized fifteen years later in George F. Baer's dictum.

In writing in detail about such a complex episode, the chief danger is probably incoherence and lack of focus. McMurry has guarded against this by adopting a largely topical organization. Thus he achieved clarity, but he also sacrificed something: the excitement of a chess game in which each move is a countermove. By tidying up the story he has obscured the process and eliminated the turmoil and confusion of labor disputes, the enormous pressure on a man who must simultaneously make decisions on six major problems even though he lacks the factual information to resolve any one of them. I am sorry, for instance, that McMurry does not show us the Burlington officials seeking to placate irate shippers, which must have been a major headache for them.

As an alternative route to coherence, McMurtry might have considered giving a cast of characters with brief biographies, and a condensed chronology of events. These items would be very useful to the reader.

Nonetheless, any faults this book may have are minor blemishes. If enough people read it, the water line of knowledge in this country, perhaps even of wisdom, may rise perceptibly.

New York, New York

RAY GINGER

LAISSEZ FAIRE AND THE GENERAL-WELFARE STATE: A STUDY OF CONFLICT IN AMERICAN THOUGHT, 1865-1901. By *Sidney Fine*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1956. Pp. x, 468. \$7.50.)

APPEARING very shortly after Richard Hofstadter's *Age of Reform* and Hans B. Thorelli's *Federal Antitrust Policy*, Dr. Fine's study invites us to notice what a huge effort has been invested toward comprehending the modern domestic policy of the United States. A number of books, many of them written by economists or lawyers, have analyzed the substance of economic events and policies: the development of the corporation, the history of individual businesses, the state and federal statutes and rulings which have established controls, and so on. Historians have tended to be circumstantial, probing into the backgrounds and tracing the continuities of policy and reform; and those specially interested in the history of ideas have scrutinized in detail the convictions which—from the time of Henry George and William Graham Sumner to that of Herbert Hoover and F. D. R.—impelled or restrained the shift from laissez faire to Progressive and New Deal measures.

Entering a field where there are many workers, but where much remains to be done, Dr. Fine limits himself to the development of ideas, and, except for twenty-five pages in conclusion, to the period before 1900. The achievement which distinguishes his book from earlier writing of the same category is that he works both sides of the field: he discusses both laissez-faire ideas and general-welfare ones, and he is more objective about them than some predecessors have been. But the fault of the virtue of coverage is that he turns up hardly enough fact that is new or revisionist, or enough interpretation that is broad, to justify his remarkable labors. In the opening section of the book, for instance, in taking a long hard look at laissez-faire thought, he traverses a terrain of history of which sizable sectors have been surveyed by Dorfman and Hofstadter, and by Henry May, Benjamin Twiss, and Robert McCloskey, and more minutely subdivided areas by yet other investigators. Likewise in the major section of the book, where Fine examines the development of welfare-state ideas, he recapitulates the thought of Social Gospellers who have previously been well presented by Hopkins, May, and Abell. Yet from first to last the author (while acknowledging his predecessors) has examined the sources independently and perceptively, and at points, perhaps

best in his study of the ideas held by lawyers, social scientists, and philosophers in the universities, he reports fresh material.

His subtitle to the contrary notwithstanding, Fine follows the intellectual historian's ancient procedure of categorizing representative thinkers, and summarizing or quoting from them. In pioneering a field, or in presenting it to beginners, this method often seems inevitable. But when a history of a conflict of thought is intended, a parade formation of ideas ceases to be very useful, for it is different from the battle march. In this book the discussion of the major proponents of state action—Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Lawrence Cronlund, H. D. Lloyd, and others—is made to *follow* the three-chapter discussion of Social Gospellers and social scientists. This violates history: these reformers more often and more characteristically precipitated the new preachings and teachings than the other way round.

Yet the virtue of broad scope and of vision of both sides of the question remains as always a virtue. The book is a solid and useful survey, a trustworthy statement of the forces of ideas which entered a historic combat, rather than a battle history.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN PETROLEUM PIPELINES: A STUDY IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND PUBLIC POLICY, 1862-1906.

By *Arthur Menzies Johnson*, Department of English, History, and Government, United States Naval Academy. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1956. Pp. xiii, 307. \$4.50.)

THIS is a splendid book from several different points of view. It is a pioneer study, the first scholarly work to be published on the development of American petroleum pipelines from 1862 to 1906. The author has consulted and used a wide and rich variety of source materials and produced a readable, well-organized, and significant study. The book is adequately documented and contains a number of appropriate illustrations and maps. The objective of the author is to trace the development of petroleum pipelines from 1862 to 1906 and especially the growing conflict between private ownership of these lines and the public interest that led to state and federal regulation. He has admirably succeeded in accomplishing his purpose. One hopes that the author will continue his research and publish another volume on the years since 1906. Many more studies like this should be written about various aspects of the petroleum industry.

The book is divided into eleven chapters. They relate to the introduction and development of a vast network of gathering pipelines in western Pennsylvania after the drilling of the famous Drake well in 1859, the importance of pipelines to trunk railroads and allied rival refining centers in their fierce competition for the oil trade, the consolidation of pipelines in the oil region into a few great systems, efforts on the part of producers and refiners in the oil region to relieve their

economic distress through state and federal legislation and the construction of trunk pipelines to the eastern seaboard, the development of Standard Oil's pipeline system and its emergence as the dominant factor not only in refining but in transportation, pipelines as an issue in various antitrust investigations, the mounting attacks upon Standard Oil, the emergence of the Pure Oil Company as a strong pipeline competitor of Standard, the events that led to the passage of the Hepburn Act, and the opposition of the petroleum industry to including federal regulation of pipelines in the law.

Throughout the book the author emphasizes the conflict between private ownership of pipelines and the public interest. His conclusion is that the development of pipelines was the product of private enterprise and a bitter, competitive, intra-industry struggle between oil producers, the railroads, the refiners and certain refining centers, and other interested business groups to promote their own economic self-interest. In the struggle each group sought to sway public opinion against its adversaries and advance its own interests through governmental intervention and regulation.

Hamline University

PAUL H. GIDDENS

THE UNITED STATES PATENT SYSTEM: LEGAL AND ECONOMIC CONFLICTS IN AMERICAN PATENT HISTORY. By *Floyd L. Vaughan*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 355. \$8.50.)

THIS book is so full of meat that it is difficult to compress its useful features within a brief review. Its subtitle essentially describes its purpose of appraising the uses and abuses of the patent system in a highly competitive industrial society. Much space is given to analyses of the ownership of patents, cross licensing, pooling, patent consolidations, cartels, control of supplementary products, and suppression of patents with an eye to antitrust legislation. There is nothing simple in the narrative though the author does shed light in many dark corners as he works through the intricate tangle of legal problems in the pursuit of cases. His conclusions provide penetrating studies of each major issue.

This work shows how significant have been scores, indeed hundreds, of actions brought by the Department of Justice in which, in resulting consent decrees, companies of great magnitude have agreed to dissolve pools, eliminate objectionable clauses in pooling agreements, license patents to nonmembers of the pool, even to make patents available under certain conditions royalty free and to end price fixing and price discrimination. Uncertain and changing attitudes of the courts are brought out. For example, in 1926 the Supreme Court conceded the right of the patent owner, the General Electric, to license manufacturers with price restrictions. In examining the effect of these restrictions in later cases it first weakened its stand in the General Electric case and then overturned it.

The author thinks of the cartels as a new type of colonialism whereby countries without colonies encouraged industrial research through liberal patent sys-

tems, reserved "their markets in the name of patents rather than the flag, and thus depended upon patent laws and agreements rather than conquest. Territory was divided, not by pope or treaty, but through cartel agreements. . . ." Patent cartels were used by the country in which they most successfully flourished—Germany—to achieve military objectives while they were at the same time retarding America's development of such important industrial items as buna rubber and tungsten carbide. That American industrial companies were maneuvered into positions that discouraged or prevented domestic production of such essential goods is to say the least astonishing.

Of the nearly three million patents that have been issued it is estimated that over ninety-nine per cent are questionable because they have not been tested in the courts. Nevertheless, companies find it profitable to continue to pay royalties on weak patents because in doing so they benefit from price control. Most outstanding of suppressed inventions were the dial telephone and fluorescent lights. A majority of the Supreme Court has permitted the suppression of patents through a patent system that was designed to promote the progress of science and invention.

The United States Patent System is not easy reading but it is a valuable and stimulating study. Its evaluation of proposed remedies for antisocial results that stem from the system is not its least contribution.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

MACARTHUR: HIS RENDEZVOUS WITH HISTORY. By Major General Courtney Whitney. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xi, 547, xiii. \$6.75.)

GENERAL Whitney wrote this book so that "this and future generations may accurately formulate their impressions of the titanic influence he [General MacArthur] has had and, if permitted, still might have on the course of events in Asia." If this volume were entitled *MacArthur as I Saw Him*, one would have nothing but praise for the effort. It is with the claim that this book presents some kind of a "rendezvous with history" that one must protest.

General Whitney makes MacArthur appear as the only leader who made no mistakes in World War II, as the only American administrator of an occupied area who made no mistakes in the postwar period, and as the only American leader who made no mistakes during the Korean war. This was in spite of deception, intrigue, and opposition at home. The author implies that General Marshall hampered and deceived MacArthur in World War II, and that General Marshall, Secretary Acheson, and President Truman hampered and deceived him during the Korean war.

There is space in this review to test only two sections of General Whitney's book with the documents available. The first section (pp. 3-60) deals with the ill-fated campaign in the Philippines in 1941. Here Whitney presents a picture

of MacArthur being deceived by Roosevelt and Marshall, abandoned by the Navy, and fighting a forlorn battle against "hordes" of Japanese in "superior numbers" (pp. 16-17).

His account of the strategic planning and policy decisions in this period should be checked against Mark S. Watson's *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations* (Washington, 1950), pages 411-53, and against M. Matloff and E. M. Snell's *Strategic Planning for Coalition War, 1941-1942* (Washington, 1953), pages 11-29, 43, 45, 120-23. They cite the documents and place the Philippine campaign in its proper context in a global war of many fronts. MacArthur happened to be on a front where economy of effort was imposed by the over-all strategic plans.

As for MacArthur having to fight in the Philippines against "sweeping hordes" and "superior numbers" of Japanese in 1941, Louis Morton's *The Fall of the Philippines* (Washington, 1953), pages 57-59, 70, 125, cites the documents showing the actual numerical relationship between MacArthur's forces and the two Japanese divisions and supporting troops which made the invasion. MacArthur's reputation as a great soldier does not require an exaggeration of the numbers of the well-trained and well-equipped Japanese force.

When one checks Whitney's account of the Korean war with the testimony given in the MacArthur *Hearings*, it is possible to draw quite different conclusions about a number of events. For example, Whitney (p. 415) complains that when MacArthur launched his ill-fated offensive in the far north on November 24, 1950, the supply situation was unfavorable and that limitations on air reconnaissance and the enemy's skill at concealment was making the intelligence job difficult. On that very day, however, MacArthur's headquarters in a special communiqué to the United Nations spoke as follows:

. . . The giant UN pincer moved according to schedule today. The air forces, in full strength, completely interdicted the rear areas and an air reconnaissance behind the enemy line, and along the entire length of the Yalu River border, showed little sign of hostile military activity. . . .

Our losses were extraordinarily light. The logistics situation is geared to sustained offensive operations. . . . [Hearings, Part III, p. 1834]

Four days after General MacArthur's full claims to history had thus been presented in advance, the longest retreat in American military history began.

It was natural that MacArthur's staff should have been concerned with providing an explanation for this outcome. Whitney blames the surprise of November 28 on the failure of the CIA to provide intelligence about Chinese Communist intentions, yet General Collins, the Army Chief of Staff, testified that ninety per cent of all intelligence about Chinese capabilities and intentions came from MacArthur's headquarters (Part III, p. 1234). After MacArthur's Wake Island estimate of what would happen if the Chinese Communist forces tried to cross the Yalu and advance toward Pyongyang proved to be completely wrong, the Wake Island conference began to be described as "a sly political ambush" (p. 395). It

is only by comparing the earlier optimistic reports of MacArthur's headquarters to the United Nations with the later reports (sometimes dated as late as forty days after the event) that one can see how the great offensive to end the war was made to appear as a very fortunate reconnaissance in force.

For those who want General MacArthur presented without a single flaw in the full glory of his rhetoric, this is the book.

Santa Monica, California

H. A. DEWEERD

JOHN A. MACDONALD: THE OLD CHIEFTAIN. By *Donald Creighton*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1956. Pp. ix, 630. \$7.50.)

THIS volume completes an outstanding biography of a major figure in Canadian history during the period since Confederation. It is an even better book than the first volume, subtitled *The Young Politician*, not because the author has been more exacting in his standards of scholarship, which are unvaryingly high, but because the later period lends itself to an exposition of larger themes. Canada was now becoming a nation and was subject to the growing pains which accompany that status. Nation-building was Macdonald's chief concern—one might say his only concern. It is a subject to which Mr. Creighton does full justice.

Macdonald's chief concern was with the necessity of Canada's maintaining the Anglo-Canadian alliance to thwart the expansionist tendencies of the United States thus to "secure and maintain its separate political existence in North America." Macdonald had said that Canada "must belong either to the American or British system of government" for a hundred years before the nation would be "strong enough to walk alone." No one could have been more strongly opposed to the American system. Throughout his life he was a living embodiment of the phrase he used so tellingly in his last election campaign in 1891, "A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die."

Nevertheless, as Mr. Creighton explains, winning independent and diplomatic status from Great Britain was a task with which Macdonald was endlessly concerned. His unhappy experience with Earl de Ripon and Grey, as one of the British commissioners negotiating the Treaty of Washington in 1871, is here described in considerable detail. So is the problem of the reservation of a Canadian statute by the governor general during the fisheries controversy in 1886.

The most illuminating parts of the book apart from the above are those relating to the suppression of the Red River Rebellion and the financing and building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, both of which were designed to provide a firm basis for strengthening the Dominion against expansionism from the United States; Macdonald's belief that unrestricted reciprocity with the United States would hamper the development of Canadian nationhood; and his concern over the rise of French Canadian nationalism which threatened the unity of the nation.

Ten photographs of Macdonald and others and nine reproductions of con-

temporary cartoons lend flavor to this sympathetic yet critical biography of Canada's most colorful statesman.

Albany, New York

ALBERT B. COREY

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF CANADA: 1920-1949. By *John R. Williams*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 242. \$6.00.)

THE study of Canadian political parties by Canadian historians and political scientists lags far behind the work done in American universities on American parties, not to mention the work done by such nonacademic students as Samuel Lubell. And it must be added in shame that a large proportion of the most useful recent books on Canadian politics has been written by American students. Mr. Williams now adds to this list. He has produced a work of sound and illuminating analysis, full of shrewd judgments, with chapters on the leadership of the Conservative party, on its organization and finance, on its electoral fortunes in eight general elections, on its career in parliament, and on its philosophy and policies.

His judgments on the successive leaders, and especially on the present leader, Mr. George Drew, are severe; but, in the opinion of this reviewer, not too severe. He has, however, succumbed to what may be called in contemporary academic Canada the Meighen myth; finding Mr. Meighen intellectually so superior to any of the other politicians whom he has encountered in reading or interviews, he has tended to accept too easily the Meighen interpretation of the events of the 1920's and 1940's, and to see a noble Meighen struggling in vain with ignoble opponents.

Mr. Williams' first chapter on historical background consists mainly of material that is drearily familiar to Canadians, though it may seem fresh to Americans. His last chapter on policies is too short and sketchy. The ultimate reason for the inadequacy of the Conservative party in these years was that its policies did not fit the needs of the Canadian people, whereas Liberal policies were nicely adjusted and timed so that they seemed to crystallize what was vaguely going on in the minds of most Canadians. Mr. King was the man who divided Canadians least; Mr. Meighen was the man who divided them most.

Mr. Williams' pessimistic conclusions about the future of the Conservative party may require revision in a few years in view of the "new look" which its strategists have been trying to give it. His dire apprehensions about a horrible future in which a Liberal party and a "doctrinaire" socialist party would alternate in office, with differences dividing them so great as to put a severe strain on the normal operation of the party system, must be based upon the reading of Harold Laski rather than on the study of Canadian politics. For, as all the rest of his book shows, Canadian parties, by the time that they have become capable of government, have shed whatever doctrinaire tendencies they may have had and

have become composite coalitions practicing an opportunistic, pragmatic group-diplomacy.

University of Toronto

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN ARMY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. Volume I, SIX YEARS OF WAR: THE ARMY IN CANADA, BRITAIN, AND THE PACIFIC. By Colonel C. P. Stacey. (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier; Queen's Printer. 1955. Pp. xii, 629. \$3.50.)

IN 1948 Colonel Stacey gave us the history of the Canadian Army, 1939-1945, in a single, very readable book. In the present volume he has written the first of three which will present that history in greater detail, to be followed by a fourth on Canadian military policy which will include co-operation within the British Commonwealth and with the United States.

Each part of the present volume in turn takes its subject all the way to 1945: in Canada, in Britain, and in the Pacific. Canadians fight in this volume only at Dieppe and at Hong Kong. They had to wait four years before they were committed to a major campaign, and the reader will have to wait for the next two volumes to get the full record of their fighting in Italy and northwest Europe. Meanwhile, except for this, and with the other important exception of broad policies, the present volume covers every topic in a closely packed, carefully considered, clearly written narrative. Within its scale and scope it is an encyclopedia of historical information.

I find it hard, therefore, to understand why the author insists in his preface that this work, like its predecessor, is for the general reader rather than the student—unless Canadian readers have a far greater appetite for military history than ours. Certainly the studious reader will respect the expertness and integrity of its scholarship. This is backed by the researches of a staff whose solid and critical knowledge of the war our Army historians are in a position to appreciate, very gratefully. Because Colonel Stacey is a soldier as well as a scholar, military readers will respect the judgments on military questions that he does not hesitate to express.

The point of view of the author as a historian is frankly military. Insofar as this volume touches on broader issues, he is, naturally, faithful to a national line, as are official—and most other—historians of all nations. Finally, he has chosen to confine his presentation of persons to their names and official acts and statements. This is impersonal history.

I have one serious quarrel with the book, and it is directed at publishers. The footnotes are in the back. Like every serious reader I need to have in view the flow of the author's information. With this two-pound book on my lap, that imposed a labor of Sisypheus, and when I had the maps unfolded, a struggle comparable to that of Laocoön. When are we going to do something about this?

Washington, D. C.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

LA MINERIA Y LA METALURGIA EN LA AMERICA ESPAÑOLA DURANTE LA EPOCA COLONIAL. Con un apéndice sobre la Industria del Hierro en México desde la iniciación de la Independencia hasta el presente. By *Modesto Bargalló*, Professor de Químico-física del Instituto Politécnico Nacional de México. (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1955. Pp. 442.)

THIS is a substantial and liberally (though incompletely) documented history of mines, mining methods, and metallurgy in Spanish America during the three centuries of the colonial period. It deals with all the minerals then exploited and with every part of Spain's vast empire in the New World, but its main focus is on the precious metals in Mexico and Peru and above all on Mexican silver.

While this focus may have been sharpened somewhat by the circumstances that the author, Modesto Bargalló, though born and trained in Spain, has been living in Mexico for several years past and that his study was financed by a Mexican mining company, in the main it is justified by the facts. For one thing, these pages show that the other metals received little attention in either theory or practice during the colonial period. For example, New Spain (Mexico), like the other American dominions, continued to import almost all its iron from Spain despite the facts that it had known iron ore deposits and a few small iron works and that its consumption of iron increased greatly, not only as a result of the steady growth of mining and agriculture but also under special stimuli, such as the drainage of the Mexico City area on which 30,000 laborers were employed for four years beginning in 1607, and the church-building boom of the latter half of the seventeenth century, during which 6,000 churches were erected.

Silver and gold, on the other hand, were the lifeblood of the colonial economies, the protégés of Spanish policy, and, except for mercury, which was essential to their production, virtually the sole subjects of thought, experimentation, and writing in the field of Spanish American mining and metallurgy. By almost any criterion silver was easily the most important of these three metals; and, all things considered, Mexico merits the primacy which this book gives it over all the other dominions in the history of Spanish American silver. In volume and value of production Peru led in the early colonial period, but in the eighteenth century Mexico forged far ahead, and by the 1770's the product of a single Mexican mine, the fabulous "Valenciana," in some years exceeded that of all the Peruvian mines combined.

Mexico also takes first place in the history of mining methods, with such men as Bartolomé de Medina, the four hundredth anniversary of whose discovery of the *patio* process is celebrated by the publication of this book; Joseph Garcés y Eguía, who in 1802 published the first complete and systematic account of this process; Fausto de Elhuyar, who tried in vain to introduce the Viennese Baron von Born's method but did contribute much to Mexican mining and science in other ways; and Andrés del Río, the discoverer of a new chemical element,

vanadium. Some of these and the other Mexican worthies celebrated by Bargalló were not natives of Mexico, but this country was at least the scene of some of their greatest achievements.

Though Mexico is featured in these pages, the rest of Spanish America is not slighted. For example, there is a long and laudatory account of the Spanish-born Peruvian priest and mining expert Alvaro Alonso Barba and his epoch-making book *Arte de los metales* (1640); Peru's two most famous colonial mines, Potosí (silver) and Huancavelica (mercury), are discussed at length and all its lesser mines more briefly; and the gold mines of New Granada (modern Colombia) receive due notice. Spanish as well as Spanish American contributions to the development of mining and metallurgy are described, and the evidence produced justifies Bargalló's complaint against the failure of other nations to give the Hispanic world due credit for them.

On the debit side three items must be noted. (1) The book shows many signs of hasty composition. The author's preface explains that he had to meet a deadline (the Medina quadricentennial mentioned above), but it does not state when the work was begun. (2) The "Bibliografía" (pp. 367-401) is in fact only a collection of footnote citations; several works are cited twice or oftener, and there is no systematic arrangement. (3) The author fails to cite a considerable number of relevant studies, particularly by United States historians, including Clarence H. Haring, Earl J. Hamilton, Clement G. Motten, and the reviewer. Lohmann Villena's *Huancavelica* is cited as the last item in the bibliography, but little or no use seems to have been made of it.

These defects are particularly regrettable since the text has many important merits and the index, illustrations, and bookmaking are superior. May one hope that there will be a revised and somewhat enlarged edition?

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

LOS GREMIOS MEXICANOS: LA ORGANIZACIÓN GREMIAL EN NUEVA ESPAÑA, 1521-1861. By *Manuel Carrera Stampa*. Preface by Rafael Altamira. [Colección de estudios histórico-económicos mexicanos de la Cámara nacional de la industria de transformación.] (Mexico, D. F.: Edición y Distribución Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones. 1954. Pp. ix, 399.)

THIS study of the guilds of New Spain, by all odds the ablest yet to appear, is a contribution of unique interest. Mr. Carrera Stampa adds this significant work to his previous excellent studies of colonial Mexico.

Transplanted from sixteenth-century Spain, the *gremios* of New Spain were greatly multiplied and enlarged in the New World. The same hierarchy of workers was established; apprentices were accepted after proper assurance of purity of blood, legitimate birth, and freedom from heresy; apprentices advanced to the rank of *oficiales* (trained workmen) after rigorous tests; admittance as *maestros* was the final step. It was a system which discouraged inventiveness:

"technical progress was regarded as treachery" says the author. Any measure to reduce costs or to speed up production was frowned upon. The ideal, as in Spain, was *la obra maestra*, the production of goods and ornaments of fine quality. In New Spain, as in Spain, the *gremios* were under the tutelage of the municipal authorities, subject to a great mass of detailed legislation, but, in actual practice, they were able to exercise considerable influence upon the municipal authorities. Into these guilds were drawn the workers in textiles, pottery, sculpture, architecture, leather, and a host of other lines; organized in the sixteenth century, they flourished until the eighteenth and finally disappeared in the nineteenth century.

The legislation covering the various grades of workers was detailed and exacting. The apprentice was required to be obedient and faithful, concerned for both practical and theoretical skill. Only when he proved himself *capaz y suficiente*, was he admitted to the rank of *oficiales*. The *maestro*, lord of his little shop, was under obligation to respect the rights of his apprentices and *oficiales*, to render sound instruction in his art or trade, and to cultivate the religious faith of his charges.

Closely allied with the *gremio* was the *cofradía gremial*—"the guild brotherhood"—"a civil association for mutual aid, organized under the shadow of the Church," dedicated to the increase of piety, the moral and material well-being of living members, and the eternal peace of the dead. Almost every *gremio* had its *cofradía*, its patron saint, and its own chapel. Their program of mutual aid was extensive; the author cites nineteenth-century contracts with pharmacists, physicians, surgeons, and midwives for the care of members of the guilds and their dependents.

The *gremio* finally fell under the impact of industrialized Europe. By the end of the eighteenth century there was clamor for freedom of choice in the arts and trades. The Mexican Constitution of 1824 incorporated the principle of free and equal civil rights. The reform laws of the 1850's reinforced these rights, and the *gremios* were done for.

Claremont Graduate School and Pomona College

HUBERT HERRING

THE LAST OF THE CONQUISTADORS: JUNÍPERO SERRA (1713-1784).

By Omer Englebert. Translated from the French by Katherine Woods. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1956. Pp. ix, 368. \$6.00.)

WHEN the publishers of a biography announce it as "the first complete and authoritative biography" on the subject, the historian's interest is immediately aroused. In this present case, the historian is doomed to a degree of disappointment. *The Last of the Conquistadors* is an entertaining and informative biography, written sympathetically by a professional biographer, and, although almost entirely devoid of footnotes, is evidently based upon good documentation; it is, however, scarcely authoritative.

The author recounts the familiar story of the successful attempt by Spain and

by the Franciscan friars of the Apostolic College of San Fernando to construct a presidio-mission bulwark against the Russian advance into Upper California. He carries the story through the founding of nine missions by Padre Serra in the years 1769-1784.

Père Omer Englebert, the author, is a French diocesan priest, and not, as the dust cover states, a "Franciscan like Junípero Serra." One would have liked to examine the original French edition, published in Paris in 1956. Infelicitous expressions abound in the English translation, e.g., "minister" for missionary or padre, "redskins" for Indians, "free priests" for diocesan priests. The Catholic dioceses of Fresno and San Francisco are said to possess "Episcopalian Chanceries."

The historian acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of early California will question the frequent use of quotation marks to indicate dramatic words and paragraphs that do not appear in the writings of Serra. It is unfortunate that the author was not able to use the four-volume Spanish-English edition of the *Writings of Junípero Serra*, two volumes of which were published in 1955-1956 by the Academy of American Franciscan History. Père Englebert merely mentions (and never quotes from) the extensive biography by Charles J. G. M. Piette, O.F.M., entitled *Le Secret de Junípero Serra, fondateur de la Californie-Nouvelle, 1769-1784* (2 vols.; Washington, D. C., 1949), although he presumably made considerable use of this work, the only one which, until then, contained copies or extracts (translated into French) of most of the letters and writings of Serra patiently collected over a period of years by many hands. But the author goes beyond Piette in seeming to belittle Serra's adversaries, churchmen and seculars, by representing them as uniformly petty and scheming individuals. Despite the above remarks, this reviewer has nothing but praise for the attractive and dramatic portrayal given by Fr. Englebert of the personality and achievements of the saintly Father Serra, who, in his own way, may justly be called the last of the conquistadors.

Academy of American Franciscan History

MATHIAS C. KIEMEN

FUENTES PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEXICANA. Volume II, LA CARICATURA POLÍTICA. Prólogo, estudios y notas de *Manuel González Ramírez*, con un proemio de *Sergio Fernández*. (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1955. Pp. xlii, 143, 501 illustrations.)

THIS valuable collection of Mexican political cartoons covers the first two decades of the twentieth century. A forty-page prologue relates the cartoonist's craft to other forms of satire, burlesque, and art in Mexico and abroad. The illustrations as a group eschew detail and usually select special features of their victims—a nose, habitual garb, an identifying deformity, or even an idea—to characterize the whole. Thus the "equilibrium of the unstable [equilibrio del desequilibrio]" became a kind of general theme.

Weapons employed included appeals to religious affiliations, respect for the

Constitution, and hatred of dictatorship or predatory wealth. At least by implication, ideals were being prostituted; good was victimized by evil. Not surprisingly, the long-recognized solace of religion invited an excessive use of saints, devils, and churchly allusions. Particularly was this the case when the appeal was to an embittered and scarcely literate population grown cynical from abuse and hardships.

The editor has grouped 501 selected cartoons (practically all of them full-page in size) by subject matter, interspersed with a hundred pages of commentary. Personalities predominate. Porfirio Díaz was the murderer of the Constitution or was jeered by a laughing peon as, tottering on the crutches of "clericalism" and "militarism," the old dictator descended creaking and rotten stairs, each step downward labeled with the number of the old man's successive re-elections (see front cover and no. 42). Similarly Francisco Madero was lampooned as a dictator or as a blundering watchmaker who had completed a repair job only to have numerous bits of the mechanism, labeled "banditry," "ambition of usurpers," etc., left over (no. 207); and Victoriano Huerta was attacked for militarism.

The author's effort at balance is shown in his ten-page introduction to forty-one cartoons attacking the United States. He notes that the economic imperialism so bitterly assailed by the cartoonists was the joint product of economic expansionism from north of the Río Grande and of the desire of Porfirianism for foreign investments (see pp. 67 and 72 of text). Throughout the series Uncle Sam menaced Mexico with his money bags or his military power.

The author-editor is to be commended for a valuable checklist of personalities and for pertinent explanatory notes giving data for each cartoon reproduced. He has also made an effort to identify a number of the anonymous cartoonists of his country. This is valuable, for these men helped to make a nation's history though perforce they were at the time nameless, literally for fear of a firing squad. The collection is apparently a good cross section of Mexican political criticism of a vital period though other compilers might disagree with the selections made. Certainly it comprises a valuable insight into national mores and will be a handy tool for historical workers for many years to come.

University of South Carolina

W. H. CALLCOTT

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE ACCEPTANCE OF HISTORIES: TOWARD A PERSPECTIVE FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE. By *Kenneth E. Bock*. [University of California Publications in Sociology and Social Institutions, Volume III, No. 1.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1956, pp. 132, \$1.75.) To the increasing concern among contemporary historians over the relation of "history" and "social science" this study brings some bold and clear writing from the other side of the fence—from a social scientist arguing well that generalizations about social processes must rest on careful comparative examination of the appropriate historical materials; that they depend on "the acceptance of histories." Following a review of "The Nineteenth-Century Science of History" and the persisting "Heritage of Assumption," it presents in a final chapter its conclusions that histories, in the plural, form the context within which social science must develop. The author carefully separates the problem of searching for regularities in specific historical occurrences from two main sources of confusion in our present heritage: (1) from the misleading legacy of the nineteenth-century evolutionists (Comte, Spencer, Mill, etc.) who sought to formulate cosmic laws of social development on organic or mechanical analogies, "without the disciplined use of historical records"; and, on the other hand, (2) from the customary practice of narrative historians who "take as their special task the writing down of . . . the individual and unique aspects of the doings of particular peoples." "There is little point in telling them that they should classify their materials, search for regularities, organize their data along explicit theoretical lines, or formulate generalizations . . . because historians of this persuasion have made it clear that they are doing something quite different." The proper recourse for anyone dissatisfied with what they are doing is to insist that there are two ways of conceiving experience, one of which focuses attention on the concrete, the other using the records of "specific happenings, identified as to time and place, as material that can yield to generalization." Only through the systematic study of more than one sequence of parallel occurrences—such as the formation of a mob—can testable generalizations about human social life be reached. Hence the necessity to view history as plural, to compare many histories of particular series of events to find "what kinds of happenings have been significantly associated with what other kinds of happenings in the experiences of men."

JOHN E. SAWYER, *Yale University*

STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY: THE ADOLPH BÜCHLER MEMORIAL VOLUME. Edited by *I. Brodie* and *J. Rabbinowitz*. [Jews' College Publications, New Series, No. 1.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xxx, 356, \$8.00.) Adolph Büchler, famed Hebrew scholar and historian, was principal of Jews' College, London, from 1909 to his death in 1939 and was best known for his research into Jewish law and ceremonial in the first three centuries of our era. The present volume, edited by Chief Rabbi I. Brodie and Professor Rabbinowitz, of England, gathers a number of his articles from *Festschriften* and periodicals, all of them penetratingly and persuasively written and nicely translated from the German, and, in one case, from the French. Topics of the first (English) section include: "The Priestly Dues and the Roman Taxes in the Edicts of Caesar"; "On the History of Temple Worship"; "On the Provisioning of Jerusalem before the Year 70"; "Family Purity

and Impurity in Jerusalem before the Year 70"; "The Jewish Betrothal and the Position of a Woman Betrothed to a Priest in the 1st and 2nd Centuries"; "The Conspiracy of R. Nathan and R. Meier against the Patriarch Simon ben Gamaliel"; "The Patriarch R. Judah I and the Graeco-Roman Cities of Palestine"; "The *Minim* [non-Jewish sectaries, according to Büchler] of Sepphoris and Tiberias in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries." A second section contains three essays printed in Hebrew which concern tithing, a speech on "The Disinheritance of the Son by his Father," and a commentary on the place of women in the apocryphal book of Judith. Dr. Isidore Epstein has written a brief life of Büchler, "The Man and the Scholar." There is a bibliography of Büchler's works with reference to their several original publications. His most famous work, *Das Synedrion in Jerusalem und das grosse Beth-Din in der Quaderkammer des jerusalemischen Tempels* (Vienna, 1902), established the difference between the Sanhedrin as a political body (and thus the object of various pressures) and a hitherto unremarked Beth-Din or great court of justice in Jerusalem. This essay is not included here, perhaps because of length. There is an index of proper names. The volume opens many new vistas into the life of the early Middle Ages and the Near East; it is good to have the studies readily available in so fine a format.

ALLEN DUPONT BRECK, *University of Denver*

DE PRAEDA MILITARI: LOOTING AND BOOTY, 1500-1815. By Fritz Redlich, Harvard University. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, Nr. 39.] (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1956, pp. ix, 79.) War at best is destructive and disorderly. Masses of men removed from familiar restraints, often engaged in destroying property of "the enemy," and certainly in destroying its protections of law and police, succumb readily to the opportunities of liberating valuables of a portable character. The practice of fighting groups has varied considerably through world history and in particular through European history, culminating in a way in World War II. Its historical development has been marked by three major changes. In the first place, Christianity, especially in the form of chivalry, supplied moral restraints, partly incorporated into laws, that like our amateur athletic codes were honored as much in the breach as in the observance. Secondly, the enlargement of the war function ended the earlier necessity (and possibility) of living off the country by the development of services of supply. Finally, the growth of the state and the intensification of its mercantilist sensibility involved an enlargement of the whole concept of looting to include appropriation of productive systems and instrumentalities, cultural materials, and even historical archives by the states themselves. At the same time, the increasing disciplinary power of the state restricted the range of the potential looters and for military and political reasons imposed on the soldier a bind of law. In this monograph, as a part of a larger study in process on military entrepreneurship, Fritz Redlich undertakes to establish historically the process in European history "by which looting as an established institution was first regulated and then more or less abandoned" (p. 78). In a very extensive exploration of sources and literature, he makes an effective picture of usages, regulations, and laws as they developed through the centuries down to the nineteenth. He is aware that much looting took place later, "but then it was strictly contra legem" (preface). This little point illustrates much of the limitations of the essay. The author's larger purpose, the history of military entrepreneurship, seems to involve some account of the closely correlated processes, the complication of economic society, and the increasing economic involvement of the state. In short, looting got to be too good to be left to the soldier. On the whole, Redlich has brought some order into a subject inherently disordered and hitherto wholly neglected as history. In view of his ultimate economic purpose, it may be questioned whether he is justified in speak-

ing of "looting on the wane." Between the Spanish looting of Antwerp and the Dutch closing of the Scheldt is a less than absolute distinction. The legal conceptions seem to be derived rather from the important seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources than from the modern jurists. Looting was an area in which, as in others, law evolved from a limited and personal basis to an authoritarian and generalized form. Redlich's use of *Simplicissimus* as a dependable source is hardly warranted in view of recent criticism. Nevertheless, the rich aggregation of data which he has gathered gives promise of significant results when he gets on with his study of military entrepreneurship.

F. L. NUSSBAUM, *University of Wyoming*

WILDERNESS CHRISTIANS: THE MORAVIAN MISSION TO THE DELAWARE INDIANS. By *Elma E. Gray*, in collaboration with *Leslie Robb Gray*. (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1956, pp. xi, 354, \$5.00.) Essentially this is the story of the two Indian missions—Fairfield and New Fairfield—maintained on the Thames River in Ontario by the Moravian Church from 1792 to 1902. But the volume contains much more than that: it traces the history of the Moravians from their arrival in Georgia in 1735 and the history of their activities among the American Indians from 1740, when Christian Henry Rauch was stationed with the Mohicans at Shekomeko in New York. Across the pages of this book walk the notable leaders and missionaries of the church—Count Zinzendorf, David Zeisberger, Christian Frederick Post, John Heckewelder, John Ettwein, Michael Jung, John Schnall, Gottlob Sensemann, Christian Frederick Denke, Abraham Luckenbach, and numerous others. With them are their remarkable wives, whose contributions to the missions were also noteworthy. There are also important figures among the Delawares, such as Teedyuscung, Schebosch, Glikhican, Netawatwees, White Eyes, Tobias, and Timothy. The work of the early missionaries of the eighteenth century and the first fifteen years of the nineteenth seems to have been more effective upon their charges and more influential in the regions of the missions than the efforts of the later missionaries. The authors carefully analyze the pressures upon the missionaries and the Indians in their various missions, and move the missions from spot to spot in Pennsylvania, into the Muskingum Valley and later the Sandusky Valley in Ohio, into Michigan, back to Pilgerruh and New Salem in Ohio, and finally to Fairfield on the Thames. While the book outlines the missionary training of the church, the philosophy and aims of the mission activities, and the administrations of the missionaries, the important contribution is perhaps the detailed sociological analysis of the everyday life of the Indians in the mission villages. Not only are their habits and customs described but also their occupations, skills, crafts, the tools and implements they used, the houses they lived in, the clothes they wore, and the food they ate. Of significance, too, is the treatment of the effects upon the Indian converts of wars, from the Revolution through the War of 1812, of Indians and whites who settled near them, and of the advance of civilization. The authors have made full use of the wonderful collection of missionary diaries, reports, and letters in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. They also had the benefit of the archaeological studies of Old Fairfield by Wilfrid Jury, of the Museum of Indian Archaeology of the University of Western Ontario. The authors show a decided inclination to sympathize with the church's and the missionaries' aims and methods in administering the missions and otherwise dealing with the Indians.

JAMES H. RODABAUGH, *Ohio Historical Society*

AMERICA'S SIBERIAN EXPEDITION, 1918-1920: A STUDY OF NATIONAL POLICY. By *Betty Miller Unterberger*. (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1956, pp. 271, \$7.50.) This workmanlike study of one of the most confused episodes in modern

diplomatic history performs a distinct service to scholarship. Heavily documented and temperately written throughout, it traces the evolution of America's role in the Siberian intervention of 1918-1920 from the hatching in mid-1917 of Anglo-French-Japanese plans for a rehabilitation of the Russian front to the Washington Conference and the termination of the Inter-Allied Railway Agreement in 1922. Mrs. Unterberger's book offers a much fuller treatment of United States policy than does John A. White's *The Siberian Intervention* (1950); it is more searching and more objective than Clarence A. Manning's *The Siberian Fiasco* (1952). With meticulous detail, the author drives home the fact that President Wilson agreed to the intervention only after he was convinced that Japan would send an independent expedition if he did not forestall such action by inviting the Japanese to participate in a joint undertaking. Wilson did not even pretend to emulate French and British statesmen in viewing the effort as a means of re-establishing an eastern front against Germany. His avowed objectives were to succor the embattled Czech Legion and to offer the Russian people "such aid as shall be acceptable . . . in their endeavor to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory, and their own destiny." His "basic and unpublicized reason . . . was to restrain Japan from imperialistic adventures and to preserve the open door in Siberia and North Manchuria." Although Mrs. Unterberger makes it perfectly clear that the State Department and the War Department worked at cross-purposes with each other while Wilson worked at cross-purposes with the Allies, she concludes that the United States did impose a worth-while, if temporary, curb upon Japanese ambitions. It seems unlikely that a more painstaking and convincing analysis of this question will be written for many years.

DONALD F. DRUMMOND, *University of Michigan*

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1919-1943: DOCUMENTS. Volume I, 1919-1922. Selected and edited by *Jane Degras*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xvi, 463, \$8.80.) The history of the Comintern constitutes a large gap in the study of Soviet foreign policy as well as of national Communist parties between the two world wars. The Royal Institute of International Affairs has undertaken to help bridge it with the publication of documents of the Third International, of which the first volume has now appeared. The materials have been carefully edited by Miss Jane Degras, of whom one has come to expect such expert work on the basis of her *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy*, which the new series complements. The present volume covers the first four years of the Comintern—a crucial period involving problems of organization, contests with other Marxist parties and the Socialist International, and the struggle over the autonomy of the several member parties. Compared with later years, this was the "heroic" era, when Comintern members were still frank in the exposition of their goals and when substantial arguments took place in public. If there were ample naiveté and idealism, there were also cunning and demagoguery. Even in the earliest pronouncements one senses the tactical flexibility and the bitterness of factional strife which characterized the subsequent activities of the Comintern. The documents, presented chronologically, include all the important programmatic pronouncements of the period, as well as some statements on current affairs, exchanges with individual national Communist parties, and resolutions on the struggle for the control of the labor movement. It goes without saying that some of the most important Comintern documents have never been made public. As a result, the reader remains ill-informed about Soviet manipulation and financing; about the use of the International for other than its avowed aims; and about some of the backstairs conflicts concerning its work. For the purposes of this series, "documents" include only statements

by the International itself and its publications. Hence the collection includes neither memoirs nor journalistic reports on the Comintern. By way of compensation, each document is supplied with an excellent introduction explaining its context and significance. A bibliography is provided, though additional references would have been welcome. One looks forward to the remaining volumes in the hope that the series will stimulate monographs of equally high standards of scholarship.

ALEXANDER DALLIN, *Columbia University*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1939.

In five volumes. Volume I, GENERAL. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1956, pp. viii, 1059, \$4.50.) This volume deals mainly (401 pp.) with the outbreak of the Second World War, and its value to historians will lie in its detailed reporting of conversations, rumors, newspaper comment, and public opinion in the various European countries during the months before the catastrophe. There also is miscellaneous material on the early phases of the war (172 pp.), repatriation of Americans and others from belligerent countries (82 pp.), the neutrality policy of the United States (61 pp.), control of commerce by belligerent governments (131 pp.), and American concern over Soviet demands on Finland and outbreak of the Winter War (89 pp.). There is a selection of documents on American attempts to stockpile raw materials (104 pp.); the United States even in the fatal year 1939 negotiated tediously with the Netherlands-British rubber cartel to increase rubber production and sales. Of particular interest is American diplomatic reporting (118 pp.) on the competitive Anglo-French and German negotiations in the summer of 1939 for a political agreement with Russia; it is plain, once more, that the Poles refused to allow any agreement for Soviet troops to cross Polish territory in event of German attack, but no further light appears on whether the Russians were sincere in making this Polish refusal a basis for the pact with Germany. There is a brilliant dispatch of August 22 by Ambassador Bullitt, relating a conversation with Daladier and L  ger in which the two French officials described France's "tragic and terrible situation" after the Russo-German agreement, and forecast accurately the course of events in Europe and the world over the next few months and years. This volume of American documents shows no American diplomatic policy toward Europe in 1939, and almost no *d  marches* of any sort, other than the messages by President Roosevelt, of April and August, asking for preservation of peace.

ROBERT H. FERRELL, *Indiana University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

PIECING TOGETHER THE PAST: THE INTERPRETATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA. By V. Gordon Childe. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1956, Pp. vii, 176, \$3.95.) The author based this book upon a lecture course dealing with "the principles of archaeological classification, the current terminology and the implicit interpretative concepts" (p. v). The idea is a good one, since several excavation manuals have recently been published but little has been done to analyze the theoretical and philosophical aspects of the archaeological pursuit. The author endeavors to state the case clearly, although the terminological aspect is especially difficult and so controversial that it can be presented only in a critical way with manifold references and examples. The resulting exposition is challenging but hardly meant for the beginner. It is important to notice that V. G. Childe restricts his analysis almost entirely to prehistoric archaeology (p. vi). In the preface a universal validity of the prehistoric concepts and methods is claimed for any branch of interpretative archaeology, but archaeologists working with literate or potentially literate, or again with artistically articulate material, profess a methodology different from what is offered by Childe as an outline for piecing together the past. His analytic scheme presented on pages 129-31 would be applicable but inadequate in the case of historic archaeology—cf. the heading "Artistic" under which the total listing is (a) graphic arts; (b) musical instruments; (c) personal adornments, including wigs, razors, tweezers, bathtubs. The student of history will question Childe's use of the term "historian" (p. 1: the archaeologist is said to become a historian in so far as he can reconstitute human behavior and recapture the thoughts that behavior expressed). The book is an important record of the theoretical position of one of the world's foremost prehistorians. The archaeologist as an art-historian and the archaeologist as a discoverer of the historical past will have to furnish their own accounts of the interpretation of archaeological data; and the final synthesis will be essentially different from the one presented here under perhaps too general a title. MACHTELD J. MELLINK, *Bryn Mawr College*

THE BABYLONIAN LAWS. Volume II, TRANSLITERATED TEXT, TRANSLATION, PHILOLOGICAL NOTES, GLOSSARY. Edited with Translation and Commentary by G. R. Driver and John C. Miles. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. vii, 426, \$10.10.) The editors of the present volume began their collaboration with *The Assyrian Laws*, which appeared in 1935. The companion work on the corresponding Babylonian material, which they projected at that time, had to be broken up into two separate volumes. The first of these, containing the legal com-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

mentary, was published in 1952, to be followed three years later by the book before us, which presents the transliterated text, with translation, philological notes, and glossary. In each instance, the juridical side of the joint enterprise has been handled with excellent results by Sir John C. Miles, whose competence, experience, and devotion helped to make of the initial volume of *The Babylonian Laws* a contribution that should remain standard for many years to come. As the philologist of the team, Professor Driver is primarily responsible for the concluding part. By far the largest section of the book is given over to the Laws of Hammurabi. Although several older collections are now known, none compares with the celebrated "code" of Hammurabi in scope, degree of completeness, precision, and beauty of expression. This material has by now had the benefit of more than fifty years of minute and intensive study. Nevertheless, it still poses its quota of linguistic and substantive problems. Driver is well versed in Akkadian, the language used by Hammurabi with classic effect, and he is also at home in other Semitic languages. He has covered the large and unwieldy literature on the subject with thoroughness and care. But the results cannot be regarded as wholly satisfactory by modern standards. Too much attention is devoted to comparative etymologies and to the meanings which a given word may have in various other contexts. All this adds needlessly to the bulk of the book, without shedding light on the passage in question; indeed, far too often the discursive treatment serves only to distract and even mislead the reader. The etymologies, aside from being irrelevant, are in a number of instances demonstrably wrong as well. In short, the book may be said to suffer from misplaced emphasis. Yet its flaws are outweighed by the extent of its coverage and its wealth of references to the literature on the subject.

E. A. SPEISER, *University of Pennsylvania*

ESSAI SUR LA MÉDECINE EGYPTIENNE DE L'ÉPOQUE PHARAONIQUE. By *Gustave Lefebvre*, Membre de l'Institut. [Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1956, pp. xii, 216, 1,200 fr.) There is an excellent recent discussion of Egyptian medicine in the first volume of Sigerist's *History of Medicine*, strangely enough not mentioned by this author, but otherwise no attempt before this book has been made to synthesize in a monograph the numerous detailed findings of the last thirty years concerning Egyptian medicine. It thus definitely fills a gap, and it does it quite well. Mr. Lefebvre deals but briefly with the problems which have been particularly attractive to recent authors, like the relations between magic and scientific elements in Egyptian medicine, and the organization of medical service. He discusses in more detail the very rudimentary anatomical and physiological knowledge of the Egyptians which explains many of the absurdities in the clinical passages of the papyri. The bulk of his book is a description of the actual and sometimes quite amazing knowledge of the Egyptians concerning the diseases of the eye, teeth, female organs, lung, stomach, bladder, and traumatic surgery. With equal skill and knowledge he analyzes their therapeutic procedures, especially their druglore and prescriptions. With care he compares (mostly in footnotes; the text remains very readable) the different possibilities of translating obscure Egyptian terms for organs or drugs and usually offers solutions which are satisfactory through their moderation, a virtue not always practiced by enthusiasts in this field. This is an interesting, useful, and competent short monograph.

ERWIN H. ACKERKNECHT, *University of Wisconsin*

FROM ALEXANDER TO CONSTANTINE: PASSAGES AND DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS, 336 B.C.-A.D. 337. Translated with Introductions, Notes, and Essays by *Ernest Barker*, Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (New York,

Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xxiv, 505, \$8.00.) This is a source book of a very unusual kind. It includes selections from Hellenistic and Roman, Greek and Latin, pagan and Jewish and Christian sources. At the same time it is more than a source book. The editor has added much valuable information in introductions to the various sections and selections and in notes. To use his own words, besides "assembling stones" he has also provided "some sort of mortar" (p. ix), and he has done this so successfully that he has actually produced a connected account of the history of the social and political ideas of the period. For this task no one is better qualified than Sir Ernest Barker. His *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle* appeared in 1906. A revision of the first part was put out in 1918 under the title *Greek Political Theory: Plato and His Predecessors*. The projected second volume never appeared. The author, meanwhile, was occupied with almost all sorts of political theories other than Greek. Finally, however, there came instead his invaluable translation—a virtual edition—of Aristotle's *Politics* and the work now under review. He thus possesses an unequalled acquaintance not only with ancient but also with modern political theories. The reader must not, on the other hand, look for the kind of knowledge of ancient history that is gained by lifetime study of inscriptions and papyri, a kind of study which at times also reveals aspects of theory and thought not to be found in the literary sources. It may also be noted that economic thought is not treated quite as adequately as philosophy, religious thought, theories of law, and theories of government. Continuity of thought and the relationship between the various intellectual movements of the long period covered are admirably demonstrated. At times the emphasis on continuity may tend to obscure other aspects. Thus, the connection between Hellenistic theories of kingship and later theories of the good prince seems to have caused the theory of the principate to be slighted. On this point the inclusion of Galba's speech at the time of the adoption of Piso as given by Tacitus (*Historiae* 1. 15-16) would have helped. Yet, all in all, there probably is no other single volume of comparable scope from which readers, both less advanced students and scholars, can learn as much as from this.

J. A. O. LARSEN, *University of Chicago*

CAESAR AS MAN OF LETTERS. By F. E. Adcock. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. x, 115, \$2.00.) The object of this small volume is to emphasize the literary character of Caesar's surviving works. In order to arrive at a fair estimate of his literary ability the author first briefly reviews Caesar's career as a statesman and a soldier. In examining the literary form of the *Commentaries*, Sir Frank finds that Caesar's works do not conform exactly to the standard convention of the *Commentarius* and hence their literary value must be judged by other standards. The purpose, and content, of the *De bello Gallico*, the author feels, contrary to popular opinion, can be regarded in only a very limited sense as being that of propaganda. "The Military Man" examines Caesar's literary interpretation of war as an exercise of the mind as well as his concept of generalship. Caesar's literary style, it is true, is not without considerable merit. Nevertheless, this study shows that the *Commentaries* alone are not enough to establish Julius Caesar as a great literary figure. The book concludes with a useful discussion of the time of the composition and publication of the *Commentaries* and the nature of the whole Caesarian corpus.

RICHARD H. CHOWEN, *University of South Carolina*

THE ROMAN MIND: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THOUGHT FROM CICERO TO MARCUS AURELIUS. By M. L. Clarke, Professor of Latin in the University College of North Wales, Bangor. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. vii, 168, \$3.75.) With loving hands Mr. Clarke has constructed an urbane guide to

the surface pattern of thought displayed in Latin (and Greek) literature of the late republic and early empire. His book may safely be recommended to beginning students of the era as a survey of the acclimation of the Greek intellectual achievement at Rome. Such students will not be led seriously astray, for his picture is clear and sensible if too brief at times to give a rounded analysis. Nor will they be led down unfamiliar lanes: the author gives almost no place to the evidence of art, inscriptions, and coins; the matter under discussion is basically the classic philosophical tradition; there are no novel twists or challenging schemes of thought to force one to think for oneself. Ancient authors are amply quoted (with English translations); the modern literature on the subject is very rarely cited. Mr. Clarke believes, as have so many others, that "the Romans did little more than reproduce Greek ideas in a different language and with at most a slightly different tone and accent." Such a view helps to explain the limitations in time and scope of his survey; as this reviewer has indicated at length in another place, he is in complete disagreement with this view.

CHESTER G. STARR, *University of Illinois*

FELIX STAEHELIN: *REDEN UND VORTRÄGE*. Edited by *Wilhelm Abt*. (Basel, Benno Schwabe, 1956, pp. 328, 18 S. fr.) Felix Staehelin (1873-1952), professor at Basel and president of the commission for the historical museum, is well known to classicists as the author of an excellent book entitled *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*, which has passed triumphantly through three editions. To his pupils and many friends in Basel he is known also as a felicitous speaker who could survey complicated problems with remarkable clarity and express himself elegantly in well-organized lectures and addresses. One of his students has collected the least accessible lectures and addresses into a well-printed book. The editor has not ventured in any way to bring the lectures up to date, but, even so, his act of piety will be useful not only for the local public but for historians. Staehelin's comments on the emperor Claudius (1933) and on pre-Roman Switzerland (1935) still retain exceptional interest and importance, though what was in 1901 a splendid survey of new papyrus discoveries has lost interest, or rather acquired an interest of a different type. The collection contains also four appreciations of deceased scholars; a radio address, "Recollections of Jacob Burckhardt"; talks on "Anti-Semitism in Antiquity" (1901), "Problems of Israelite History" (1907), "Israel in Egypt" (1908), "Phidias" (1910), "The Philistines" (1917), "Constantine the Great" (1935), "Augustus" (two speeches, 1939), "Peoples and Migrations in the Ancient East" (1942); and an address on affairs of the historical museum (1944).

JAMES H. OLIVER, *Johns Hopkins University*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

NOUVELLES RECHERCHES SUR L'IMPOT FONCIER ET LA CAPITATION PERSONNELLE SOUS LE BAS-EMPIRE. By *Ferdinand Lot*. [Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études, fasc. 304—Complément au fasc. 253.] (Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1955, pp. 195.) Unfortunately the late Professor Ferdinand Lot was unable to see this work through the press, and that phase of its production was accomplished by others. The book itself, however, encompasses much more than the title indicates and is the fruit of his long years of research. It is composed of nine essays on different problems relating to the economic history of late antiquity and the early medieval period. The earlier essays in the book are devoted to studies of the tax system of the empire and to the interpretation of the ancient documents. Lot had already covered much of this ground in an earlier work in the same series published in 1928, but new evidence has come to light since that day, and the works of Déleage and Seston made it incumbent upon Lot to treat it once again. In the later essays he deals with such major problems as the Roman origins of the *mansus* and the Frankish tax system, the circulation of gold during the early medieval period,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

and the supposed economic superiority of the Eastern Empire, which he attempts to refute. In his interpretation of many of the sources Lot departed radically from past scholarship, and it is evident that much that he wrote in his work will remain controversial. Great caution should therefore be observed in using this book, and all the citations should be checked. In some instances more recent research which was not available to Lot weakens several of his arguments. Nevertheless, a great scholar has suggested some new approaches to a few of the most basic problems in the economic history of the early Middle Ages, and the book is therefore an important one, but it is questionable whether Lot's conclusions will be widely accepted.

HOWARD L. ADELSON, *City College of New York*

REGESTA REGUM ANGLO-NORMANNORUM, 1066-1154. Volume II, REGESTA HENRICI PRIMI, 1100-1135. Edited by *Charles Johnson* and *H. A. Cronne*, from the Collections of the Late H. W. C. Davis. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xlvii, 454, \$16.80.) This volume will be as important for the history of the reign of Henry I as the publication of the Pipe Rolls was for the reign of Henry II, or the volumes of Chancery Rolls and Curia Regis Rolls have been for that of John. The first of the projected three volumes was published in 1913 by H. W. C. Davis, covering the period 1066-1100, and a final volume will deal with the reign of Stephen. This volume is more than the second in this series: it also, for all practical purposes, provides a long-needed revised edition of Volume I in the copious errata and addenda to its predecessor. The heart of the work consists of a calendar of the more than 1,500 surviving charters of Henry I, of which some 300 previously unpublished charters are printed in an appendix. As in the first volume, each charter calendared is annotated with references to sources and origins and with comment on authenticity, special features, and the identity of witnesses or other persons named. The charters are arranged in chronological order, so far as that can be established, and an outline itinerary is supplied, indicating where the editors have departed from the dating of Farrer's *Itinerary*. Farrer's pioneering work took account of less than half of the charters dealt with here, and the greater scope of the present work has not only made possible a more accurate chronology but also, in the indexes of persons and places, an invaluable aid for all future work on the period. The introduction provides a concise account of the central administration and its personnel, together with some interesting remarks about the light shed by charters on institutions and events of the reign. After waiting more than forty years for this volume to appear, some readers will be disappointed that the editors did not take this occasion to include a full discussion of Anglo-Norman administration and diplomatic. But, that aside, this is a monumental work magnificently produced. Its publication marks the beginning of a new stage in Anglo-Norman studies, and to it every future student of the period will be deeply indebted.

ROBERT S. HOYT, *University of Minnesota*

THEOBALD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. By *Avrom Saltman*. [University of London Historical Studies, II.] (London, University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by John de Graff, New York, 1956, pp. xvi, 594, \$8.00.) It has been a happy half decade for the superficial student of the reign of Stephen and of early Henry II, particularly because of the attractive source materials that have been made available in "Nelson's Medieval Texts." Now Mr. Saltman has published a lengthy study of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, whose huge but shadowy importance emerges provocatively from any study of the period of his episcopacy (1139-1161). Theobald's household was a center of stability in the Anarchy, and it was the home of a startling number of important and brilliant men. If one looks to Mr. Saltman's book for a con-

cise statement about the sort of man Theobald was or the sort of atmosphere that pervaded his household, one will be disappointed. In the first and general part of this sharply divided book Mr. Saltman is lengthily evasive. He stretches out his often imperceptibly relevant tangles of detail in a style that is strongly affected by a curious use of the cliché. The discussion seems conjectural rather than imaginative. The presentation is in fact so unrelentingly unreadable that it acquires a sort of perverse charm. And the reader is surprised upon finishing to find that he has in an indirect and disparate way enlarged his understanding, or at least made more subtle his confusion, about the intricate behavior of the man Theobald. He has also seen a church that needed to have Becket killed. In the second part of his book Mr. Saltman introduces his collection of beautifully printed charters. Here all is changed. Mr. Saltman's text is tense, concise, exact, informative, witty. Part II is, in short, a book to make diplomatists dance in the streets. One feels that the charters have been gone over again and again with sensitive eyes and hands—and ears. Mr. Saltman has culled the formal portions from his charters and analyzed them. It is exactly work like this, the collection of harangues, for example, that suggests the possibility of a more exciting and penetrating sort of intellectual and administrative history, one that uses the careful analysis of "Common Form" for the understanding of changing ideas. It is the sort of work that Madox attempted and for which Maitland hoped. Its value has been plainly and forcefully stated in Miss Kathleen Major's introduction to the *Acta Stephani Langton* (pp. xiv–xv). It is beside that closely related edition that Mr. Saltman's Part II should stand. ROBERT BRENTANO, *University of California, Berkeley*

THE LETTERS OF JOHN OF SALISBURY. Volume I, THE EARLY LETTERS (1153–1161). Edited by *W. J. Millor, S.J.* and *H. E. Butler*. Revised by *C. N. L. Brooke*. (Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson and Sons; New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. lxvii, 296, \$8.00.) John of Salisbury is a master figure of the twelfth century: both as an ecclesiastical statesman and a Christian humanist, he represents the best in the act and thought of his age. If not a profound or systematic philosopher, he had insight into character, sound judgment, and, above all, genius for writing. His style bears comparison with the classics he knew so thoroughly. His works are indeed "medieval classics," found in numerous manuscripts, edited and re-edited. With the completion of the letters now in the press, all his major works will have been re-edited in this century and, what is more, presented in English translation for all to read. This is a rare distinction for a twelfth-century writer, but John of Salisbury is worth reading. The present volume is the first of three which will provide a definitive text and translation of his letters. The early letters published here form a homogeneous collection written while John was private secretary to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. Mostly in Theobald's name, they are of the greatest interest for the history of ecclesiastical politics and of canon law. John's own letters to his friends display his attractive humanism. Mr. Brooke's introduction deals perceptively with these and other aspects of the letters and of John's career. The extensive annotation shows a wide learning, though much necessarily remains conjectural and the dates given some of the letters are doubtful. The new edition is particularly welcome since the earlier editions of the letters were notoriously bad; it will not soon be superseded. The translation, finally, is a work of merit; authoritative and facile, its scholarship will make it useful as a gloss, its smoothness will be attractive to every reader.

FRED A. CAZEL, JR., *University of Connecticut*

DIE REICHSGESETZE VON 1220, 1231/32 UND 1235: IHR WERDEN UND IHRE WIRKUNG IM DEUTSCHEN STAAT FRIEDRICHS II. By *Erich Klingelhöfer*.

[Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches in Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Band VIII, Heft 2.] (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1955, pp. xxiii, 239, DM 15.60.) This book is concerned primarily with the *Confoederatio cum principibus ecclesiasticis*, a covenant between Frederick II and the spiritual princes, April 26, 1220; the *Statutum in favorem principum*, originally granted by Henry VII at Worms on May 1, 1231, and confirmed by Frederick II in May, 1232; and the *Constitutio pacis* of August 15, 1235. Necessarily also, the author has brought into perspective with these the so-called "Golden Bull of Eger," the promises made by Frederick II to the Roman Church on July 12, 1213; and the *Constitutio in Basilica Beati Petri* referred to as the "Coronation Laws of Frederick II" of November 22, 1220. Moreover, in so far as they are related to the *Constitutio pacis* of Mainz, he deals with Henry VII's *Pax generalis* of July, 1224, and the *Constitutio generalis de judiciis et de pace tenenda* of February 11, 1234. The chief merit of the work is not so much in its originality as in its usefulness as a critical evaluation and synthesis of contributions which German historians have recently made to the interpretation of the *Fürstenprivilegien*. In this respect it is suggestive of the reorientation made accessible to English readers by Barraclough in his *Mediaeval Germany*. The author holds firmly to the view that Frederick aspired to be not merely *Territorialherrscher* but actual king in the Reich and that he was not diverted from this aim by the critical circumstances under which the privileges were wrested from him. The author's close inquiry into the origin of individual clauses amply justifies the conclusion that few new concessions were actually made in the *Confoederati* and that these, as well as the confirmation of old customary laws, were the necessary purchase price for Henry VII's election as German king. Even more important is the reorientation away from the Böhmer interpretation of the *Statutum*, widely accepted since 1849, as a "surrender of royal rights" and from the oft-repeated dictum of Blondel (Frederick II, p. 199) that "*le sol même de l'Allemagne passe de la souveraineté du roi à celle des princes*." The author has illustrated abundantly the dangers of broad generalizations, extreme views, and dogmatic appraisals of Frederick II's German policies, and he leaves little doubt in the mind of the reader that a more realistic interpretation of these policies is long overdue. If he has suggested the direction of this reorientation, it is in his conception of Frederick II as the "Realpolitiker des Mittelalters," ever alert to what, at a given moment, was possible or impossible, whose policies, whether German or Italian, emanated from his aim at "cäsarischen Absolutismus."

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE, *Bowdoin College*

URKUNDENBUCH ZUR GESCHICHTE DER BABENBERGER IN ÖSTERREICH. Band II, DIE SIEGELURKUNDEN DER BABENBERGER UND IHRER NACHKOMMEN VON 1216 BIS 1279. Vorbereitet von Oskar Frh. v. Mitis. Bearbeitet von Heinrich Fichtenau und Erich Zöllner. [Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 3. Reihe.] (Vienna, Adolf Holzhausen, 1955, pp. 460, Sch. 255.) This is the second of five projected volumes planned to include the *Urkunden* of the Babenbergers and their descendants in Austria. The present volume carries the work forward to October 22, 1279, the date of issue of a document of Count Ulrich von Heunburg and his spouse Agnes, daughter of Markgraf Hermann von Baden and the duchess Gertrud, renouncing all sovereign claims to the Babenberger lands. Like the first volume (Vienna, 1950), the second includes the *Siegelurkunden*, i.e., documents actually bearing the Babenberger seal, although a final section of the work (nos. 467-547) includes also the so-called "verlorene" *Siegelurkunden*. Here, however, only such *deperdita* are included as reveal clear evidence of having once borne the Babenberger seal. Although the chronological arrangement and the general editing are the work

of E. Zöllner and H. Fichtenau, the book rests firmly upon a foundation erected during a half century of research by O. Freiherr von Mitis, whose *Studien zum älteren österreichischen Urkundenwesen* (Vienna, 1912), is an indispensable guide to documentary research. It is perhaps to be expected that a scholarly undertaking, first projected some 143 years ago by Hormayr and Metternich, and several times essayed since that time, should at last be realized as an exemplary achievement. For in addition to the distinguished editing of the documentary texts, the preparation of the index and glossary, carried forward in this volume by Frau Martha Szaivert and P. Uiblein respectively, maintains the exceptionally high standard set in Volume I by Willy Szaivert and E. Lindeck Pozza. The format of the volume, one of the outstanding features, is modeled upon that of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*.

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE, *Bowdoin College*

STUDENT LIFE IN AVE MARIA COLLEGE, MEDIAEVAL PARIS: HISTORY AND CHARTULARY OF THE COLLEGE. By *Astriq L. Gabriel*, Director of the Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, University of Notre Dame, Volume XIV.] (Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 460, \$6.75.) Ave Maria College at Paris was a small college for six students between eight and sixteen years old. John of Hubant founded it in 1336 and drew up its fundamental statutes ten years later; Peter d'Ailly reformed it in 1387 and added a few new statutes. Notable in the later history of the college was the revival under the mastership of Philip Boisot in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1763 Louis XV ordered that Ave Maria, along with other minor colleges, be merged into the College of Louis-le-Grand, a merger completed in 1769. Canon Gabriel's publication of the chartulary of Ave Maria College, together with his illuminating history of the college during its medieval period, has made available an important source for educational and intellectual history. Particular mention may be made of chapter ix, dealing with the miniatures illustrating the statutes of John of Hubant (plates xiv-xxiii); these make a unique contribution to our knowledge of fourteenth-century college life.

F. EDWARD CRANZ, *Connecticut College*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

- THOMAS CRANMER, THEOLOGIAN. By G. W. Bromiley. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xxviii, 108, \$3.25.) Dr. Bromiley has written a thin little

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

volume—thin in size but not in importance, for it is a model of condensation and clarity not often achieved in religious scholarship. Thomas Cranmer is depicted as a fine scholar in the fullest and best sense of the word. For the author, Cranmer was the father of Anglican theology, which was stamped with the archbishop's balanced and humane approach to the problems of his age. Though never a creative thinker, Cranmer was neither a mere defender nor a parrot of the more original theologians on the Continent. Admittedly he drew his inspiration from others, but his comprehension, his style, and above all his sense of proportion saved Anglican doctrine from the brittle dogmatism of European theology. The source of his influence lay in his scholarship, which was grounded not merely upon a profound knowledge of Scripture but equally upon a deep understanding of the church fathers and tradition. And although his learning may have resulted in overcaution and conservatism, it was, says Dr. Bromiley, "no small thing to give so plain and satisfying and yet also so warm and inspiring a presentation" (p. 41). Possibly only one criticism can be made, and that is more a warning to the reader than a condemnation of the author. At times, Dr. Bromiley gives the appearance of more logic, clarity, and deliberation than actually existed in Cranmer's mind. In life the archbishop was something of a reed bending with the political and theological winds. His was a slow, even tortuous, evolution. What finally emerged was harmonious and beautiful, but its clarity and logic may in reality exist more in Dr. Bromiley's fine exposition than in Cranmer's own works. The book is undoubtedly an apologia of Thomas Cranmer, but it is also a concise and intelligible statement of the essence of Reformation theology for which the historian will be deeply grateful.

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH, *Northwestern University*

TUDOR AND STUART LINCOLN. By J. W. F. Hill. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. xiv, 254, \$6.00.) Designed to be of use to the historian as well as to the friends of Lincoln, Mr. Hill's study of Tudor and Stuart Lincoln is a useful miscellany of people, local problems, and events in that isolated and economically declining city of the fens. An ex-mayor of Lincoln and a long-time student of its records, Mr. Hill is well equipped for his task. He has used a broadly chronological treatment from the Reformation with separate chapters on geography, city institutions, the Elizabethan church, and social and economic affairs. In addition to the printed local and family records, Mr. Hill has relied heavily on the records of the Corporation and the Common Council although he cites none of his local archival sources specifically. Of interest is the evidence of the economic basis of political influence in the county and the influence of court and gentry over the city. The story of the struggle of the city to pay the fee farm rent set in more prosperous times and held by the earls of Rutland in the sixteenth century is absorbing. The efforts of the Common Council to solve the serious but expensive problem of silt in the Fosdyke show the conflict of interest between city and county and the changing social and economic pattern. Mr. Hill seems most at home in Tudor and early Stuart Lincoln. His material for the Civil War and Restoration is less original and more episodic although there is valuable information on the extent and means of Puritan influence and the later re-establishment of Royalist and Anglican control. There are useful maps, appendixes showing wages and prices, and an index. While there is no formal bibliography, the footnotes to printed sources are complete. HELEN NUTTING, *Wells College*

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES AND STATE PAPERS RELATING TO THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES AT VIENNA, SIMANCAS, BESANÇON, BRUSSELS, MADRID AND LILLE. Volume XIII, PHILIP AND MARY, JULY, 1554–NOVEMBER, 1558.

Edited by *Royall Tyler*. (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1954, pp. xxvii, 482, £4 4s.) Nearly a century ago, in 1862, there appeared the first volume of this "Spanish Calendar," dealing with the reign of Henry VII. Volume XI, which straddled the end of the reign of Edward VI and the start of that of Mary, came out in 1916. Meanwhile, the *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to . . . English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas* had been completed (4 vols., London, 1892-99) for the reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603. In 1950, publication of the older series resumed with Volume XII, and now, with this final one, students have coverage for the whole 118 years of the five Tudor monarchs. The present volume has 503 documents, of which only one quarter have previously been published, and those scattered in some half-dozen titles. Since the form of the entries in 1954 is the same as in earlier volumes, it can need no description or eulogy here. As for the editing, it is a little humiliating but also very pleasant to confess that after a careful search, and some random comparison with entries which have another printed version, I can find no flaw. To say the worst possible, perhaps there could have been more indication of what part of a document was, originally, in cipher. In diplomatic dispatches of four hundred years ago, as well as of today, it can at times be suggestive if something important was written in the clear. The nature of the materials in this volume varies a little from that of all the others. Philip of Spain was also king of England, as consort of Queen Mary, for all except the few earliest days of the four years covered. He must have made some decisions without writing anyone about them, and he naturally accredited no ambassador to England even when he was absent in his Burgundian realms, as he was for more than half of the period. But he retained agents there, his imperial father had his own ambassador in England until he abdicated, and letters between Philip in the Low Countries and officials in Spain or elsewhere, or among lesser figures of the Spanish Empire, fill in the gap fairly well for the historian. (There is not much for late 1555 and most of 1556, for reasons that are not known.) Comment on the whole story of England, as seen by officialdom, appears—political, religious, financial, military, and ceremonial pageantry—though with domestic affairs subordinated to foreign aims and interests. As in other volumes of the series, there is also much for the history of Spain and the Low Countries. Unlike some of the later volumes, there is little recorded for America.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE RUSSIA COMPANY, 1553-1603. By *T. S. Willan*, Reader in History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, Eng., Manchester University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 295, 30s.) The Russia Company affords particular interest since it was the first English joint-stock company. In this book, a sequel to the author's analysis of the charter membership of the Russia Company (*The Muscovy Merchants of 1555*, Manchester, 1953), Mr. Willan covers the establishment of the company, its initial organization and later changes, the privileges granted to it by the English crown and Russian tsars, the character and extent of its trade, the problem of interlopers, and the diplomatic developments that of necessity arose from its privileged position in Russia. A concluding chapter appraises the historical role and importance of the company. Mr. Willan has written a competent and workmanlike study. He has searched extensively for his data, used them discriminatingly and judiciously, corrected several errors of earlier writers, and not ventured conclusions where the data are lacking. English language materials, with only a scattering of those in Russian, are his sources. Because the early records of the company were destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 there are many gaps in the story, particularly in the matter of the company's finances. There are other gaps arising from insufficient in-

formation about the Russian side of the story, gaps which further research in the Soviet Union might close; but here, too, fire has been a great destroyer, notably at Moscow in 1626. Unfortunately Mr. Willan fails to spell out wherein his work goes beyond those of his predecessors: Armand J. Gerson and Earnest V. Vaughan in *Studies of the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period* (New York, 1912); and William Page, *The Russia Company from 1553 to 1660* (London, 1913). With one minor exception they are not even mentioned. Mr. Willan contents himself with the simple explanation that he used "material neglected by earlier historians of the Company," mainly some private collections of manuscripts and such germane studies as have been published since 1913. He also fails to include a systematic bibliography, highly desirable in a scholarly work. To ascertain wherein this work supersedes the earlier ones this reviewer had to search through the footnotes for the sources used. Nevertheless, this book is a sound study, of interest primarily to economic historians and to students of early Anglo-Russian relations.

RAYMOND H. FISHER, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE ENFORCEMENT OF ENGLISH APPRENTICESHIP: A STUDY IN APPLIED MERCANTILISM, 1563-1642. By *Margaret Gay Davies*. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume XCVII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. x, 319, \$6.00.) Mercantilism has acquired a universal fascination for the twentieth century. Dictators have sought inspiration in its efforts, however primitive, at a planned economy. Upholders of laissez-faire have found ominous precedent in the creeping influence of government—both central and local—in private affairs. And the most objective of social scientists have attempted to analyze popular attitudes toward it and even to evaluate its ultimate success. This excellent book offers a salutary antidote to the extreme of each of these interpretations. Through a detailed study of the enforcement over eighty years of one central clause of the Statute of Artificers of 1562—"the most comprehensive expression of the internal policy of English mercantilism"—economic planning is found to result more from private interest than from public policy. Governmental influence is discovered to be operating out of a minimum concern for public order rather than any urge to achieve the leviathan state. And the popular acceptance or rejection of this legislation is found so to vary in time, place, and profession as to defy such simple constructs as economic man. Only by acting with that ambivalence which is the real hallmark of the economic historian is Mrs. Davies able to accomplish all this. For the economist in her shows how to assemble and interpret her statistical data, which are perforce so sketchy that only a historian would dare make anything of them. Enforcement of apprenticeship under the act is studied in two central courts—Exchequer and King's Bench—and in fifteen counties, chosen either because good quarter session records were available or because they represented a significantly varied sample. Mrs. Davies found that over ninety-five per cent of the prosecutions under the act were by private interests, which meant in most cases a professional prosecutor or informer. The latter's function and especially the interaction of his social unpopularity and his continued usefulness represent one of the many fascinating by-products of this study. The public prosecutions were mostly through local presentments by the constables to the justices. The analysis of when, where, and why these prosecutions occurred suggests some most interesting patterns of economic change: the critical importance of the expansion in the distributive trades, the peculiar variations in economic prosperity between different areas or between smaller areas and the country as a whole, and the comparatively slight difference between country and town. Finally, "industrial regulation . . . seems to have occupied a consistently peripheral position in the sphere of central and local government concern with mercantilist policy." Both

before and after 1630, governmental policy was more concerned to regulate industry in the name of public order than to establish any unified set of economic objectives. Mrs. Davies is not questioning the almost universal acceptance of apprenticeship in Tudor and Stuart England. But her evaluation of its acceptance by government and people does much to further our understanding of mercantilism, its origins, its extent, and even its ultimate eclipse.

T. C. MENDENHALL, *Yale University*

AN HONEST DIPLOMAT AT THE HAGUE: THE PRIVATE LETTERS OF HORATIO WALPOLE, 1715-1716. Edited with an Introduction by *John J. Murray*, Professor of History, Coe College. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, No. 13.] (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1956, pp. 394, \$6.50.) In addition to the official dispatches submitted by Horatio Walpole as British plenipotentiary at The Hague to his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, Secretary of State for Northern Affairs, he frequently sent personal letters on matters not suitable for public knowledge. These intimate letters, dated from February 8, 1715, to October 23, 1716, were acquired in 1949 by Indiana University and are here published in full, together with various enclosures including the newsletters supplied by Walpole's secret agents. The principal negotiations in which Walpole was involved concerned the Barrier Treaty, the Baltic squadrons, the renewal of the Dutch and imperial alliances, and the Anglo-French treaty. The letters provide interesting inside information on the methods of an eighteenth-century diplomat, including his use of bribery, and bring out clearly the complexity of the Dutch government which made any prompt action almost impossible, the problem of French relations with the Pretender, and the complications resulting from the Hanoverian ambitions of George I. In the end, conditions were developing which were soon to divide the Whig leaders and contribute to the removal of Townshend and the accession to power of the "Hanoverian" Whigs. Considering the problems he faced, the reader can sympathize with the "honest diplomat" when he says, "I wish to god I was well out of this negotiation . . ." (p. 299). The editing throughout is excellent. Professor Murray clearly presents the historical setting of the letters and provides footnotes that fully identify the persons and explain the various matters referred to by Walpole. With the editor's able assistance the letters present a story that will be of interest and value to any student of the intricate diplomatic maneuvers of the years following the War of the Spanish Succession.

CHARLES B. REALEY, *University of Kansas*

ENGLISH POLITICS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Robert Walcott, Jr.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, XXVIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. viii, 291, \$3.50.) This study by Professor Walcott, upon which he has been working for almost twenty years, is an analysis of the structure and functioning of English political parties from about 1701 to 1708. Although begun as a Harvard Ph.D. thesis it has developed into one of the successful works from the school of Namier. Considering the enormous amount of research which was put into this volume, its size is deceptively small. The actual narrative covers only 160 pages and the appendixes, bibliography, and index an additional 131. The original plan of the author for a lengthy narrative was discarded in favor of the analytical approach. Under the structure of politics Professor Walcott deals successively with the methods of electing members to the House of Commons; the makeup of the House of Commons in 1701; and the party groups in the parliament of 1701-1702. Under the functioning of parties he treats party groups in action before 1702; the general election of 1702; and the parliamentary session of 1707-1708. Both in his approach to his self-imposed task and in his conclusions Professor Walcott has attacked the interpretations

of Professor G. M. Trevelyan, Professor Keith Feiling, and W. T. Morgan on the parts played by the Whig and Tory parties during the reigns of William III and Anne. This attack is based on the contention that while Whigs and Tories are significant they do not adequately explain the entire political picture. In the place of the two-party system Professor Walcott suggests that parliament should be considered as a compass card with Whig and Tory representing the east and west points and court and country the north and south points. Even within each segment there existed a bewildering number of sometimes contradictory subdivisions. Chapters five and six are devoted to case history studies in this framework. Especially effective is the account of how "the Godolphin ministry changed from a Court-Churchill-Harley-Rochester-Nottingham coalition into a Court-Churchill-Newcastle-Junto combination." Although the sharp criticisms of the positions of the two-party school which are scattered through the narrative are almost certain to arouse the wrath of some historians, the reviewer believes that Professor Walcott has proved his main thesis. At least in his conclusion in the final sentence of his narrative he is objective, cautious, and urbane: "The more one studies the party structure under William and Anne, the less it resembles the two-party system described by Trevelyan in his Romanes Lecture and the more it seems to have in common with the structure of politics in the Age of Newcastle as explained to us by Namier." What we need during the next generation is a whole series of studies on the structure of politics from 1660 to 1867 on the model of the one Professor Walcott has given, and another historian of the genius of Professor G. M. Trevelyan to synthesize these results.

DONALD GROVE BARNES, *Western Reserve University*

ADAM SMITH AND THE SCOTLAND OF HIS DAY. By C. R. Fay. [Social and Economic Studies, University of Glasgow, No. 3.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. vii, 174, \$4.75.) This book is described by its author as "a study of Adam Smith and the Scotland in which he lived and wrote, of its influence on him and his on it: a study also of the contribution which he and his fellow-countrymen, resident in Scotland or England, made to the accomplishment of the eighteenth century in politics and law, industry, literature, science and art" (p. 2). The period covered is the half century of Smith's adult life or approximately the years between the publication of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* in 1739 and the death of Robert Burns in 1796. Smith's Scottish friends were indeed an astonishing group—drawn, as Mr. Fay remarks, from a small section of a small country—who contributed significantly to every branch of intellectual activity and who were the intimates of almost every figure of importance in England and France. Besides Hume and Burns and Smith himself, there were Mansfield, Wedderburn, and Dundas in politics and law; the novelist Smollett; the historian Robertson; the brothers Hunter in medicine; Joseph Black, James Watt, and the geologist Hutton in science; and in architecture and the decorative arts the Adam family. But Scottish pre-eminence was not a historical accident. For though the country was relatively poor, its economy was rapidly advancing, and relations were close between the academic and the business community. Its education was solidly based on the Latin classics without being antiquarian, and the educated Scot stood in close intellectual relations with the Continent. Its religion and politics, in the Lowlands, were generally liberal. Its intellectual temper was stated in a nutshell by John Hunter, who wrote to his pupil Jenner: "Why do you ask me a question, by the way of solving it? I think your solution just, but why think, why not try the experiment?" (p. 4). The plan of Mr. Fay's book includes Smith's life and works in outline, drawn from the standard biographies; a chapter on Kirkaldy with remarks on Scottish education; one on Glasgow with remarks on the

growth of Scottish overseas trade; one on Edinburgh with remarks on his academic, social, and official relationships; and a series of chapters on law and political economy, on his relations with Townshend and American taxation, with Franklin and Strahan, with Gibbon, and finally with Turgot. This indicates its scope and the array of subjects upon which it touches. Its performance, however, is in the nature of notes and queries and comments rather than of connected exposition and criticism. It brings together, sometimes from well-known sources and sometimes from unpublished letters and documents, a variety of incidents and ideas that may have a bearing on Smith's economics or his moral and political philosophy. It does not attempt to weave them into a history of the period or an analysis of the thought of the men who made the period notable. The book is often suggestive but it is not a coherent representation of the time or an evaluation of its successes and failures.

GEORGE H. SABINE, *Cornell University*

ENGLISH THOUGHT, 1860-1900: THE THEOLOGICAL ASPECT. By L. E. Elliott-Binns. (Greenwich, Conn., Seabury Press, 1956, pp. ix, 388, \$7.00.) Elliott-Binns is a man of both scholarly and practical interests. During his long career (he is now past seventy) he has not only produced various works on church or Biblical history at the rate of about one every other year, but has simultaneously, in his clerical capacity, administered the affairs of a succession of English parishes, some of them fairly large. Before he wrote his well-known *Religion in the Victorian Era* (1936), his scholarly efforts had been largely devoted to the Old Testament, the medieval papacy, and the Reformation. This latest work shows the same careful and extensive research and the same charitableness of judgment as his earlier Victorian study and his *Early Evangelicals* (1953). The leading ideas of the period, secular as well as theological, are treated with insight and often with gentle wit; but, because they are grouped in chapters reflecting academic disciplines (natural sciences, philosophy, history, the Bible, comparative religion, literature, and so on), no integrated interpretation of underlying issues emerges. The reason for this failing is a matter of conjecture. One possible explanation may be a defective understanding of liberalism, the dominant force in the intellectual life of the age. His scattered observations on the blind spots of Victorian liberals are invariably good natured and sometimes telling, but he does not come to grips with the liberal message—probably because he does not see it as a message. Mill, Spencer, Huxley, Stephen, and others figure in his pages, not as profoundly religious men with important if not exactly Christian insights to contribute but simply as great minds who had somehow missed the right road. By nibbling at the periphery of the liberal outlook rather than evaluating it systematically, he has left himself open to Shirley's rejoinder to Barbara Undershaft, "Ah, if you would only read Tom Paine in the proper spirit!"

HOWARD R. MURPHY, *Perry, Georgia*

THE PEOPLE AND THE CONSTITUTION: BEING A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S INFLUENCE IN BRITISH GOVERNMENT. By Cecil S. Emden. (2d ed.; New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 339, \$6.75.) When this admirable book was first published in 1933 it was rightly described as "one of the most considerable contributions to the study of the British Constitution made in recent years." In its cogent and closely reasoned chapters the history of the people's influence in British government was traced with precision and skill. Particular emphasis was given to the problems of public opinion and government, parties and the people, party organization and government, the people and policy, the choice of ministries, party tactics, the formulation of issues, arguments for and against the referendum, the extent of the mandate, and the political capacity of the people. The historical and analytical passages of the first edition have been but

slightly changed in the second. There have been added several sections about the contours of the political landscape, the emerging problems of the United Kingdom in the past two decades, and the history of the people's influence since the two-party system has returned. *The People and the Constitution* is a comprehensive and sound book, the work of a master scholar. Readers will be frequently impressed with Professor Emden's erudition and his wise remarks. On the other hand, not every weighty opinion will pass unchallenged. Sentences such as these may furrow brows and bring objecting nays: "Many people consider (and surely it cannot be seriously controverted) that every effort should be made to keep foreign politics clear of party strife so that continuity of policy may be facilitated and consequently the country's diplomacy be made more effective" (p. 308). "The effectiveness of the people's decisions on simple questions should not be imperilled by attempts to thrust upon them the function of dealing with proposals of future policy, the results of which are beyond their capacity to estimate" (p. 314). GOLDWIN SMITH, *Wayne University*

MY FATHER: THE TRUE STORY. By *A. W. Baldwin*. (London, George Allen and Unwin; Fair Lawn, N. J., Essential Books, 1956, pp. 360, \$4.00.) Mr. A. W. Baldwin—the second son of the prime minister—has written this biography of his father out of indignation at the charges leveled against him by earlier writers and to set aright the historical record that "is in danger of being permanently misdirected about him." The discharge of such a filial obligation does not usually result in good biography, but in this case the author has come off rather better than one would have expected. Few public figures have suffered the reversal of fortune that visited Baldwin. In 1935 the electoral victory of the Tories was above all a tribute to his popularity in the country; by 1940, in what should have been honorable retirement, he was reviled by his fellow countrymen as though he had been a traitor. The nub of the biography is found in the author's efforts to justify the earlier position of his father and to discredit the latter. Though not entirely successful, the writer does raise serious questions that will have to be answered in subsequent works on this subject. Undoubtedly Baldwin has suffered at the hands of careless, or mischievous, writers who have distorted the real meaning of his speech—the "appalling frankness" one—of November 12, 1936. Widely represented as a confession that he had resorted to deceit to win the election of 1935, the speech in reality referred to the earlier years of 1933 and 1934 and the relationship between the spirit of pacifism and the level of armaments in Great Britain in those years. Perhaps more serious—certainly more fundamental—is the question of whether Baldwin failed to give the country the leadership demanded by its circumstances. His critics are almost certainly right in saying that he did not give the leadership that the country needed. But is it not possible to argue that he did give the country the leadership that it deserved? By how much can any leader of a democratic country draw ahead of the prevailing opinion of his time? And to what extent should he be responsible for forming rather than heeding that opinion? Surely there is little doubt in what answers greatness would be found. Baldwin, as Churchill wrote, was too much "a pale reflexion of everyone's perplexities." The book reveals interesting insights into Baldwin's character and personality, is well written, and places to the fore the problem of judgment and evaluation that must always concern those who deal in any critical way with the performances of public men. It adds measurably to the some half dozen books that deal intimately with Baldwin.

JAMES L. GODFREY, *University of North Carolina*

MERCHANT SHIPPING AND THE DEMANDS OF WAR. By *C. B. A. Behrens*. [British Official Histories of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green; distrib. by British Informa-

tion Services, New York, 1955, pp. xix, 494, \$6.30.) This scholarly and incisive volume presents the story of British merchant shipping against the background of the Second World War, a story that equals in drama, human interest, and historical significance the best military histories that have appeared so far. The author, a fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge, has joined painstaking scholarship and statistical analysis to a gift for fast-moving narration. She exploits admirably the hitherto unexplored primary sources in the Ministry of War Transport and brings out the significance of the Second World War as a transport war. Certain related matters, such as merchant shipbuilding, tankers, and coastwise shipping, are dealt with in other volumes of the monumental "History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series," edited by Sir Keith Hancock. Captain S. W. Roskill's *The War at Sea*, in the United Kingdom Military Series, treats the parallel problems of the British Navy. Miss Behrens sets forth clearly the conflicting civilian and military demands upon the British-controlled fleet of merchant ships throughout the world, from the United Kingdom to India, Australia, and New Zealand. She establishes the extent to which the limited supply of shipping fulfilled the large number of demands made upon it, and she explains the extremely important and difficult problems which arose concerning both the demand and the supply. She destroys such widely held beliefs as that the wartime shipping shortage was caused solely by ships being sunk faster than they could be replaced, and that the end of the shortage was due exclusively to American shipbuilding and the defeat of the German submarines. This volume reveals the crucial contribution made by the British government and the shipping industry (owners, officers, and crew) in planning, management, and labor. The author's carefully considered conclusion is that the great achievements of British shipping "were not those of the Merchant Navy and the Ministry of War Transport alone but . . . of an enormous number of different authorities, and indeed of the whole British people and Commonwealth" (p. 440). Certain aspects of the subject presented in this volume are studied at greater length or in more technical detail in D. N. Chester, ed., *The Lessons of the British War Economy*, F. H. Hinsley, *Hitler's Strategy*, H. Duncan Hall, *North American Supply*, and Philip Morse and George N. Kimball, *Methods of Operation Research*. Miss Behrens, however, has accomplished the task she set herself. Her work illuminates a subject of capital importance and will be of value to those who use the study of history to anticipate future experience as well as to master past experience. SIDNEY RATNER, *Rutgers University*

THE STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES, 1870-97. By *Lewis Herbert Thomas*, Provincial Archivist of Saskatchewan. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1956, pp. viii, 276, \$5.00.) This careful and thoroughly documented survey of the coming of responsible government to Canada's North-West Territories will be of value both to students of Canadian and Commonwealth affairs and to those who are interested in territorial government in other areas. It is the first detailed account of much of the complex and often frustrating struggle for local control which culminated in the amendment to the North-West Territories Act of 1897. Where Dr. Thomas deals with more familiar aspects of western history, like the Riel rebellions, his judicious use of a wide range of source materials enables him to take a balanced view of questions some of which have been highly controversial. The book is provided with good maps and statistical tables. Because the Canadian government was for many years convinced that the northwest was best controlled from Ottawa, it was attacked again and again on points familiar to colonial powers before and since. Lack of local knowledge, inattention to the affairs of the west, a piecemeal and unenlightened approach to the

problem of western governmental institutions, and appointments made from political expediency, of all of these and more both Conservative and Liberal governments were accused. The author shows that many of these charges had foundation. Yet there were instances where Canadian intentions were good even where performance was inept, as in the bungled mission of McDougall in 1870. There was also something to be said for a cautious approach to the construction of a government for a land with such vast distances and such a scanty population. Dr. Thomas feels that the most characteristic expression of western aspirations came, not from the proponents of immediate provincial status but from those who wanted to keep constitutional development in line with social and economic change.

ALICE R. STEWART, *University of Maine*

A STUDY OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Elsa V. Goveia* [Historiografias, II.] (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, Comision de Historia, 1956, pp. 192, \$2.25.) Relatively few works on the Caribbean have been published in our own century. The situation was quite different in earlier times when the mysteries of the Western Isles were unfolded before a fascinated European public, when they underwent phenomenal development and became focal points of conflict, and when they emerged as the jewels of great Old World empires. Some of the most able historical writing of modern times dealt with problems attending their exploitation and only their acute decline since 1815 has led students of historiography to neglect them in the recent era. Frank Cundall, devoted secretary of the Institute of Jamaica, was long convinced that a study of the literature on Caribbean affairs constituted a worthy historical project but could never persuade a specialist in expansion to undertake this. It is pleasing indeed that the work has now been carried out in admirable fashion by a staff member of the University College of the West Indies which he so long envisaged, working largely in the institute library. The author discusses in turn the numerous historians who have dealt with Britain's sugar islands, 1600 to 1900. Her technique is to consider the author's background, his personal knowledge of the subject, his work in its various editions and translations, his philosophy, and his book's strong and weak points. The result is a very readable and highly informative study certain to take honored place among modern bibliographical and historiographic writings. Local and general histories and special studies alike receive careful attention. Especially notable are the sections on Oldmixon, Burke, Raynal, Long, Edwards, and Gardner, and the meticulously dispassionate appraisals of their handiwork, which represent historical criticism at its best. The high sponsorship enjoyed will happily insure this important monograph wide distribution. An index would have added considerably to its value as a reference work.

LOWELL RAGATZ, *Ohio State University*

TRADE AND POLITICS IN THE NIGER DELTA, 1830-1885: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF NIGERIA. By *K. Onwuka Dike*. [Oxford Studies in African Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. vi, 250, \$4.80.) In this excellent book Dr. Dike has made a unique contribution to the history of internal politics in the African "city states" of the Niger Delta, and has presented a stimulating reinterpretation of the motives and methods of British expansion in the area. The source materials he has uncovered, particularly the papers of descendants of leading African families in Bonny, Opobo, and Calabar, suggest further possibilities for research in the history of West Africa. He has also used with skill the pertinent Colonial Office and Foreign Office manu-

scripts, especially the slave trade series of the Foreign Office, and the uncatalogued manuscripts held by the Nigerian government, including consular papers, minutes of the court of equity, and confidential intelligence reports. Dr. Dike analyzes the process by which the palm-oil trade supplanted the slave trade, an economic revolution that disrupted the city-states and led to the gradual expansion of the authority of the British consuls until the flag finally followed trade. The author challenges the view that European penetration of West Africa was delayed only by geographical barriers and unaccustomed diseases; his evidence shows that vigorous African opposition was also an important factor. His portrayal of the African middlemen who rose to power by selling slaves and palm oil to Europeans includes some fine personality sketches, and his description of the political organization and conflicts within the city-states, including the revolts of former slaves between 1850 and 1875, is particularly valuable. A Nigerian himself, the author gives us unusual insights that would probably be impossible for a historian without his African background. In the analysis of the motives for British expansion in West Africa, heavy stress is placed on economic factors. The author believes that Britain did not take over the Niger Delta until the late nineteenth century because the native governments served her trade interests so well until that time that she "preferred the cheap informal dependence of the Delta type to the expensive colonies of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone."

VERNON MCKAY, *School of Advanced International Studies,*
Johns Hopkins University

THE JEWS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A HISTORY. Edited by *Gustav Saron* and *Louis Hotz*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. xvii, 422, \$5.60.) Although the editors' purpose is "to give the first comprehensive picture of the history of the South African Jewish community," their book hardly supplants Louis Herrman's *History of the Jews in South Africa*, cited in the bibliography. Their hope that the book will contribute to the "general history of South Africa" is fulfilled only as its appearance at this time reveals South African Jewish concern about anti-Semitism, which the writers seek to combat by showing that Jews have given much to South Africa. The book has too many chapters (nineteen and an epilogue) by too many writers (sixteen) with an unevenness of performance and an overlapping of material beyond that expected in a collective work. Although Mr. Saron's chapter on Transvaal Jewish attitudes prior to the Anglo-Boer War has merit, too many chapters have poor integration of material, largely English, thereby ignoring the recent voluminous Afrikaans literature on the Jewish "problem." The writers' desire to avoid the unpleasant makes them brush over the friction between the Cape Town Congregation and the Jewish Board of Deputies (having parallels in Dutch Reformed and Anglican Church history) and the failure to make Hebrew a living tongue (in contrast to the successful Afrikaans drive). Although noting the good relations between Gentiles and Jews during much of the nineteenth century, the book soft-pedals anti-Semitism—subtle among the English and open with many Afrikaners. In this regard the post-Union epilogue by Mr. Saron is particularly unsatisfactory. Although there is recognition that newly urbanized Afrikaners in the 1930's made Jews their economic scapegoat, there is only an embarrassed nod at the violently anti-Jewish attitude of Nationalists prior to 1948 and an anxious haste to accept their later disclaimers of it. As general secretary of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Mr. Saron may feel that this treatment is politic; but it supports Senator Rubin's charge that South African Jews "hope to be the last dog beaten." A deeper weakness is the intellectual dichotomy of the writers in simultaneously urging "uniqueness" and "integration" for South African Jews. Mr. Saron plumps for cultural pluralism and quotes approvingly the

governor general on Afrikaner-English co-operation, "Why can we not be one in action, even though we differ in language, tradition, history and culture?" (p. 399). The question would seem to contain the answer. For a group comprising four per cent of the tiny white minority to support cultural pluralism seems a dangerous luxury.

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

PORTRAIT WITH BACKGROUND: A LIFE OF GEORGIANA MOLLOY. By *Alexandra Hasluck*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 284, \$5.50.) Since 1948 there have been several significant studies of phases of western Australia's foundation, and now Mrs. Hasluck provides a notable contribution. Georgiana Molloy, from whose letters the core of this story is drawn, was a remarkable woman. A bride with genteel upbringing, she was faced with every kind of challenge and hardship of pioneering life, as well as the death of two of her seven children. She and her husband, Captain Molloy, and a few other families, helped found Augusta, near Cape Leeuwin, in 1830. Defeated by the jarrah and the karri, enormous hardwoods, they moved north to the Vasse River, where grazing land was available. Here she died in 1843 as the result of inadequate medical care and from the privations of past years, at the age of thirty-seven. How this intelligent, beautiful, and courageous woman found time to collect and identify, many for the first time, dozens of western Australian wild flowers, is a mystery. She was an amateur, but in the English sense of almost professional competence. She was also a gifted correspondent. Her description of the death, by drowning, of her twenty-month-old son surely must be one of the most poignant passages in all of Australian pioneer history (pp. 154-55). Mrs. Hasluck has explored the primary materials with commendable diligence, particularly family papers and journals, and she has made excellent use of the Colonial Secretary's Papers of Western Australia. Indeed, she quotes sometimes at wearying length. Her judgment of leading colonial characters, such as Governor Stirling, is thoughtful and perceptive, and her failure to evaluate the 1948 biography of the governor by Malcolm Uren is disappointing. *The Hentys* by Marnie Bassett is the only other serious omission from an excellent bibliography. Illustrations are extensive and appropriate. Besides a well-balanced treatment of political and economic development, Mrs. Hasluck has made the daily round, the common task come alive. Customs, clothes, meals, manners are vividly described. Here is a real and significant excursion into social history.

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH, *Rutgers University*

AIR WAR AGAINST GERMANY AND ITALY, 1939-1943. By *John Herington*. [Australia in the War of 1939-1945; Series Three: Air, Volume III.] (Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1954, pp. xvii, 731, 25s.) This large volume is one of a projected twenty-two-volume history of *Australia in the War of 1939-1945*. The history is to be divided into five series, with a category for army, navy, air, civil, and medical services. The present volume is the sixth in the series to be published and is the first to appear of the four air volumes planned. All in all, the Australian historical project is a very formidable one, and both the authors and the Australian authorities are to be congratulated on their perseverance in an almost limitless task. Mr. Herington's approach to the problem is an unusual one. He says in his preface: "The Australian contribution to air fighting against Germany and Italy consisted in the allocation of a large number of individuals for virtual incorporation within the Royal Air Force rather than the provision of self-sufficient units to work in co-operation with the major force." The intention always was that these individuals would eventually be formed into Australian national units, but in the large majority of cases circumstances prevented the realization of this objective. Herington tells us:

"Apart from three regular units of the Royal Australian Air Force and seventeen temporary squadrons of that Force which served in Europe, Australian airmen were spread among more than 500 squadrons of the Royal Air Force." This experience is of interest to Americans chiefly because it points up the danger that American airmen and smaller tactical units stood in, in the early days of our participation in the war (in North Africa, for instance) when the tendency of the Royal Air Force was to incorporate our flyers, aircraft, and all absorbable units into the larger and more thoroughly established R.A.F. units. The tendency was successfully resisted by American air commanders. From the historian's standpoint it remains a curious fact that the very dispersion of Australians throughout the British forces provides the excuse or, better, *raison d'être*, for Mr. Herington's book. His history is not the history of the Australian experience *per se*, since that is not isolable. Rather Mr. Herington outlines the whole story of the air war in Europe, on the policy as well as the operational level, and gives us an Australian view of the over-all conduct of the air war. He of course does not leave out of account the exploits of Australian crews, but the essence of the book is the case study it presents of the integration of Dominion components within a British Commonwealth and Empire air force. As such, this volume and its sisters will take their place in the history of the Commonwealth, and, as such, the effort put into them is justifiable. Mr. Herington has a note to the effect that he has been given full access to official documents but, from some omissions, one wonders if access was actually given to command and control documentation at the highest level.

MARVIN W. MCFARLAND, *Washington, D. C.*

TUDORS AND STUARTS

- MARGARET ALBRIGHT. The Entrepreneurs of Fen Draining in England under James I and Charles I: An Illustration of the Uses of Influence. *Explorations in Entrepreneurial Hist.*, Dec., 1955.
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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LES CARACTÈRES ORIGINAUX DE L'HISTOIRE RURALE FRANÇAISE. By Marc Bloch. SUPPLÉMENT ETABLI D'APRÈS LES TRAVAUX DE L'AUTEUR (1931-1944). By Robert Dauvergne. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1956, pp. xlv, 230.) When Marc Bloch published his *Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (1931), he stated frankly that his work, as in the case of all large syntheses, would soon have to be revised to bring it abreast of subsequent scholarship. Unfortunately, Professor Bloch did not live to accomplish the revision which he realized would be necessary, for he was shot for his activities in the French Resistance movement in 1944. Nevertheless, one of Bloch's devoted disciples, Robert Dauvergne, has endeavored to bring *Les Caractères* up to date by gleaning from the mass of articles and book reviews which poured from the pen of the master after 1931 new ideas and new data and by publishing his findings in this present *Supplément*. This work has a great utility for the specialist, particularly for the medieval period, where Bloch carried on his most original research. For the general historian, however, this compilation will prove disappointing. Only snatches of Bloch's articles are reproduced, which makes the discourse disjointed; all too frequently, apparently for the sake of completeness, what is offered is little more than a reference to some work which Bloch had recently reviewed; and the subjects treated are so dependent on what Bloch happened to have written about, that the revision is anything but systematic. In fact, from this example, the method employed here is not to be recommended as an expedient for revising the works of an author posthumously.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH, *Columbia University*

NAPOLÉON I^{er} ET L'ORGANISATION AUTORITAIRE DE LA FRANCE. By Félix Ponteil, Correspondant de l'Institut, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres, Directeur de l'Institut d'études politiques de l'Université de Strasbourg. [Collection Armand Colin, Section d'histoire et sciences économiques, No. 307.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1956, pp. 222, 200 fr.) This brief and clearly written institutional history tells us little we did not already know, but it does provide an inexpensive manual for the student and the common reader. It is most readily compared with Godechot's *Les institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire*: Ponteil covers essentially the same topics as Godechot's section on Napoleon in about half the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

wordage. Either book is a necessary and valuable supplement to the more general one-volume studies of the Napoleonic era. The author's aim is to show how the "institutional conquests of the Great Revolution were continued, and in what respects the imperial regime departed from the principles proclaimed in 1789." It is evident that M. Ponteil thinks this "departure" to be considerable. His theme is that French institutions finally reflected the desire of the emperor for authority and hierarchy; in consequence, liberty and equality were sacrificed. The suppression of legislative opposition destroyed the ideal of liberty, and the *aristocratisation* of political, social, and intellectual life denied or contradicted the principle of equality. In sum, the virtue of Napoleon was that, after the storms of a revolution that had somehow gone awry, he brought a brief period of peace and order to France. The author concludes that the price paid for this service was too high. As with most writers in the republican tradition, M. Ponteil views the emperor with both admiration and dismay. When the balance is struck, dismay predominates. The concluding chapter summarizes the Napoleonic achievement, but there is an elegiac undercurrent in memory of revolutionary hopes lost or distorted. The five-page bibliography follows the old French custom of assuming that nothing on the subject has been written in English. Even in a brief bibliography, one would have expected to see the work of Chapman and Holtman cited.

STANLEY J. IDZERDA, *Michigan State University*

UNE AFFAIRE DE FAMILLE AU XIX^e SIÈCLE: MÉQUILLET-NOBLOT. By *Claude Fohlen*. [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, No. 75.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955, pp. 141.) The history of Méquillet-Noblot et Cie vivifies those elements of both change and continuity that characterized most family enterprises in nineteenth-century France. Founded in 1801 with a capital of 54,000 francs for the manufacture of cotton goods, the firm grew slowly but surely by the reinvestment of profits until its capital surpassed three million francs at the end of the century. Nor had control or ownership ever strayed from the hands of the founders and their descendants. As emphasis on family control and internal finance provides the theme of continuity, so the story of adjustment to technological change, depression, and political crises provides the theme of change. At its origin the business was organized along the lines of the "merchant-capitalist" or domestic system of industry. Mechanical spinning with water power was introduced in 1819 and cylindrical printing in the 1820's. The first steam engine was installed in 1833, and the first power looms set up about the same time. Before the coming of the railway the firm produced solely for regional markets, but by the middle of the century it had warehouses and agents in Havre, Paris, Toulouse, and Lyon, and did a thriving business with the Mediterranean world as well. Both the American Civil War, by producing the "cotton famine," and the Franco-Prussian War brought serious problems, as did the Revolution of 1848; these storms were weathered thanks in large measure to the family structure of the firm—an advantage of that form of enterprise which is not often stressed. The book is thoroughly documented and based almost entirely on family and business archives, but the author has taken care to frame his subject in the wide context of economic history. He has illuminated a host of problems, both general and specific, of interest to historians, economists, and sociologists. The monograph is excellent, a model of its type.

RONDO E. CAMERON, *University of Wisconsin*

L'INDUSTRIE TEXTILE AU TEMPS DU SECOND EMPIRE. By *Claude Fohlen*. (Paris, Plon, 1956, pp. 534.) This is an interesting and valuable history of the cotton

industry in France in the period of the American Civil War and of the treaties of commerce with England, Belgium, and the Zollverein. It gives the background necessary for an understanding of this period and a good deal of information on the woolen and linen industries. The bibliography, which covers national, departmental, and local archives, is unusually full and carefully chosen. With endless patience and keen insight Dr. Fohlen has studied the manufacturers in the cotton industry and has been remarkably successful in showing where they obtained their capital and how they used it. He describes the problems of marketing and buying as they changed under the influence of improvements in machinery, transportation, and communications. He shows also how many manufacturers were interested only in profits and the marriages of their children and how they frequently feared the cost of improvements and expansion. Such few weaknesses as the book has appear to the reviewer to be due chiefly to the need for originality and the use of unpublished sources required of a doctoral thesis. But they are not serious. (In his lists of the *Expositions* and *Enquêtes* of the French government, Dr. Fohlen apparently has not used the most important *Exposition* of 1851, nor those of 1849 and 1900.) The author has brought imagination and even a sense of humor to enrich his book and make it more agreeable to the reader. With the unusual ability demonstrated here, Dr. Fohlen is likely to become one of the best economic historians of France.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM, *University of Michigan*

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 2^e Série, 1901-1911, tome XIII (26 OCTOBRE 1910-30 JUIN 1911). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1955, pp. xxxiv, 709.) In this admirably edited collection the selection of documents illustrates many subjects briefly, but wisely concentrates attention on the two most important ones: the Potsdam negotiations and Moroccan affairs. M. Sazonov, upon taking over from Izvolski the direction of Russian foreign affairs, hurriedly paid his first visit, not to his ally in Paris but to Potsdam for friendly negotiations with Germany. His equivocal reports of these negotiations which dragged on for months also alarmed the French lest he might be weakening the Franco-Russian alliance. He made concessions to Germany concerning the extension of the Baghdad railway, although it had been agreed by Russia, France, and England that any discussions on this subject should be carried on only jointly, *à trois*. Moroccan affairs, regulated by the Algeiras Act and the Franco-German accord of February 9, 1909, at first seemed comparatively unexplosive. There was a project for Franco-German co-operation in Moroccan railway construction, but the French unfortunately delayed giving a prompt conclusion to it. Meanwhile they pushed forward economic and military reforms of their own and of the sultan, Mulay Hafid, who was pitifully dependent on French financial aid. Then came the dangerous Berber uprising against him and the consequent "March to Fez" by French troops to protect the Europeans in the city. The not unfriendly German attitude on these events has already been fairly well known from *Die Grosse Politik* and other sources. What is new and particularly interesting in this volume is the very abundant evidence of Spain's jealous, excited, and troublesome attitude. The Spanish, in their touchy nervousness at France's preponderant influence, raised all sorts of petty difficulties, demanded "equality" in every respect for their Moroccan zone, and finally sent Spanish warships and troops to Larache in answer to the French march to Fez. Three weeks later Kiderlen sent the *Panther* to Agadir. New and interesting also are the many private letters of French ministers and diplomats, notably of those two most able and perspicacious men, Paul and Jules Cambon.

SIDNEY B. FAX, *Harvard University*

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes

DANSK TOLDPOLITIK, 1760-1797 [English summary: Danish Tariff Policy, 1760-1797]. By Aage Rasch. (Aarhus, Universitetsforlaget, 1955, pp. 364, kr. 19.) Danish tariff policy has been the subject of study by statisticians, economic historians, and a few modern economists—among them Nathanson, Sponneck, Schovelin, and Birck—but no investigator has used more than printed official documents connected with tariff administration. To be sure, one competent economic historian, Albert Olsen, put Danish tariff policies of the eighteenth century in their proper context and perspective in his *Dänische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1933) and in his history of Danish industry (2 vols.; 1943, 1944). Still lacking was a study that would trace Danish tariff policy for a limited period on the basis of surviving manuscript material so as to show "the motives various ministries had for issuing the tariffs, prohibitions and general regulations that appeared in those years," and that would examine the reasons why the government abandoned its traditional protectionist policy for a more liberal one (p. 14). This has been done here by a member of the Danish Rigsarkiv staff, Aage Rasch, who combines training in economic history with archival experience. The remarkably complete documentation, the many statistical tables, and the English summary (pp. 305-18) are useful features in this scholarly work.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, *University of California, Los Angeles*

AFHANDLINGER TILGNEDE ARKIVMANDEN OG HISTORIKEREN RIGS-ARKIVAR, DR. PHIL AXEL LINVALD AF NORDISKE FAGFÆLLER PÅ HALVFJERDSÅRS DAGEN 28. JANUAR 1956. Edited by Johan Hvidtfeldt and Harald Jørgensen. (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1956, pp. 342, D. kr. 30.) In this testimonial volume honoring Dr. Linvald, head of the Danish National Archives, on his seventieth anniversary, the archival studies only slightly outnumber the historical. This is appropriate as Linvald has been as active in one field as the other. The range of topics is wide. Included are studies on the Royal Archives, consular archives, local judiciary records, manorial archives, business archives, among others an essay on the records of the Danish East India Company, and ecclesiastical archives, including church records in Finland. The study likely to be of most interest to historians is Dybdahl's analysis of the Danish parliament's reorganization in 1888-1889 of the nation's archival resources. Among the historical essays are studies of some genealogical questions about Gorm the Old (Steinnes); the relations between commune and archbishop in twelfth-century Genoa (Bach); Copenhagen reports on the death of Charles XII (Ahnlund); the lack of Norwegian personnel in the joint monarchy's foreign service before 1814 (Koht); Blixen-Finecke's tenure as foreign minister in 1859-60 (Møller); and conflicting Nazi policies on population problems along the Slesvig border (Hvidtfeldt). In the historical group high rank goes to

Jørgensen's study of the resolution adopted at Åbenrå in November, 1918, on the Slesvig question; here H. P. Hanssen's well-known diary is subjected to critical evaluation as a source for important events of those days. Of general interest is Hæstrup's account of the sabotage venture in 1943 on the German naval vessel "Linz" at Odense and its later significance for the Resistance effort. When twenty-six contributions, not held strictly to a common theme, are put together in one volume it is to be expected that a few titles will fall below the general level in originality of contribution and weight of substance. So it is here. But in this respect the editors have had at least the usual degree of success with testimonial volumes—and rather somewhat more. For most of the essays are substantial and based on heavy documentation. Some 325 admirers of standing and esteem—Danish countrymen and Scandinavian colleagues—have signed the dedication of the volume. Dr. Linvald should indeed feel honored by this solid testimonial to a lifetime of scholarship in the history of his country and its close neighbors.

OSCAR J. FALNES, *New York University*

EXCERPTA HISTORICA NORDICA. Edited by *Poul Bagge*. Published under the auspices of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Vol. I. (Copenhagen, Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955, pp. 155.) The general character of this publication has already been called to the attention of readers of the *Review* (July, 1956, p. 1076). Its summaries are fairly substantial; they average two to three pages, enough to provide a fair idea of a volume's contents. One space-saving device, in case the study first appeared in English, French, or German, or was accompanied, in the original, by a summary in one of these languages, is to include here a mere listing of the title, with relevant bibliographical information. At the head of the Swedish section (pp. 99-107) there is "A Brief Review of Writings on Swedish History, 1950-52," an excellent introduction to historiography in that country. Something similar is attempted in two pages for Finland. It will be commendable if surveys on the other countries can be included in future issues on the scale undertaken for Sweden.

O. J. F.

PETER VON SCHOLTEN: A CHAPTER OF THE HISTORY OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. By *Carlo Christensen*. (Lemvig, 1956, pp. 48, kr. 20.) Included in this monograph are eleven pages in facsimile of letters and proclamations.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

MYSTIQUES, SPIRITUELS, ALCHEMISTES DU XVI^e SIÈCLE ALLEMAND: SCHWENCKFELD, SÈB. FRANCK, WEIGEL, PARACELSE. By *Alexandre Koyré*. [Cahiers des Annales, 10.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955, pp. x, 116.) The four men considered here comprise a group not united by similar views but agreed on a common opposition to dogmatic Lutheranism and its organized visible church. For Schwenckfeld man is a sinner without hope so long as he remains solely the created, carnal, "external" man. It is only the "internal" spiritual man who has a relationship with God and who can understand not the letter but the spirit of the Bible. Sebastian Franck, under humanistic influence, considered man a sinner but not through original sin. Man is free to make his choice for good or evil. God is constantly being revealed to man by revelation, which comes only through the spirit without reference to external rites, and since divine revelation has continued through all ages it has been granted to men such as Cicero and Seneca. The fantastic Paracelsus carried over his views on the general structure of the universe into his theology. Man, an inert substance, is also imbued with a spiritual essence identified with the universal creative force. He is a double creature, man of the earth and also spiritual man, in the latter capacity a "little God," and it is belief in the spiritual man and thereby a relationship to God which indicates the way to salvation. While the views of Valentin Weigel were in some degree akin to those of Franck, they differed through the absence of any humanistic element, any emphasis upon man's determination of moral action. Weigel represents a return to the traditions of earlier German mysticism now applied to the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

problems of the Reformation. These four studies of religious independents who denied the value of any external church or community and considered orthodoxy a hindrance to salvation, are, according to the author, fragments of a projected larger work of which the realization has been prevented by other activities. Regrettably, therefore, we are denied any consideration of the later influence exerted by these four men.

C. D. O'MALLEY, *Stanford University*

FÖDERATIVE ELEMENTE IM DEUTSCHEN STAATSRECHT SEIT 1648. By *Ellinor von Puttkamer*. [Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte, Band VII.] (Göttingen, Musterschmidt, 1955, pp. vii, 191, DM 14.50.) This little book is a product of the "re-thinking" of German history that has gone on since 1945. Aimed at the university student and the informed citizen, it provides an antidote for the shibboleth of centralism in German political values. The author has assembled some forty documents illustrating the persistence of federalism in German history from the treaty of Osnabrück in 1648 to the resolutions of the *Länder* presidents at Coblenz in 1948. For the purpose stated, the selection is sound. Continuity and clarity are achieved in an admirable introductory essay that considers federalism both historically and analytically. Most of the documents, such as various constitutions of the past century, are accessible elsewhere, but some, like Friedrich Gentz's constitutional plan of 1808, are difficult to find. In any case, it is convenient to have the relevant materials of three centuries gathered in one place. Especially enlightening is a side-by-side comparison of the Paulskirche and Prussian Union constitutions of 1849. On the debit side is the fact that few documents are given in entirety. About half of the Federal Act of 1815 has been omitted, for example, including the famous article guaranteeing state constitutions. Such pruning, though unavoidable, reduces the book's value for scholarly reference. Still, it was not meant for professors but for the reading public, and in that quarter it deserves wide circulation.

ENNO E. KRAEHE, *University of Kentucky*

COUNT ZINZENDORF. By *John R. Weinlick*. (New York, Abingdon Press, 1956, pp. 240, \$4.75.) Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, founder of the Moravian Brethren, is a marvellous subject for the biographer. A scion of a noble family turned religious mystic and reformer, a life full of adventure, romance, and significant historical events, a fascinating and complex personality that challenges the imagination and psychological insight of an author, travels and missionary activities that took him to numerous areas of the civilized and uncivilized world, including western Pennsylvania, the religious community which he founded abounding in interesting manifestations of the interrelationships between religion and social and political currents—all these provide the biographer with a richness of subject matter that is hard to surpass. This notwithstanding, however, Zinzendorf has thus far not yet attracted any but "official" biographers. To the old works by the Herrnhut leaders, David Cranz and Spangenberg, and to the more recent studies by the school of Moravian scholars led by Otto Uttendörfer, is now added the biography by Dr. John R. Weinlick, professor of historical theology at the Moravian Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Dr. Weinlick's work is the first full-length biography of Zinzendorf originally written in English, but it leans heavily on the older German literature, which is at times cited, as well as on works by American scholars, which are never cited. With some of the characteristics of a "devotional" biography, it is a straightforward narrative and factual account of the main events of the count's life, adorned with simple but clear illustrations, without much of an

attempt at either social or psychological interpretation, without documentation and without bibliography and was obviously not written for the specialist. The author no doubt intended it as a book to be found in the home of a devout and faithful member of the Moravian church. From this standpoint he has succeeded ably.

KOPPEL S. PINSON, *Queens College*

THE GERMAN FIFTH COLUMN IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Louis De Jong*. Translated from the Dutch by *C. M. Geyl*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. xi, 308, \$5.00.) Louis De Jong is executive director of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation. The present study is the extensive expansion of the essay he sketched in *The Third Reich*, edited by Baumont, Fried, and Vermeil (New York, 1955). The first part of the book paints a dramatic picture of the image of the German fifth column as it was held during the war. It is a picture of a gigantic conspiratorial organization dedicated to attacking other countries from within—an organization which allegedly spread its powerful tentacles from Patagonia to the Ukraine; from Chicago to Bucharest. Reasons for the image are not far to seek: Hitler's much-quoted comment to Rauschning, "Our strategy, Forster, is to destroy the enemy from within, to conquer him through himself," clearly promised such a conspiracy. Further, there did in fact exist in the Third Reich several agencies of the party and the state which were designed to organize Germans living abroad in activities that would undermine the resistance of their adopted countries: apart from the fairly orthodox Amt Ausland-Abwehr of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht and the Auswärtige Amt, there were four organizations of an essentially political nature: the Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP, the Aussenpolitische Amt der NSDAP, the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle, and the Sicherheitsdienst. Moreover, the fact that the fifth column was effective in Poland and in Czechoslovakia seemed to imply that these were only typical examples of its ubiquity and power. Finally, responsible reporters and officials such as Leland Stowe, President Roosevelt, William J. Donovan, and—the author ruefully admits—Louis De Jong himself helped, in the years from 1939 to 1941, to authenticate the legend by grossly exaggerating the importance of the Nazi fifth column. In the second section, "Reality," the author judiciously assesses the actual organization and effectiveness of the fifth column. He concludes that it did indeed exist but that its importance has been greatly overrated. "Hysterical fear of the fifth column probably accomplished more than the fifth-columnists themselves." It was really effective only in Poland, the Sudetenland, and Yugoslavia; it was of negligible importance in France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Belgium; and of no importance in England, South America, and the United States. De Jong shows that far from one gigantic co-ordinated organization—like so much else in the Third Reich—its various agencies were characterized by inefficiency, jealousy, friction, and mutual double-cross. Further, the Volksdeutsch did not in fact effectively engage in the type of conspiratorial activity Hitler's agencies demanded. This is a valuable monograph. It gives a careful and impressively documented account of the German fifth column throughout the world. The author's conclusions, reached after exhaustive research and given with circumspection and caution, demand respect.

ROBERT G. L. WAITE, *Williams College*

VERDICT ON SCHACHT: A STUDY IN THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL "GUILT." By *Earl R. Beck*. [Florida State University Studies, XX.] (Tallahassee, Florida State University, 1956, pp. x, 201, \$3.50.) This volume, which treats the political career of Hjalmar Schacht in the period 1931-1945, is the second revisionist account to appear in recent years. Though completed earlier, its publication follows that of Peterson's study, which appeared in 1954. The author portrays a Schacht who

was "ambitious, self-centered, opposed at times to parliamentary institutions, and ardently nationalist"; a Schacht who, like "whole sections of the German populace," naively entered Hitler's service "seeking the welfare of his country"; a Schacht who enthusiastically promoted the early rearmament of Germany and the recovery of German colonies; a Schacht who praised Hitler in public speeches but secretly worked against him after becoming convinced that Hitler was "a madman and a criminal"; a Schacht who was unjustly put on trial after 1945, and who merits classification as "a German Dreyfus." This reviewer admires the author's attempt to present a balanced view of his slippery subject, but believes that he has at times been overly apologetic. His account of Schacht's part in the Resistance is based chiefly upon the Gisevius memoirs, which he admits are more flattering to the "central banker" than most of the other Resistance literature. The generally sympathetic portrait which emerges from this study might have been altered by a fuller treatment of Schacht's economic career, for therein lay Schacht's positive contribution to the growth of Nazi Germany. Within the limits he imposed, the author has used all the important published sources on his subject, and it may be expected that his positive view of Schacht will be further accentuated when Dr. Amos Simpson publishes the results of his recent Schacht research. Meanwhile, this clearly written monograph supplements Peterson's less readable but broader volume and merits careful consideration by all who are concerned with the career of Schacht, or with the broader question of political "guilt" in totalitarian states.

JOHN L. SNELL, *Tulane University*

DEUTSCHLAND UND DIE WELTPOLITIK IM 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Ludwig Dehio*. (Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1955, pp. 155, DM 8.50.) In this collection of six essays the editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift* expands upon some observations expressed in an earlier book, *Gleichgewicht oder Hegemonie* (1948). Two themes underlie both works: the demonism of power and a conception of continuity in modern European history seen in the great wars for hegemony from Charles V to Hitler. Now Germany and Europe are at the end of the rope, and Dehio takes a sharp look at the recent German past to find some better signposts for the future of the West. The essays are intimately thought-provoking. Few Western historians hew as firmly to the line or take such critical stock of their own national past. For all this constructive self-analysis, one misses a broader frame of reference. Dehio stands on Clausewitz, Ranke, Delbrück, and Meinecke; but one thinks also of Mahan, Lenin, and Langer. The two world wars are seen as a highly intensified continuation of earlier dynastic conflicts. There is little consideration of the newer elements of social and economic self-combustion as outlined in the crucial volumes of the Carnegie series on World War I, notably in Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's study of the war and German society. A refreshing essay on Versailles sees America's withdrawal from Europe as the major factor in the revival of demonic German power. Yet, one questions whether American power and influence more earnestly committed could have effectively bolstered a Western system so fraught with serious contradictions of ideology and policy. Dehio's version of the "dwarfing of Europe" is not so successfully outlined in terms of power politics alone as in some larger conception. Thus, in concentrating on the major German error (the schism of spirit and power), the author would appear to neglect other significant factors applicable to the larger Western scene. A major theme of the book is America's relationship to the dying European state system. In discussing Germany's prospects and anticipated reunification, Dehio resolutely rejects a solution at Russia's price—that would give Communism its third vital opportunity and bring it to the Channel. The author sees the future of Germany and the West in America's hands. Are most Americans, particularly their historians and makers of foreign policy,

well enough versed in German language and history to accept this opportunity without doing more than to pull chestnuts for the Germans out of a fire largely of their own making, and in return for some of that same demonic power?

HENRY CORD MEYER, *Pomona College*

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

- GASPARO CONTARINI ET SES MISSIONS. By *Orestes Ferrara*. Translated from Spanish by *Francis de Miomandre*. (Paris, Albin Michel, 1956, pp. 227, 490 fr.) Orestes Ferrara, a native of Italy, an officer in the Cuban war of independence, a professor of law at the University of Havana, and a Cuban representative in a number of international organizations, has followed up his *Le XVI^e siècle vu par les ambassadeurs vénitiens* (Paris, 1954) with a detailed study of Gasparo Contarini, one of the ablest of these ambassadors, who was made a cardinal by Pope Paul III in 1535. Basing his account on an apparently large number of secondary accounts and primarily on the *Relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors, the *Regesten und Briefe des Cardinals Gasparo Contarini* (ed. by F. Dittrich), and the *Dispacci di Gasparo Contarini* in the Marciana

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Library in Venice, he gives us a spirited, well-written, semipopular account of Contarini's missions, beginning with that to the Diet of Worms in 1521 and ending with that to the religious colloquy at Regensburg in 1541. The author is at his best in his description of political, legal, and economic institutions, his clarification of complicated diplomatic negotiations, and his characterization of the leading personalities with whom Contarini came into contact. He quotes and enlarges upon Contarini's astute and objective observations concerning the weaknesses of the Holy Roman Empire, the rise of the townsmen in the Low Countries, the internal difficulties in Spain, the impact of the discovery of America, the Habsburg-Valois Wars, the submission of Italy to the Habsburgs, the reform program in the papal *curia*, and the attempts of Charles V to heal the religious schism. But he also has a remarkable grasp of the complicated religious issues involved in the colloquy at Regensburg, despite the fact that he has apparently not read such important recent studies as those by Hanns Rückert and Hubert Jedin. He may depict his irenic hero with his vision of "one Europe" in exaggerated colors, overemphasize his role in his missions, and oversimplify his religious convictions, but he produces a picture which merits the attention of the professional historian as well as the general reader.

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Indiana University*

ECONOMISTI DI PUGLIA. By *Giovanni Carano-Donvito*. (Florence, "La Nuova Italia," 1956, pp. 458, L. 3000.) Much has been written about northern Italian economists by scholars like Luigi Einaudi, Giuseppe Prato, and Gino Luzzatto, but until the late Giovanni Carano-Donvito began his researches little attention had ever been given to the economists of the southeastern region of Italy. His studies, which originally appeared in various journals, are conveniently assembled in this volume of the "Collezione di studi meridionali" series, directed by Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. Old age and poor health prevented the author from completing and integrating all the studies he had in mind. Consequently, there is both repetitiousness and disproportionate allotment of space in the book, with several important recent writers such as Antonio De Viti de Marco (1858-1943) barely mentioned. But Carano-Donvito's careful spadework will be invaluable to other scholars in the field. A preliminary chapter presents a rapid chronological survey of the Apulian writers from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. It is of great help in guiding the uninitiated through a maze of little-known scholars who, according to the author, were the equals of many of their contemporaries elsewhere. The earliest writer mentioned is a historian, Scipione Ammirato of Lecce (1531-1601), whose views generally coincided with mercantilism. Among the agronomists—most of whom came from Lecce and wrote on olive culture—the outstanding early writer was Ferdinando Galiani (1728-1787), who argued cogently that economic legislation must take account of regional differences. Of the political economists the most influential by far were Marchese Giuseppe Palmieri of Lecce (1721-1793), a government minister, and Samuele Cagnazzi (1764-1852), an abbot of Altamura. The greater portion of the book is devoted to analysis of their trenchant observations on agriculture, land tenure, commerce, tax reform, extravagance, wartime economics, population growth, and the use of statistics.

CHARLES F. DELZELL, *Vanderbilt University*

ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER MUSSOLINI. By *Luigi Villari*. (New York, Devin-Adair, 1956, pp. xii, 396, \$6.00.) This book is offered as a contribution to the correction of the supposedly much misunderstood record of Fascist Italy's foreign policy. Briefly, the argument runs as follows. The main cause of the Second World War lies in the injustices of the settlements that issued from the First; to preserve the peace it was therefore necessary to revise those settlements. Mussolini's consistent

advocacy of revisionism was the expression of intelligent realism combined with devotion to peace. But Italy was never able to overcome the blind obduracy of France and Britain. In the face of such unreasonableness and of the determination to encompass the destruction of Fascism, she had no choice but in association with Nazi Germany, likewise dedicated to reasonable revisionism. To be sure, German ambitions turned out to be somewhat extravagant. But Italy could not have foreseen this and, in any event, especially after the Abyssinian episode, she was left no alternative. Besides, like Italy, Germany had a clear understanding of the Communist danger. Thus, intervention in Spain, for example, was in reality a service to the Western powers. Even Italy's declaration of war in June, 1940, was not a stab in the back; it would give her a better opportunity to moderate German ruthlessness. But, blind to the last, Britain and America preferred to co-operate with the Soviet Union. The folly of this is amply proved by the outcome, the present enhanced position of Communism. America's responsibility is very large, for, as early as 1937, President Roosevelt was bent on war into which he skillfully maneuvered the country through luring Japan into attack. That the Axis had anything to do with bringing Russia into Europe is, naturally, never considered. This point of view is hardly novel and the house of Devin-Adair has given it faithful publicity. By way of comment this observation may suffice: interpretations of history will differ, but there are certain canons that the historian may not violate if he would lay a legitimate claim to the name. This book is history in the sense that Mussolini and Hitler expounded it; its only value lies in the evidence it provides that there are no bounds to distortion. Certain factual errors dwindle into insignificance by comparison. It should surprise no one that this book is most flimsily documented (the *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945* are never even mentioned) and devoid of any bibliography.

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SOVIET UNION

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THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRINCE A. M. KURBSKY AND TSAR IVAN IV OF RUSSIA, 1564-1579. Edited with a translation and notes by J. L. I. Fennell, Reader in Russian and Head of the Department of Slavonic Languages in the University of Nottingham. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 275, \$6.50.) Voluntary exile as an alternative to the acceptance of existing conditions is traditional in Russian history. In the sixteenth century a conspicuous example of this was the boyar Prince Andrei Kurbsky, military leader and adviser of Tsar Ivan Grozny, whose quarrel with his master's military-administrative practices led him to self-imposed exile in Lithuania. From there Kurbsky addressed five letters to the tsar, explaining his defection. These letters together with Ivan's replies constitute one of the important historical sources of this stormy period. Thus far the complete correspondence has been available only in Russian and German. J. L. I. Fennell's new and complete English translation, fully annotated and accompanied by appendixes, a bibliography, and an index, is, therefore, of great interest. The correspondence covers the years 1564-1579. This was the period of *oprichnina* when Ivan applied strong measures against the boyars. Kurbsky's criticisms of the tsar goaded that sensitive monarch to lengthy and enlightening refutations. The Fennell edition successfully conveys the spirit of the original. It deals boldly with the problems inherent in such an undertaking. In making the translation Fennell has generally preferred clarity and grace of style above the preservation of sentence structure and literal meaning. His judgment on such matters is scholarly and imaginative. The Russian text of the letters is presented on alternate pages with the English text so that departures from the original can be readily followed by those who read Russian; for others these changes are indicated by interpolation marks and footnotes. The new work is altogether of excellent quality and makes another basic Russian historical source available in English.

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PETER THE GREAT. By *Constantin de Grunwald*. Translated from the French by *Viola Garvin*. (New York, Macmillan, 1956, pp. 224, \$4.50.) The dynamic if often brutal figure who was the last tsar of Muscovy and the first emperor of Russia has been the subject of many studies in Russian and Western languages. In English, Eugene Schuyler's two-volume biography, over seventy years old, has yet to be superseded, though a fine short survey of Peter's life and work was published by B. H. Sumner in 1950. M. de Grunwald's book attempts no re-evaluation of Peter. His work consists mainly of a skillfully woven fabric of incidents and anecdotes. The author must have enjoyed writing it, and both student and general reader will enjoy

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

reading it. However, it is a work of description rather than analysis; the student will learn little new, and the general reader will gain little sense of the historical significance of Peter's reign. Peter's accession to power comes on page 73. In previous chapters the author undertakes to show the defects of Russia's nobility, army, and church as potential instruments of autocratic change, and there is an account of the regency of Sophia. Most of the remainder deals with the building of St. Petersburg and the sense and nonsense with which the high society of the new capital busied itself, as seen by foreign diplomats. It is useful to be reminded that many Russian nobles did not mind when Peter cut off their beards. It is interesting that the fathers of the great generals Rumiantsev, Suvorov, and Kutuzov all served under Peter. It is entertaining to learn that the "Khan of the Kalmucks," being allotted inadequate expense money by the governor of Astrakhan, "attended a reception given by the High Admiral, grabbed a pie and went off with his interpreter to eat it in the Market Square, to the huge joy of passers-by." But perhaps two hundred pages of this is enough. The translator is to be credited with a smoothly constructed English version, marred chiefly by the misuse of the comma.

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LABOUR POLICY IN THE USSR, 1917-1928. By *Margaret Dewar*. (London and New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1956, pp. viii, 286, \$6.00.) This volume constitutes a thorough study of labor legislation during the first decade of Soviet power. Among the subjects treated are the role of trade unions under communism, the adjustment of labor disputes, wage determination, and the general problems of employment and unemployment. Appended is a very useful section of 118 pages summarizing the major labor decrees that were issued. The book impresses upon the reader the great importance of the pre-plan period for an understanding of current events in the Soviet Union. The policies followed with respect to the conscription and militarization of labor from 1918 to 1921 clearly presaged the stringent controls introduced shortly before World War II, which are just now beginning to be relaxed. There are many other parallels, and it may well be that the Russians themselves, in their present mood, will find much of interest in the debates on labor policy that took place during the NEP period. The chief merit of the study is that it assembles in a systematic and concise manner a great deal of material that is difficult to find. Its principal deficiency lies in the failure to probe very deeply beneath the formal legislative surface into the reality underneath. Events are evaluated largely through the eyes of contemporary Soviet observers. For example, in the discussion of wages (pp. 134-41), the author accepts uncritically the popular Soviet view that occupational and industrial wage differentials during the period 1925-1928 were completely chaotic and irrational. Perhaps they were, but neither the figures she cites nor the consideration given to the requirements of Soviet industry at the time provides any support for that conclusion. However, it would be most uncharitable to end on a critical note, for Mrs. Dewar's achievement is great and students of the Soviet economy are very much in her debt for lightening the burden of their work.

WALTER GALENSON, *University of California, Berkeley*

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Near Eastern History

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ZE STUDIÓW NAD IMPERIALIZMEM NIEMIECKIM (SPRAWA MISJI GEN. LIMANA VON SANDERS W TURCJI) [Studies on German Imperialism (the mission of General von Sanders in Turkey). By Jerzy Łukaszewski. [Proceedings of the Historical-Philological Department, Learned Society of the Catholic University of Lublin, No. 14.] (Lublin, 1955, pp. 106.) The author has given "the affair of General

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Liman von Sanders' mission to Turkey" a Leninist interpretation: the general's appointment to reorganize the Turkish army was the decisive step of German imperialism toward the political subordination of Turkey. As Russia's economic interests in the Straits were thereby endangered, it produced an important international crisis which contributed to the outbreak of the war in 1914. This thesis, from the point of view of the "Leninist myth of imperialism," is of course forced. The author never really establishes the direct links that had supposedly existed between the mission and German financial capital penetration of the Near East; for, in fact, none existed. Moreover, he obfuscates the important facts in the crisis—Russia's designs on the Ottoman Empire. Russia was indeed provoked, but only because she was opposed to any strengthening of Turkish military power and regarded the activities of General Liman's mission at Constantinople as a threat to her ambitions in the Straits. But the international crisis was resolved through Germany's compromise of having Liman reassigned to other duties. Stripped of its Leninism, the book is palpably an anti-German tract and adds nothing new to our knowledge of the subject. Robert J. Kerner's articles on "The Mission of Liman von Sanders," in the *Slavonic Review*, 1927–28, probably are the most objective account of the "affair."

ARTHUR LEON HORNIKER, *Washington, D. C.*

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

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ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE YÜAN DYNASTY: TRANSLATION OF CHAPTERS 93 and 94 OF THE *YÜAN SHIH*. By Herbert Franz Schurmann. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, XVI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. xviii, 252, \$3.50.) Schurmann's book is indicative of the growing endeavor to present in well-annotated translations the economic chapters (*chüan*) of China's dynastic histories. Among previous efforts of this kind may be mentioned the translations of the economic chapters of the histories of the early Han and Sui dynasties by Nancy Swann and Etienne Balazs. As a work of interpretation Dr. Schurmann's study supplements two postwar monographs on the Yüan dynasty, one by Herbert Franke dealing essentially with money and finance, and another by Peter Olbricht dealing with the state post. Chapters 93 to 97 of the *Yüan shih*, the official history of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty (1206-1368), treat economic matters. Schurmann has translated 93 and 94, which deal with land tenure, land survey, agriculture and sericulture, land and head taxes, grain tax, household taxes, maritime transportation, currency, paper-currency system, annual monopoly taxes, salt monopoly, tea monopoly, liquor and vinegar tax, commercial tax, foreign trade, maritime trade, and non-quota taxes. The translation is careful, the annotation competently illuminating. Major problems of the text are discussed in introductions to the translations. Among the aspects of Yüan society which Schurmann considers fundamental, he lists first "the role of state power as a prime factor in the evolution of Chinese society" and "the influence of nomadic invasions and conquests on Chinese society." In a state-centered society of the Chinese type, the economics that mainly interested the "ruling intellectual bureaucracy" had a political and managerial quality. For the great Chinese institutionalists "economics meant primarily managerial economics, and the state, of course, was the great 'manager.'" Schurmann might have strengthened his study by drawing on annotated translations and institutional analyses of other Chinese conquest societies. As it stands, Schurmann's monograph is an excellent contribution to the study of an important period—and an important aspect—of Chinese institutional history.

KARL A. WITTFOGEL, *Chinese History Project, New York*

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs¹

REFORMERS IN INDIA, 1793-1833: AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES ON BEHALF OF SOCIAL REFORM. By *Kenneth Ingham*, Senior Lecturer in History at Makerere College, University College of East Africa.

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

(New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. xi, 150, \$3.50.) Kenneth Ingham's *Reformers in India* is an account of the activities of British missionaries in bringing Western ideas and improvements to India, 1793-1833. Based largely on the manuscripts and publications of British missionary societies, the study somewhat overlooks missionaries from America and elsewhere. The result, nevertheless, is an excellent estimate of missionary work. The book is especially good in describing missionary education before Macaulay's minute in 1835, and Ingham rescues early Indian education from obscurity. Of course, the missionaries were not alone in introducing reforms in India; and in dealing with caste, idolatrous festivals, and "sati," Ingham correlates missionary activity with that of East India Company officials and shows the difficulties the missionaries had to surmount in pursuing their ultimate goal of Christianizing India. Ingham is perhaps not as successful in estimating missionary contributions to agriculture and medicine, for company officials did far more significant work than the missionaries. Similarly, in handling literature and languages, Ingham does not sufficiently credit men like Sir William Jones with transmitting Indian literature and learning nor Indians with developing their own vernacular languages. Nevertheless, Ingham's study is important for analyzing a hitherto neglected subject.

GEORGE D. BEARCE, JR., *Bowdoin College*

INDONESIAN TRADE AND SOCIETY: ESSAYS IN ASIAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY. By J. C. van Leur. [Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, Volume I.] (The Hague, W. van Hoeve; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1955, pp. xxii, 465, \$4.00.) This is volume one in a series of selected studies on Indonesia being designed and published by the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam under a grant from the Netherlands Organization for Pure Research, at The Hague. The basic purpose of the book is to bring together—for the first time in English—the significant writings of a Dutch scholar who has made an important contribution in the years past to a better understanding of certain aspects of Asian history and the historical relation between Europe and certain sectors of Asia. Employing the methodology of sociology and economic history developed by Max Weber, Dr. van Leur arrived at certain surprising and revolutionary conclusions. We find the author taking issue with the traditional Dutch colonial historians, and he would break loose from the Europe-centered view dominating Western historical writing on Asia. In the section dealing with early Asian trade, the reader is provided with new light on the Hinduization and the Islamization of Indonesia. The section entitled "The World of Southeast Asia: 1500-1650," is a rich storehouse of data dealing with varying aspects of early trade routes, Dutch East India Company, products traded, conflicts for power, and other topics. Approximately one third of the volume consists of bibliographical references and very extensive footnotes.

CECIL HOBBS, *Library of Congress*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

AMERICAN PARADOX: THE CONFLICT OF THOUGHT AND ACTION. By Merle Curti. (New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 116, \$2.75.) In this brief volume of essays, comprising the Brown and Haley Lecture at the College of Puget Sound in 1955, Professor Curti turns his attention to the paradox mentioned in its title, the conflicting American attitudes toward thought and action. There has been, he points out, since the beginnings of American history, a basic bifurcation in our concepts of the thinker and doer. We fear the theorist, yet we spend millions on free schools; we distrust "eggheads," yet we prize education. The thread of anti-intellectualism that weaves through the pattern of our national past fits ill with the value that Americans have consistently placed on learning as a solution to most of our national problems. The roots of this conflict lie, the author suggests, deep in our history. The continuing frontier experience created in Americans a respect for the practical and pragmatic. Yet as children of the Enlightenment, with its belief in the potentialities of man, Americans have also traditionally displayed an abiding faith in the power of mind and thought. These two traditions need not, in Professor Curti's opinion, conflict to the detriment or exclusion of either. The solution lies in recognizing the validity of both, in putting both to use, and in resolving through understanding the apparent antagonism between intellectuality and practicality. The thinker and the doer must work in partnership, not in opposition, to the end that Americans may learn to use knowledge without fearing it. Professor Curti's remarks are, in the light of current biases against intellectualism, both timely and significant. Let us hope they have wide circulation.

RUSSEL B. NYE, *Michigan State University*

MEMOIRS OF AMERICAN JEWS, 1775-1865. Volume III. By Jacob Rader Marcus, Director, American Jewish Archives; Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1956, pp. x, 430, \$4.00.) The first two volumes of this valuable work, consisting of memoirs of nineteenth-century American Jews, were reviewed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1956 (LXI, 656-57). To the comments made at that time, it should be added that this third volume contains the general index to the three volumes and eighteen additional memoirs of different lengths and varying degrees of general interest. Much of the material in this volume concerns the Civil War years and constitutes a valuable supplement to other accounts of this era. Several of the memoirs are taken from the diaries of Jews and Jewesses attached to the Southern cause; these offer striking evidence of the devotion and courage of their writers. The account of the imprisonment of Eugenia L. Phillips is particularly vivid. In many ways the most unusual of the included Civil War materials belongs here only by courtesy, for it is not the work of an American Jew. It is a series of letters to France by Salomon de Rothschild, a visitor to the United States between 1859 and 1861, reporting the steps toward war as seen through the eyes of a somewhat immature, but very thoughtful foreigner. Professor Marcus is to be thanked

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

and congratulated on the completion of this useful collection of historical source materials.

JOSEPH L. BLAU, *Columbia University*

ELIAS HICKS, QUAKER LIBERAL. By *Bliss Forbush*. Foreword by Frederick B. Tolles. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. xxii, 355, \$5.50.) The recent rapprochement between the Orthodox and the Hicksite branches of the Society of Friends makes this biography of Elias Hicks especially timely. Indeed, the author seems at times to be trying to speak to the condition of the Quaker community today and to assure that the Hicksite contribution to a reunited tradition will not be submerged. But setting aside any special meaning that the book may have for the Society of Friends, the student of American religion will find this to be the best as well as the most detailed modern treatment of Hicks. It is more sympathetic than Rufus Jones's discussion in *The Later Periods of Quakerism*; it is based on more extensive use of manuscript materials, as well as more adequate investigation of the milieu in which Hicks lived, than Wilbur's biography of almost half a century ago. One cannot help wondering whether Hicks's involvement in the crisis of 1827 in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was not more direct than appears in this account—whether Hicks's friendship with John Comly did not affect the outcome more than this biography indicates. But all this is a matter of speculation, and Mr. Forbush has not gone beyond the available evidence. Eschewing speculative interpretation, he has organized effectively a large mass of detail so as to give an admirable picture both of Hicks and of the Quaker culture of the early decades of the Republic.

CONRAD WRIGHT, *Harvard Divinity School*

THROUGH THE SOUTH AND THE WEST WITH JEREMIAH EVARTS IN 1826. Edited by *J. Orin Oliphant*, Professor of History in Bucknell University. (Lewisburg, Pa., Bucknell University Press, 1956, pp. viii, 143, \$2.60.) This short paper-backed publication contains excerpts from the journal and letters of the corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, recording his experiences and observations as he traveled from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, to Georgia, thence to Memphis, and on up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers from January to June, 1826. Fresh insights and information about southern society and western river travel in the 1820's do not materialize; the documents are somewhat thin and add little to available knowledge. The editor, however, has done such a prodigious job of research and editing that his extensive biographical sketch of Jeremiah Evarts and his superb footnotes make the study a worthy one. Its value lies particularly in the masterful analysis of the well-springs of the nineteenth-century movement of Christian benevolence in Europe and America. Interest in "foreign missions" becomes a part of the general upsurge of American cultural nationalism. "As thus enlarged and exalted, this conception of national mission unfolded to the view of Protestant Americans as a twofold conception—that is, of the mission of America on the one hand, to be an example of freedom and democracy to the world, and of the mission of America on the other hand, to assume, when American wealth should transcend that of Great Britain, the major responsibility for the evangelization of peoples the world over." If America were to fulfill her double divine mission, obviously she had to be made completely Christian. Hence, the first appropriate step was the Christianizing of her Indian tribes. Evarts' tour was primarily an inspection of the various Indian mission schools that the American board had established in southeastern United States. His reports on the remarkable quality of the Creek and Cherokee civilizations are enlightening. The judgment, however, of most readers will be that the vital subjects discussed in this volume might have been served more adequately by a different

title, the relegation of the documents to an appendix or to the footnotes, and the expansion of the editorial introductory sketch into a longer monograph on "American Protestant benevolence and beneficence as the emotional springs of action for the many-sided religious-humanitarian crusade for the reformation of America during the three decades immediately preceding our Civil War." With this excellent start it is to be hoped that Professor Oliphant will find it possible to produce just such an over-all study.

ALBERT V. HOUSE, *Harpur College*

LA VIE ET L'OEUVRE DE HENRY DE COURCY (1820-1861): PREMIER HISTORIEN DE L'EGLISE CATHOLIQUE AUX ETATS-UNIS. By *Robert Sylvain*. (Quebec, Presses universitaires Laval, 1955, pp. 347, \$2.75.) Most students of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States will be surprised to hear Henry de Courcy listed by Frère Robert Sylvain as the first historian of the Catholic Church in the United States. That title is sometimes given to John Gilmary Shea, who assisted De Courcy and translated his history. Henry de Courcy was in fact a Breton businessman, the New York agent for a French glass manufacturing firm, whose interest in American Catholic history was accidental. His American history was originally letters to the *Univers* of Louis Veuillot. When Veuillot began to edit and change the letters they were published entirely in the *Minerve* of Montreal and later translated and published in book form with the help of Shea. De Courcy's account was based on the notes of Bishop Simon Bruté of Vincennes, letters from the Archives of Quebec, and the few American Catholic publications then available. In the first chapters of his book De Courcy seemed to share the admiration of many liberal French Catholics for the advantages of the church in a republic. But the activity of the Know-Nothings, and especially the sad occurrences during the visit of Archbishop Cajetan Bedini, as the legate of the pope to the United States in 1853-1854, shocked De Courcy. He left the United States in 1856 with a doubt about the possibility of reconciliation between republican government and the church. There seems to be a parallel between De Courcy's attitude toward American democracy during his ten years in the United States and the relations between French Catholicism and the contemporary French republican government. Frère Sylvain gives a brief but informative account of De Courcy's Breton background, of his associations with other Bretons in Paris before coming to the United States, and of his other publications. De Courcy had more in common with the French in the province of Quebec, yet his deep interest in the United States continued until his premature death from tuberculosis in 1861 at the age of forty-one. Frère Sylvain has given us a reliable account of De Courcy and at the same time by his sympathetic interpretation has made his history an important contemporary document, an eyewitness account of a contemporary Frenchman. His accounts of the relations between Orestes A. Brownson and Montalembert, and of De Courcy's interests in Canadian history are interesting. He has used recent American sources on the nativistic reaction to Catholicism and shows slight sympathy for the nativists, inclining in this to De Courcy's own feelings.

THOMAS T. McAVOY, *University of Notre Dame*

CALEB CUSHING: ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, 1853-1857. By *Sister M. Michael Catherine Hodgson*. (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1955, pp. viii, 247, \$2.75.) This study is a doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University of America, one of a series which examines "the development of the American presidency." "It is . . . an endeavor to define Cushing's position as Attorney General of the United States; to elucidate the relationship of this official to the President, and to determine the influence—if any—of Cushing on

Franklin Pierce." Using the Cushing papers in the Library of Congress and the archives of Cushing's office (among other sources; there is an excellent bibliographical note), Sister Mary Michael has produced a much more detailed account of this phase of Cushing's life than that in C. M. Fuess, *Caleb Cushing* (2 vols., New York, 1923). In particular, she has digested a mass of opinions on the executive branch of the government which reflect the complications of an expanding government and the problems arising from the separation of powers. Cushing almost seems to have recognized the need for a systematic overhauling of a government which had evolved historically rather than logically. Unless, however, the quantity of opinions here extracted by the author are measured by some comparison, or given point by comment, they do not attain their full usefulness to the reader. Cushing made his office a full-time job for the first time; he wrote a history and an analysis of it; and he sought to elevate it to a full department of state. Whether he made it anything of special note vis-à-vis the Presidency, it is hard to say, but Cushing the propagandist and Cushing the political adviser were in constant contact with Franklin Pierce. Cushing's roles as anti-abolitionist, Anglophobe, expansionist are documented in this study.

WILLIAM B. HAMILTON, *Duke University*

GRAY FOX: ROBERT E. LEE AND THE CIVIL WAR. By *Burke Davis*. (New York, Rinehart, 1956, pp. xi, 466, \$6.00.) In preparing this readable single-volume study of Lee, the author was prompted by two motives. The first of these was to retell, in concise form, the story of Lee's activities during the Civil War; the second and more difficult one was to reduce the Lee of mythology to flesh and blood terms. Because of the massive works already in existence on both the man and the war, Mr. Davis' account necessarily involves the retreading of many old familiar paths. However, this is an excellent summary of the war in the east and, as the title indicates, the traditional figure of Lee has been recast in a new mold, that of a crafty and wily commander who intuitively anticipated the enemy's moves. There is, also, a particularly keen description of the disintegration of the Army of Northern Virginia after Petersburg. The really unique feature of the book, however, results from the author's admirable efforts to penetrate the gray curtain of Lee's own reserve, to free the man from the legend. Several facets of Lee's almost enigmatic character emerge; a tenderness that easily melted into sentimentality; a nagging concern for the welfare of his three sons on duty with the army; an uncontrollable grief that could periodically cause him to weep bitterly; a muted sense of humor, offset by a potential for anguish that could lead to such depths of depression that he would talk of destroying himself; a petulant streak which led him to complain of neglect by the Confederate Congress or to scold his staff peevishly; and the savage eruptions of temper which caused more than one subordinate to endure the scathing effects of an angry tongue-lashing. All these things we see, yet the view is more in the nature of a peek than a panorama. For somehow, the total effect leaves something to be desired. There lingers the uneasy suspicion that the Gray Fox has done it again; that, by means of one of those deceptive movements which were his specialty, he has again maneuvered into some impregnable position from behind which he remains, as Benét said, still safe from the "picklocks of biographers."

OTIS A. SINGLETARY, *University of Texas*

LINCOLN AND THE TOOLS OF WAR. By *Robert V. Bruce*. Foreword by Benjamin P. Thomas. (New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1956, pp. xi, 368, \$5.00.) Mr. Bruce's book is well titled. It is not a history of the operations of the Ordnance Departments of the United States during the war of 1861-1865, although it contains an immense amount of interesting information about them and the persons with whom they dealt. It is

a study of the impact of Mr. Lincoln upon the development of weapons and munitions. As such it marks a real enlargement of our knowledge of the wartime President as well as a contribution to better understanding of the technological developments which played so large a part in the outcome of the war. The study vividly depicts the enthusiasms which Mr. Lincoln developed for some of the newer "tools of war," and also brings out sharply the distinct lack of enthusiasm with which many of his ideas were met by some of the old-line ordnance officers whose efforts to standardize and regularize weapons and ammunition were constantly being interfered with, as they saw it, by the amateur efforts of the commander in chief. Not all the President's powers were enough to secure the adoption of all his ideas but, as this study demonstrates, Mr. Lincoln played a large and hitherto unnoticed part in bringing about the introduction of the breech-loading rifle and the machine gun, to mention only the most important innovations. The work is thorough and broad ranging in its research and easy and readable in its writing. Numbered footnotes are replaced by an ingenious apparatus of references which conveniently identifies sources of information.

ROBERT S. HENRY, *Alexandria, Virginia*

LINCOLN, HÉROS D'UN PEUPLE. By *Claude Aragonnès*. (Paris, Hachette, 1955, pp. 351, 850 fr.) In France Abraham Lincoln is "almost an unknown." Remembered vaguely as the emancipator of the slaves and the victim of an assassin, he has "not for a long while been the subject of a single book." Now Mlle. Claude Aragonnès has remedied the omission with an excellent biography, which should both stimulate French interest in our Civil War era and increase European understanding of the American political system. Mlle. Aragonnès has not written for an American audience, and her biography contains little that will be new to any informed Civil War student. *Lincoln: héros d'un peuple* is written in the French language, but not from a French perspective. On rare occasions Mlle. Aragonnès draws on her European background to offer some interesting insights. She suggests, for example, that the Northern cry, "On to Richmond!" in 1861 was like the French "A Berlin!" a decade later (p. 135) and notes (p. 222) that Lincoln's literary style remarkably resembled that of Péguy. But on the whole she has confined herself to providing a readable synthesis of recent American revisionist writings. Drawing heavily upon the books of Benjamin P. Thomas, J. G. Randall, Carl Sandburg, and T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln: héros d'un peuple* is in no sense an original contribution, and it is unfortunately marred by many factual slips. But for the French audience toward which this book is directed, Mlle. Aragonnès has performed a valuable service. Her spirited biography maintains a nice balance between Lincoln's personal life and his political problems. Clear, judicious, and, on the whole, reliable, her *Lincoln* provides for a foreign audience a moving portrait of the man and an introduction to his troubled times.

DAVID DONALD, *Columbia University*

SICKLES THE INCREDIBLE. By *W. A. Swanberg*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956, pp. xii, 433, \$6.00.) For most readers Dan Sickles is an obscure character who suddenly emerged as a controversial figure in the battle of Gettysburg and then disappeared from view. Historians have long wondered why General Sickles without authorization moved his third corps forward from its position on Cemetery Ridge, thus endangering all of the Army of the Potomac. This unbelievable act is made more understandable by this biography. Although the author does not satisfactorily explain Sickles' conduct at that particular moment, he makes it clear that rash and impulsive acts were to be expected of Sickles. Talented, intelligent, and rich in friends, Sickles could have gained renown in almost any career but for

his lack of self-control, especially in affairs of the heart and financial matters, and a willfulness of conduct which often got him into scrapes with the law and outraged public opinion. His entire life of ninety-five years consisted of a series of unfortunate acts which marred if not ruined his reputation. The question arises, why write of a person whose life can be summed up as "foolish and glorious"? To learn more about the man who risked the fate of the Union in one questionable move is perhaps sufficient reason. In addition Dan Sickles was certainly a colorful character who kept constantly in the limelight as congressman, murderer of his wife's lover, general in the Union army, United States representative abroad, and leader in the fight to unseat Jay Gould from control of the Erie Railroad. Although this biography fails to offer any fresh interpretations of American history, it is a well-written account of a man who possessed a "truly adventurous spirit" and symbolized the buoyancy, the optimism, the impulsiveness, the self-righteousness, and the vanity of a young and lusty nation.

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON, *Lafayette College*

THE LIFE OF MATTHEW SIMPSON. By *Robert D. Clark*. (New York, Macmillan, 1956, pp. xi, 344, \$5.50.) The life of Matthew Simpson carries us through the most critical epoch of the Methodist Episcopal Church and also introduces us to one of the most influential men in the American pulpit. His active career in the ministry extended from 1834 to his death exactly fifty years later. In this half century the Methodist Church emerged from the rather primitive frontier stage to gain a highly respected position among the denominations and second to none in its influence. This transformation was due more to Matthew Simpson than to any other person. The bishop wielded much influence not only in the church but also in the new Republican party. He was an intimate of Lincoln whose funeral oration he delivered. Also his associations were close with Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur. The non-Methodist press was critical of Simpson's interference in the patronage. The split in the Methodist Church over slavery and Simpson's impatience with the uncompromising spirit of the slaveholders gave a logical basis for his alliance with the Radical Republicans. He was a severe critic of Andrew Johnson and threw the weight of his denomination against him. After the war Simpson led an aggressive campaign against the M.E. Church South. Simpson's personal biography is fascinating reading. His decision to leave a medical career for the pulpit; his mastery of the classics and science; his brief career as a college professor at Allegheny; his presidency of Indiana Asbury (later DePauw University); his great eminence as a pulpit orator and preacher; the influence he wielded as a bishop of the most numerous Protestant denomination; the respect and prestige which he carried among political leaders and statesmen—all are challenging. And yet, the bishop looked anything but his part. He was small of stature, unimpressive in personality, awkward in mannerisms, careless in dress. His shrill, high voice made it necessary to win his audiences by sheer intellectual power. He was often in poor health. The readers of this book deserve a photographic likeness of this unusual man. Professor Clark has rehabilitated a long neglected figure—a churchman who, in an era of great leaders in his field, ranked among the first.

WESLEY M. GEWEHR, *University of Maryland*

STEPHEN BENTON ELKINS. By *Oscar Doane Lambert*. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955, pp. 336, \$6.00.) During the late nineteenth century, the United States was dominated by a breed of men who, with boundless energy, not only exploited the vast natural resources of our continent but also amassed great fortunes for themselves. A number of these men, variously called "captains of in-

dustry," "robber barons," or "indispensable developers of the nation," turned to politics. Usually the Senate took their fancy—and the fancies of their wives, for Washington society was brilliant in the eighties and nineties. By McKinley's time there were so many millionaires in the upper house that it was commonly called "The Rich Man's Club." Of this select group, not yet of the inner circle, was Stephen Benton Elkins, a wealthy railroad and coal-mine operator from West Virginia. Typical of these senators, Elkins dovetailed his political ventures and his business dealings. For three campaigns he was a prominent leader of the Blaine cause and served as national committeeman. As a reward he was appointed Secretary of War under Harrison. In 1895 he was elected senator, and served for three terms. Of course, he championed McKinleyism. Later he took particular interest in railroad legislation (the Elkins Act, 1903, and the Mann-Elkins Act, 1910) and in rebuilding the merchant marine. A member of several important committees, he achieved reputation as a compromiser. In this first attempt at a full-length biography of Elkins, Mr. Lambert gives us a better account of the senator's business activities than of his political efforts. Apparently Mr. Lambert has spent far more time examining the Elkins papers than studying the well-known sources of political history. Consequently, he has neglected important political manipulations of the West Virginian. For example, he fails to recount Elkins' leadership of a group which at the convention of 1888 sought to nominate Joseph Benson Foraker, then the dashing young governor of Ohio. So too, he relies heavily on newspapers for his authorities in a day when newspapers reveled in political gossip. We could wish, furthermore, that Mr. Lambert had been less laudatory in describing Elkins. Finally, we might have wished for more careful organization in certain chapters of this otherwise commendable biography and for a few more glimpses of the man Elkins and his family. We are told little about his first wife, not much more about his second, and only the names of his children. Presumably the senator was a Presbyterian, but again we are not certain.

EVERETT WALTERS, *Ohio State University*

THE USE OF HISTORY IN THE DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT: 1900-1930. By *John J. Daly* (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. xv, 233, \$2.50.) This is a somewhat positivistic study of historical interpretations and techniques in Supreme Court opinions between 1900 and 1930. The several justices, the author makes clear, resorted to historical inquiry on one occasion or another for a variety of purposes: to clarify the meaning or intent of a statute or constitutional provision by inquiry into the circumstances surrounding its adoption, to determine sound doctrine with respect to a disputed point of constitutional or administrative practice by investigation of past practice and authorities, or to determine historically the scope and meaning of a legal phrase. Not infrequently, historical inquiry proved to be the core of a critically important opinion. This was true, for example, in the *Insular Cases* (1901) and in Chief Justice Taft's famous inquiry into the history of the presidential removal power in *Myers v. United States* (1926). As might be expected, historical inquiry in a controversial case very often led the several justices to sharply contradictory conclusions. This was notably true of the *Myers* case, where Brandeis, a past master of historico-legal inquiry, wrote a ravaging dissenting analysis of Taft's argument. It is evident that the justices differed radically among themselves as to the theory, practice, and even the validity of historical techniques in the judicial process. Thus Brandeis used massive inquiry into socio-economic data to formulate generalizations which in turn became the very foundation of his judicial doctrines, while Taft and White made extensive use of legal and political history to establish past practice, which they generally regarded as

conclusive for present purposes. On the other hand, Holmes, although he sometimes resorted to brief historical generalizations, as he did notably in *Missouri v. Holland* (1920), commonly derived his opinions from philosophy, law, and legal metaphysics, and more than once expressed open suspicion of dead historical precedent. In reality, however, this attitude in itself involved a repudiation of absolutes in favor of historical relativism—a more sophisticated view of the relation of history to legal doctrine than other justices commonly achieved.

ALFRED H. KELLY, *Wayne University*

CONGRESSIONAL POLITICS IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Roland Young*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. 281, \$4.50.) This is a useful study of congressional politics during World War II. The author, a professor of political science at Northwestern University, was a secretary of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during part of the war. He indicates that while the President's powers were greatly increased during the war, "Congress did not become a rubber stamp." "The President emerged as the over-all planner of political and economic action, and the role of Congress was that of altering, amending, objecting, and substituting" (p. 5). Congress performed its role by "authorizing action in the form of law," "adjusting conflicts of interests," and by "exercising oversight over the execution of policy" (p. 219). The topically organized chapters deal with such subjects as price control, efforts to apply the principle of "equality of sacrifice," labor and farm policies, selective service, taxes, control of profits, military alliances, foreign affairs, and reconversion. Professor Young makes it very clear that politics were not adjourned in Congress during the war. While he recognizes the necessity for expanding executive power during time of war, he is interested in the effort to build and maintain congressional power. The book is written in a clear and dispassionate style. It includes an appendix analyzing the degree of party voting of the two major parties and of individual members in Congress. Though his breakdown of voting by party is useful, he does not provide adequate voting analyses in terms of sections or group interests. The book does not contain a bibliography. If the footnotes are an indication, the research for the volume was limited largely to the *Congressional Record*. There is little or no reference to committee hearings, manuscripts, newspapers, or magazines, and only scattered references to a few secondary accounts and memoirs. The book is an important introduction to a subject which calls for additional research in depth.

WAYNE S. COLE, *Iowa State College*

GLOBAL LOGISTICS AND STRATEGY: 1940-1943. By *Richard M. Leighton* and *Robert W. Coakley*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington, D.C., Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1956, pp. xxii, 780, \$6.25.) This volume—the first of two—links in an organic relationship the two themes of its title, "global logistics" and "strategy." The first theme, as the foreword puts it, covers "the performance by the Army of the task of effecting the orderly assembly, movement and delivery of great masses of men and matériel throughout the world." The needs met covered those of the American Army and in part those of the Allies. The book shows in a vivid and compelling way how global strategy was circumscribed and shaped by these immensely complex and difficult problems of "assembly, movement and delivery." This chaotic jungle of particulars had meaning in the war, and afterwards, for the student of history, only from one central viewpoint—that of the high command and staffs in Washington. But even from that high eminence the meaning of the experience can never have been nearly so clear as the authors have made it in this lucid and masterly account. Part I covers the

neutrality period, down to Pearl Harbor. Part II deals with the critical months after Pearl Harbor. Part III, "The Emergence of Policy and Method," describes and assesses the painful effort of 1942-1943 to provide an orderly basis and methods for the logistics of a strategy not yet determined. Part IV is concerned with the build-up for the early offensives. Part V is on theaters of foreign aid—the British Commonwealth, East and South Asia, and Russia. Part VI carries the story through Casablanca to the middle of 1943. So wide is the sweep of the history and so closely are supply and transport related to strategy that an understanding of the general character of the war could be obtained from this study as well as anywhere. The authors of this authoritative and penetrating book have made effective use of the masses of high level papers open to them, and their handling of the material inspires confidence. The study is probably the best in its field that has appeared in any country. It has lessons of lasting importance for a variety of readers—including students of history, of economics, of geography, of international politics, and of military problems—both here and abroad. One incidental value of the book is the flood of light it throws for foreigners on the nature and working of the American system—its ability to face and solve problems of organization on the largest scale, the tremendous release of energies which the call of duty brings about, the initial confusion of unco-ordinated individual and group effort, and the bringing of order out of confusion as a result of the sense of duty and acceptance of the goals of the Union. H. DUNCAN HALL, *Washington, D. C.*

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION: ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE. Edited by *Louis W. Koenig*. (New York, New York University Press, 1956, pp. xii, 394, \$5.50.) Here is a useful addition to the growing Truman literature. The editor, a professor of government, is a student of the Presidency, and it is from this perspective that he has set his sights upon the doughty Missourian. The title of his book is misleading, for this is in no sense a history of the Truman administration. It is, rather, a summation of the President's public statements concerning his office and its problems. It takes the form of selected addresses, smoothly joined by brief background and explanatory comments by the editor. The book is organized around the principal functions of the chief executive. Through his public utterances, Truman's views are presented on such matters as Presidential power, labor legislation, social security, loyalty programs, atomic energy, foreign affairs, the United Nations, the cold war, and Korea. By and large, these represent a forceful restatement of the Roosevelt policies. The chief limitation of the book is the fact that only public statements are drawn upon; no use has been made of private correspondence or conversations. Until these have been made available, the picture cannot be complete. Within the bounds of his materials, it may be said that the editor has conceived and produced a sound and readable study. THOMAS H. GREER, *Michigan State University*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

DELINQUENT SAINTS: DISCIPLINARY ACTION IN THE EARLY CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF MASSACHUSETTS. By *Emil Oberholzer, Jr.* [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 590.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. x, 379, \$6.00.) Studies of Puritan delinquency are badly needed. Dr. Oberholzer breaks new ground in relating Puritan norms to correctional procedures of individual churches. His impressive doctoral labors include dredging masses of unutilized church records. He restricts himself to simple classifications, e.g., heresy, marital discords, sex crimes, business ethics. Other than on theology, he does not pose basic questions that would require many documents besides church records. The disappointing result is the usual fruit of earmarking particular documents as the orbit of a thesis. Social-science thinking is problem thinking; it must include whatever evidence the problem requires. Sociological and psychological approaches needed for explanation of servant-girl delinquency and slave responses are ignored. Causal explanation of types of delinquency is scanty. Fornication statistics, however, supplement previous studies and support C. F. Adams' view that the Great Awakening was, with some, a sexual awakening. Kinsey, while mentioned, is not checked on his hypothesis of differences in sex behavior of social groups and differences in behavior of the two sexes. Nor is use made of theories in Max Weber's *Religionssoziologie* and H. C. Lea's *Auricular Confession* that relate sex behavior and other patterns of different social classes to changes in European morals, though both Weber and Lea are mentioned. Journals like *Psychiatry* (e.g., I, 55-65, Kingsley Davis on the Protestant syndrome), contemporary analyses like A. K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys*, and especially historical critiques like Svend Ranulf, *Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology*, analyzing Calvinism, Puritanism, and medieval Catholicism, could have posed basic problems: self-contradictions in Puritan moralism, clashing motivation patterns of middle and lower classes, social resentment and aggressive behavior, and the touchy problem of guilt feelings, delinquency, and appropriate psychological release. Dr. Oberholzer, inspired by the lively thinking from Union Theological Seminary, makes a contribution on the history of church labors to redeem sinners. He shows that compassion somewhat tempered the dire mechanism of public stigmatization: the pressure of church censure and excommunication from church fellowship often forced confession before the whole congregation; but repentance brought readmission.

S. H. BROCKUNIER, *Wesleyan University*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1731-1735, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume IX.] (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1956, pp. xv, 659, \$7.50.) Since publication of this valuable series of biographies was resumed in 1933 under the authorship of C. K. Shipton, of Harvard and the American Antiquarian Society, the volumes of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* have revealed depth of investigation, charming style, and an inclination toward emphatic opinions. The present volume disappoints none of these expectations. In this and the preceding volume Mr. Shipton has been plowing through relatively dull years in the history of colonial New England and Harvard. By way of real commotion there was little besides the Great Awakening for Harvard men to

get involved in from the early 1720's until the Stamp Act crisis. Several members of the classes 1731-1735 do live, however, to participate in the Revolution and a few of them assume distinction as a result. About the Awakening and the Revolution Mr. Shipton has pronounced views, and although readers may find them several degrees off from their own conceptions, Mr. Shipton's judgments lend dimension and liveliness without inflicting grave damage. Mr. Shipton regards the New Lights with distaste, and when he finds a sober man among them he responds with rather haughty surprise. He indulges the Tories, yet he is not unjust to the Whigs, although obviously he finds Whiggery less interesting. Fair estimations of men, if not always of movements, characterize these sketches, and men are Mr. Shipton's major business here. Among the notables described are the Tory General Timothy Ruggles, the diarist Samuel Curwen, Professor John Winthrop, the rollicking vagabond Tom Bell, and Squire John Phillips. Lesser men abound to whom Mr. Shipton rightly gives full attention because their lives afford important information of a homely sort. When the author says no more is known about one of his subjects, we believe him. About most of these men no more can or need be said. Certainly nothing more ever will be said in a pleasanter fashion.

LAWRENCE G. LAVENGOOD, *Northwestern University*

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY: A CENTENNIAL HISTORY. By *Walter Muir Whitehill*, Director and Librarian, Boston Athenaeum. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. vii, 274, \$4.75.) The Boston Athenaeum director accords it a privilege that he was given the opportunity of exploring and recounting "the family history and background of that old friend," the Boston Public Library, in which he served his library apprenticeship. In the infancy of the Public Library, the Athenaeum declined offers of marriage. Yet, the relationship of these institutions remained a happy one—never happier, however, than in the present circumstance. It will be a source of hearty and continuing gratification to the Public Library that Mr. Whitehill accepted the invitation to write its centennial history. The centenary of this library is also the centenary of the public library movement in America. Mr. Whitehill's book is a distinguished contribution to library literature. Though an institutional history, it is unlimited by parochial boundaries because he was aware of this library's prodromal significance for library development in general. A principle virtue of this history is that it is written with concinnity and humor. Thus, when the library trustees in 1887 contracted with McKim, Mead and White as architects for a new building, one board member, unreconciled to the choice, stated "clearly but uncivilly: 'I feel myself entirely released from any responsibility in regard to the construction of the building.' He did not feel free, however, to refrain from impeding and harassing his colleagues whenever possible." All the book's excellence cannot be attributed to the author; he had good material with which to work. An example is the fable, "How a steamer went to sea without a captain," published ten years earlier by the Boston *Sunday Herald*, in sharp criticism of trustee directorship of all library activities. (Would that editors today evidenced similar intelligent interest in their city libraries!) By discriminating selection and critical interpretation, Mr. Whitehill demonstrates complete mastery of his subject. He has traced the sequence and observed the consequence of one of Boston's crowning glories in a short, but thorough, account.

ROBERT H. LAND, *Library of Congress*

ELIAS BOUDINOT'S JOURNEY TO BOSTON IN 1809. Edited by *Milton Halsey Thomas*. (Princeton, Princeton University Library, 1955, pp. xiii, 97, \$3.50.) Aside from a harrowing four-hour crossing of the Hudson and occasional attacks of gout, seventy-year-old Elias Boudinot thoroughly enjoyed his trip by coach-and-four from

his New Jersey manse to Boston in the summer of 1809. The immense satisfaction which the Revolutionary patriot found in viewing the prosperity and industry of the eastern seaboard is echoed on almost every page of his journal. Collectors of Americana will delight in Boudinot's descriptions of turnpikes, mills, taverns, and homes. Revolutionary days had left Boudinot with a host of friends among the close-knit circle of New England Federalists so that he entered freely into their social and intellectual life upon his arrival in New Haven and Boston. The editor has added generous footnotes as a guide to the maze created by the commercial and marriage alliances of this eastern elite. In addition to biographical data, scholars will find Boudinot's journal a valuable testimonial to the state of New England Unitarianism in its dawning moments. Boudinot, an orthodox Calvinist and a founder of the American Bible Society, looked constantly for signs of this new heresy and to his own satisfaction concluded that the more substantial citizenry had not fallen into error and that at worst the movement had been driven underground by respectability.

STEPHEN G. KURTZ, *Wabash College*

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE INDIAN STREAM TERRITORY. By *Roger Hamilton Brown*. (Cleveland, Western Reserve University Press, 1955, pp. ix, 104.) This little volume is an able case study of the harmful influence of land speculators upon the growth of a border community. Operating in the northern tip of New Hampshire and profiting from the unsettled boundary, land speculators in the 1790's got from Indians large, overlapping, illegal deeds which they long sought to have validated. The intrigues of these unscrupulous promoters muddled New Hampshire politics, retarded settlement, and invited international complications. Consequently in 1832 victimized settlers established the Indian Stream Republic pending determination of the international boundary. Border incidents in 1835 impelled New Hampshire to assimilate the "republic" to protect her territorial claims against Britain.

CLARENCE W. RIFE, *Hamline University*

SMALL BUSINESS IN BRASS FABRICATING: THE SMITH & GRIGGS MANUFACTURING CO. OF WATERBURY. By *Theodore F. Marburg*, Professor of Economics, Hamline University. (New York, New York University Press, 1956, pp. xii, 116, \$5.00.) This competent essay records the seventy-one-year life cycle of a small business. Smith & Griggs—founded, 1865; failed, 1936—reported net earnings for all but six years of its existence, and failed because of incompetent management. The author, an economist, provides an adequate historical profile of the company and an expert reconstruction of its balance sheets. He emphasizes failure to reinvest earnings as the key to its inability to expand or even hold its business; reinvestment, he concludes, reflected "the degree to which innovation was occurring." Documentation of the work reflects not only complete use of well-preserved business records but extensive notice of literature in economic history and theory—research sufficiently thorough to support a more ambitious study. The volume, in which the vocabulary employed and the questions raised are those of the "entrepreneurial" school, is the fourth issued in the "Business History Series" edited by Ralph W. Hidy.

ROBERT A. LIVELY, *Princeton University*

GATEWAY TO A NATION: THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION. By *D. G. Brinton Thompson*, Northam Professor of History, Trinity College, Hartford. (Rindge, N.H., Richard R. Smith, 1956, pp. 274, \$3.50.) Measured against the high promise of Professor Nevins' suggestive foreword, this little volume quite fails to achieve its goal.

Ostensibly a pioneering attempt to do for the Middle States as a section what has long since been done for the South or New England, it actually makes no contribution worthy of scholarly notice. The book purports to survey the history of the section comprising the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware from the time of the first settlements until 1916. But the approach throughout is to deal with each state as a distinct entity; there is no attempt to integrate, to interpret, to establish sectional patterns. Pennsylvania and New York get heavy emphasis, to the neglect of the remainder of the region, and most of the text concerns politics and personalities. Here, then, is an opportunity missed, and the need for a history of the Middle States remains as urgent as before.

RICHARD P. McCORMICK, *Rutgers University*

THE PROVINCE OF WEST NEW JERSEY, 1609-1702: A HISTORY OF THE ORIGINS OF AN AMERICAN COLONY. By *John E. Pomfret*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1956, pp. xii, 298, \$5.00.) The Princeton "History of New Jersey" series here goes back to the seventeenth-century years, before the Jerseys were united under royal government. Essentially it is the account of the Delaware River settlements, closely connected in the later stages with the development of Pennsylvania on the west bank. Originally sparsely occupied by the Dutch, principally under the aegis of the Dutch West India Company, West Jersey as part of New Netherlands aroused slight interest. In 1638 a combined Swedish-Dutch move to circumvent the Dutch West India Company brought Swedes to the Delaware to become the first permanent white settlers. Because Holland and Sweden were on good terms and united by opposition to the English the settlement was not seriously molested by the Dutch until Stuyvesant's time, when the colony, never very prosperous and largely on the west bank rather than the east, was retaken by the Dutch. Until the English began to arrive in 1675 the majority of the population remained Swedish, enjoying freedom of conscience and dreams of return to Swedish rule. Under the English, West Jersey developed quite separately from East Jersey until the proprietaries were absorbed by the crown. Dr. Pomfret unravels the tangled account of the Quaker proprietors, whose early advocacy of social and political freedom receives deserved emphasis, along with less altruistic problems of property rights, the struggle for recognition of the right to govern, and interminable changes in the proprietary personnel. It is no wonder that the history of colonial New Jersey has been so often treated vaguely. Too little was formerly known of the role of men like Fenwick, and Byllynge, and of William Penn's action in American affairs prior to Pennsylvania's settlement. It is good to have the admirable selection of descriptions of West Jersey, which appears as a remarkably ideal and idealistic colony, homogeneous in religion, prosperous and orderly despite the quarrels of its leaders, and in contrast to the misleading chapter titles that refer to collapse and disintegration. Though generally clear, the account is by no means facile; the author shows little gift for general statement. His subject matter illustrates the important contribution localized details make toward understanding the history of the country as a whole, but much of it reads like a direct transcript from the sources, the burden of disparate detail too often neither sorted into subjects nor relieved by interpretation. Nevertheless, for such an early era and for so confused a history as West Jersey's, this careful and exhaustive monograph is more than one could fairly wish for, and its publisher has given it an attractive format.

G. M. WALLER, *Butler University*

AN OLD FAITH IN THE NEW WORLD: PORTRAIT OF SHEARITH ISRAEL, 1654-1954. By *David and Tamar de Sola Pool*. (New York, Columbia University

Press, 1955, pp. xviii, 595, \$15.00.) Among the numerous publications stimulated by the American Jewish Tercentenary celebrations of 1954 the present volume occupies a unique place. The Spanish-Portuguese congregation Shearith Israel of New York has celebrated a tercentenary of its own, because it was its foundation in 1654 which marked the beginning of organized Jewish community life in North America. Its history has long been overdue, and American scholarship is deeply indebted to the authors for presenting this detailed, well-documented, and beautifully illustrated story. Dr. Pool writes here as a historian, as well as eyewitness and active participant. In his previous publications he has often dealt with this congregation, which he has served as minister since 1907. For example, in *Portraits Etched in Stone* (New York, 1952), based on the tombstones extant in the former congregational cemetery, he presented a number of biographical sketches of its early members during the period 1682-1831. In the present volume he and Mrs. Pool have made further good use of the congregational archives, excerpts from which are quoted very frequently and lend the volume a documentary character. The appendix includes reprints of the two early constitutions of 1728 and 1761, and a detailed list of leading officials and ministers who had served the congregation since 1702. Not surprisingly the main emphasis is laid on the first hundred and seventy years, when Shearith Israel was the only Jewish congregation in New York and thus served the entire Jewish population. The more variegated, sometimes chaotic developments of the New York community, which has since become the greatest Jewish settlement in history, are illustrated here only from strictly congregational angles. This self-restraint is doubly remarkable as both authors have been very active in Jewish communal life on a national scale and possess many insights and ample documentation with which to work. None the less they have succeeded in accomplishing their main purpose of showing that "Shearith Israel's organic growth and its place in the community of which it is a part are a bright and significant commentary on the spirit of America."

SALO W. BARON, *Columbia University*

THE GENTLEMAN AND THE TIGER: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE

B. McCLELLAN, JR. Edited from the original manuscript in the possession of the New-York Historical Society by *Harold C. Syrett*. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1956, pp. 375, \$6.00.) Such is the corruption of the language that to describe George B. McClellan, Jr., as "a gentlemen's gentleman" would seem libelous. Yet to gentlemen of his day he was the gentleman par excellence, Tammany affiliations and all. If there be a paradox in *The Gentleman and the Tiger*, Mr. Syrett resolves it skillfully and artfully in his illuminating thirty-nine-page introduction. As he suggests, McClellan had not one but many careers—Tammany sachem, alderman, congressman, mayor of New York, soldier, author, and teacher. His interest in politics stemmed partly from a highly developed sense of noblesse oblige and partly from an ardent desire to vindicate his father's memory. "He did not decide to become a democrat; he was a democrat," although a conservative one, holding strictly to the view that reform should never be "confused with the state's responsibility to maintain law and order." He "didn't wish to change Tammany Hall and it never entered his thoughts that Tammany Hall could change him." That he probably was correct is indicated by the fact that after his break with Murphy he never held public office again. As printed, the hitherto unpublished autobiography is condensed by one third from some seven hundred pages of typescript, with the thirty-five original chapters telescoped into seventeen. Its strength lies in its pungent analysis of the personalities with whom McClellan came into contact, chiefly at the turn of the century. But as is usual in such cases, the author unintentionally reveals even more about himself than about others. McClellan

emerges as an able, conscientious, cultivated, conservative, somewhat cynical, frustrated man who lived politically and privately in his father's shadow, both to his benefit and to his detriment. The editing is scrupulous. Omissions, consisting of material of less than general interest, are carefully indicated, as are some minor changes in the order of presentation. The footnotes reveal careful checking and contain considerable supplementary information. Unfortunately the stimulating biographical sketch and McClellan's own intriguing text, with the light it throws on life with father, or at least its effects, City Hall, Princeton, and gentility, deserve a better index.

CHARLES R. WILSON, *Colgate University*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

COUNTY COURT RECORDS OF ACCOMACK-NORTHAMPTON, VIRGINIA, 1632-1640. Edited by *Susie M. Ames*, Associate Professor of History, Randolph-Macon Woman's College. With a Prefatory Note by *Francis S. Philbrick*, University of Pennsylvania Law School. [American Legal Records, Volume VII.] (Washington, American Historical Association, 1954, pp. lxix, 189, \$7.50.) The materials included in this volume are the oldest that have appeared in the "American Legal Records" series and are among the oldest local records of any part of British America. They portray faithfully the life of Eastern Shore Virginia during this early period. The commissioners of the monthly court, says the editor, "were confronted by a great and challenging task, that of enforcing the law and of helping to make new laws so that the safety and welfare of all might be secured. Men of integrity and of fairly wide interests and experience," they took their duties seriously and performed them well. They "put the court system on a high plane of service," and in so doing they helped to develop the leadership of responsible citizens for which Virginia was to become famous. The local society mirrored is rural and homely. The actions relate largely to the three important factors in the economic and social life of the people: land, labor, and vessels. To accomplish anything in that day a man must own land. Labor—free, indentured, or slave—was required to make use of the land. Vessels were essential for travel and transportation. Light is thrown on many other phases of life: Indian relations, morals, the failure of the Anglican rectors to receive their pay, and many other matters. Dr. Ames has done a superb work of editing. Her detailed introduction seems to supply all the information that could be desired, based both upon a knowledge of law and also upon great familiarity with the early history of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. A prefatory note by Dr. Francis S. Philbrick provides the general setting; a subject index and an index of persons add to the usefulness of the volume.

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *North Carolina Department of Archives and History*

THE VIRGINIA TRADITION. By *Marshall W. Fishwick*. Introduction by *Henry Beston*. (Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1956, pp. vi, 111, \$2.50.) Virginia is the American state in whose past there is the most interest. For this reason, perhaps more books have been written about it than about any other southern state. These books have many readers, but most of them are not Virginians. This may be because the state's historians put hard facts before legendary belief and thereby construct a version of reality that is disillusioning to those who love their state. A brilliant researcher, for example, states that social life in Virginia before the Civil War was not what it is supposed to have been—that all ante-bellum maidens did not have wasp waists and did not stand on colonnaded porches attended by mammies who did not have wasp waists. Mr. Fishwick, in his lively and tolerant appraisal of Virginia, does not sacrifice facts but he does not disparage legend. He thinks that what we believe about our ancestors is as important as what they actually accomplished. He asserts convincingly that that definite entity known as Virginia is based on what Virginians think about themselves. In the vein of his mentor, James Branch Cabell, Mr. Fishwick treats the attitudes of Virginians with an entertaining and semi-humorous irony. He, it is true, includes in his study many of the facts and figures dear to the conventional historians and economists, but he does not let such horrendous material stop the flow of his narrative. The author does not tell all that we would like to know about the South's most famous state. But he flashes light on so many aspects of the Virginia faith that the reader closes this book with the feeling that he has read the best one-volume presentation of Virginia's past and present. The chapter on the influence of Sir Walter Scott, called "The Cavalier Eden," is social criticism of the highest order. The chapter called "The Horsy Set" has a delightful biography of General

Lee's war horse; it is hilarious without being disrespectful. "The Grin and the Mask" throws more light on interracial relations than do all the didactic tomes of native and alien writers who are more interested in modifying than in explaining the South's peculiar race problem.

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS, *Longwood College*

RIVER OF THE CAROLINAS: THE SANTEE. By *Henry Savage, Jr.* [Rivers of America.] (New York, Rinehart, 1956, pp. x, 435, \$5.00.) This fifty-first volume in Rinehart's ever-expanding "Rivers of America" series is primarily a history of the South Carolina low country, nearly half of it devoted to the colonial era. But since the Santee, in itself a short river, is fed by streams such as the Broad and the Catawba that run deep into the North Carolina Piedmont, that area and sections of up-country South Carolina are included. Most of the expected is here told with detailed accuracy and an easy literary style: the founding of Charles Town, the expansion to the west, pirates and Huguenots, regulators and rice planters, the Swamp Fox and Old Hickory, King Cotton, the war and "Damnation and Redemption." Lamar Dodd's line drawings illustrate much of the familiar: marshes, palmettos, moss-draped live oaks, a textile mill, Charleston's St. Michael's. But while the author's affection for his native state is everywhere evident, he is mindful of her shortcomings and willing to interpret the reasons why local events changed the course of history. To Mr. Savage, John C. Calhoun is not the untarnished hero Carolinians acknowledge him to be. Instead, the "ambitious, self-confident" Calhoun would "readily change even his basic political tenets" to be President of the United States, finally dashing himself to pieces "trying to move against the inexorable evolution of modern society." Equally reprehensible was the rush to a cotton culture that was to sweep away many of the old ideas and local leaders. While Mr. Savage does not go into details on present-day life in the Santee watershed, he is confident that great strides have been taken, that "everything [is] on the move." His optimism about the future is reflected in his attitude toward the past.

WILLIAM E. STOKES, JR., *University of Virginia*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

EVERY HOUSE A FRONTIER: DETROIT'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS, 1815-1825. By *Floyd Russell Dain*. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1956, pp. vii, 168, \$3.50.) This volume is essentially a master's thesis presented to the graduate council of Wayne University. It is based in part on numerous unpublished manuscripts (most of which are found in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library) but also on government documents, contemporary newspapers, periodicals, books, and pamphlets. Pertinent scholarly articles and monographs have also been consulted. The title is derived from a statement made in February, 1815, by Duncan McArthur, then commandant at Detroit (and later congressman and governor of Ohio) in a communication to James Monroe, Secretary of War, "Every house in the territory of Michigan is a frontier, there are no back settlements nor will the country admit of any." The volume traces carefully the economic progress of a decade which drastically changed this situation. Hardships from Indian raids and from the policies of British military authorities had come with the War of 1812. Agriculture was in a primitive state, for the chief economic interest had been the fur trade, the garrison having been practically the only outlet for farm produce. Transportation on Lake Erie was dangerous and unreliable, and land transportation to Ohio was extremely difficult, the "Black Swamp" constituting merely one of the hazards. Little was known of the hinterland of Michigan, and there was a widespread belief that it was unattractive and lacking in fertility. Gradually improvements in roads and lake transportation and finally the opening of the Erie Canal, along with more favorable land laws, better banking facilities, Indian cessions, and more favorable information regarding the interior facilitated progress. By 1825, ambitious Yankees had settled in some numbers, accomplishing "the deliverance of Detroit from many of the economic bonds which had thwarted its development for more than a century." The study, although severely restricted in scope and presenting necessarily some material that is well known, is a further illustration of the dependence of scholars upon university presses to make available much of the significant fruits of careful research.

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER, *Ohio State University*

THE DIARY OF ELISABETH KOREN, 1853-1855. Translated and edited by *David T. Nelson*. (Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1955, pp. xviii, 381, \$5.00.) This diary is another volume in the considerable library already published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association with the aim of throwing light on the experiences of one national element in the making of the United States. The author was the wife of the Reverend Ulrik Vilhelm Koren, for more than half a century one of the most influential churchmen among the Norwegians of the Middle West. She came from a cultured home in Norway and was only twenty-one years old when she began life on the Iowa frontier with her newly ordained husband. Her diary, supplemented by various letters, covers her first two "years of transition" from the Old World to the New, September, 1853-October, 1855. The material was, of course, not written for publication and hence does not attempt to give any wise reflections on American life in general but confines itself largely to the immediate little world with which the alert, sensitive young woman came in contact. And much is crowded into these two years: a rough passage across the Atlantic which lasted almost ten weeks and took many lives; contact with "the rush and bustle of New York" and its many strange sights; the interesting but uncomfortable railroad trip from New York to Chicago; visits with friends in the Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin; the long, rough winter trip in a crude wagon from eastern Wisconsin to north-central Iowa during which the young couple spent their nights in wayside taverns which served a wealthy variety of foods and bad coffee; life in hastily improvised log cabins which failed to keep out either rain or cold; associations with fellow-countrymen that in many respects seemed like strangers to the young pastor's wife who had just come from Norway, where class distinctions were still quite marked; the joy of planning for their own home and the future church. These and many other matters are recorded in the diary. While the present-day reader could wish for more concrete material dealing with the actual building of a new community and less purely personal musings and reveries on the part of the author, the diary still gives much interesting information about life in a frontier settlement a century ago. Professor Nelson has rendered the diary into readable English and has supplied it with excellent notes which clarify practically every obscure reference in the text.

C. A. CLAUSEN, *St. Olaf College*

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XXI, THE TERRITORY OF ARKANSAS, 1829-1836 (Continued). Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. v, 1415.) This is the last of the three volumes containing the official papers of the Territory of Arkansas. It covers the first and the second administrations of Governor Pope and the administration of Governor Fulton. The years are 1829 to 1836. There are 1,257 pages of documentary material and a double columned index of 154 pages. The arrangement is chronological. The documents relate especially to Indian problems, land surveys, land sales, land titles, political appointments, political controversies, the establishment of mail routes and post offices, the laying out and building of roads, and the clearing of river channels. There are many petitions from citizens, with long lists of signatures, as well as many petitions from the Territorial Assembly, making requests for appropriations for road building and other public improvements. The incidental information found in the papers, such as prices, problems of travel and transportation, and sidelights on modes of living, add much to the value of the collection. The papers are drawn from the files of the various departments of the national government. The work of selecting and editing measures up to the high standard set

in the previous volumes. This volume together with the two preceding volumes makes easily accessible, for the first time, an abundance of source material covering the entire territorial period. They will be welcomed by reference librarians and by students, as well as by casual readers who may be interested in the early history of the state.

JAMES HARRIS ATKINSON, *Little Rock Junior College*

LA VÉRENDRYE: FUR TRADER AND EXPLORER. By *Nellis M. Crouse*. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1956, pp. ix, 247, \$4.00.) This is a straightforward and workmanlike biography of Pierre de la Vérendrye, one of the greatest of those French-Canadian explorers of the unknown lands that lay to the west of the Great Lakes. The farthest west and southwest that Vérendrye himself reached was in 1738 when he marched, with what he hoped was an impressive military display, into the village of the Mantannes, just north of the Missouri in North Dakota, but his sons, Louis-Joseph and François, probably in 1743 came in sight of the Big Horn Range in Wyoming. For Maurepas, minister of marine in Paris, all these expeditions must be directed to one end, the discovery of the Great River of the West, which would lead the French down to the Western Sea—not the same as the Sea of the South or the Pacific, over which the Spaniards had long sailed. It was of course a nonexistent river and a mythical ocean, but it was more than a mere explorer's fancy, for it was the only thing that would persuade Maurepas to give his approval; that was all he gave, for the Paris authorities firmly refused to grant Vérendrye any money to support the very considerable cost of these expeditions. Vérendrye spent all his own money, he borrowed from Montreal merchants until his credit was exhausted, and he saw that the only way he could count on getting a real supply of money was by taking an active part in the fur trade. He and his sons gradually set up a line of forts all the way from Fort St. Pierre on Rainy Lake to Fort Paskoiac on the Saskatchewan. This was in reality far more important than finding the River of the West, for it was to these posts that the Indians brought their furs, which hitherto they had taken down to the English on Hudson's Bay. The Hudson's Bay Trade was not destroyed, but the choicest furs henceforth went to the French, though at lower prices. The Indians were satisfied, for they no longer had to make the long and arduous journey to Hudson's Bay; the French now bought their furs on their very doorsteps. The Montreal merchants were delighted, for they were getting the best furs at reasonable prices. But Maurepas was furious, charging Vérendrye with making unnecessary delays in hunting for the River of the West in order to fill his pockets with the profits of the fur trade; fortunately Vérendrye had a firm friend in Beauharnois, the governor at Quebec, who again and again stood between him and the indignant minister of marine. Moreover there would have been few furs for trade, and little security for the French, unless the Indian tribes kept the peace, and Vérendrye had very considerable success in persuading them to abandon their war parties in favor of hunting and trading. These two achievements were of far more real importance than his search for the Western Sea. Mr. Crouse relies almost entirely on printed materials, the greater part of which, fortunately for him, have been gathered together in a Champlain Society volume, *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaulmier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and His Sons*; but this is not so fortunate for the reader, for the journals are largely reports to Maurepas while the letters are often complaints from Maurepas and explanations by Vérendrye as to why he had not moved west more rapidly. As a result Mr. Crouse is almost forced to devote a good deal of his book to discussions of the available routes; as Vérendrye was not a very skillful mapmaker, and in addition rarely used the compass that he carried with him, the biography at times reads like a geographical exercise, though the six most controversial matters are wisely relegated

to appendixes. The effect of this is that the romance of Vérendrye's long and patient efforts gets squeezed out of the narrative. This is probably the most serious criticism of Mr. Crouse's work, for in other respects it is accurate and well planned.

E. R. ADAIR, *Austin, Texas*

THE FUR HUNTERS OF THE FAR WEST. By *Alexander Ross*. Edited by *Kenneth A. Spaulding*. [American Exploration and Travel Series, No. 20.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956, pp. xxiii, 304, \$5.00.) Reprinting an old favorite is a commendable offering for a press to make to historical scholarship. In this instance the publishing house is the University of Oklahoma Press and the volume is a beautiful new edition of Alexander Ross's second work on his life as an Astorian, Nor'wester, and Hudson's Bay Company factor in the Oregon country. The first edition appeared in two volumes in London in 1855. Instead of using the text of the first edition, however, the editor has gone to the original Ross manuscript, now a part of the Coe Collection in the Yale University Library. Not all of the first edition, however, has been reproduced, and that fact seems unfortunate. To be sure, the portion relating to the Far West has been published, but an equally valuable section has been omitted. Ross left the Oregon country in 1825 in company with George (later Sir George) Simpson, and traveled via Jasper, Carlton, and Cumberland houses and Fort Edmonton of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments to Norway House on his journey to the Red River settlements. There he took up his residence and wrote his books. To many readers and scholars the details of his eastward trip at such an early date and in the company of a man soon to be the guiding spirit of Hudson's Bay Company activity in North America would be of equal value with the earlier part of his story. As for differences between the first edition and the manuscript, the reviewer finds only minor ones. The editor of the London volumes changed words and phrases occasionally, deleted personal opinions in a few instances, and added connecting sentences when the manuscript might leave the reader confused, but in general he published the document with surprisingly few emendations. Actually he seems more at home in the details of the fur trade of Canada and the Northwest than the editor of the new edition is. The latter's remarks, especially his generalizations in his introductory remarks, are not calculated to increase his stature among historians of the subject. On the other hand, historians will be extremely grateful to him for reproducing Henry James Warre's drawings. Are we to understand from the credit lines ("Courtesy Yale University Library"), that original Warre drawings—distinct, that is, from those in the American Antiquarian Society—are owned by the New Haven institution? The whole matter of Warre's original drawings and water colors, as well as their published forms in at least two editions of his works, needs clarification. Unfortunately, Mr. Spaulding has not helped us by throwing light on this complicated subject. The format of the book is beyond reproach and adds luster to the reputation of the University of Oklahoma Press and its "American Exploration and Travel Series."

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Hamline University*

ON THE ARKANSAS ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849: THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT B. GREEN OF LEWISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA. Edited by *J. Orin Oliphant*, Professor of History, Bucknell University. (Lewisburg, Pa., Bucknell University Press, 1955, pp. ix, 87.) The Green diary describes the journey of a small party of Pennsylvanians who made their way West first by riverboat to Fort Smith, Arkansas, then overland along the Canadian River to Santa Fe, Los Angeles, and to the southern mines country of central California. William H. Chamberlin, of the same party, also wrote a diary, published in the *New Mexico Historical Review* (1945)

which is somewhat more extensive but not reproduced in its complete form. Green's account is typical in its misspellings, scrambled constructions, and lack of punctuation, but his observations are sufficiently acute, and often earthy, to make them rewarding. The publication is a welcome supplement to those already available describing one of the lesser known routes of the Forty-Niners.

ROBERT G. ATHEARN, *University of Colorado*

THE WEST OF PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE, 1809-1895. By *Otis E. Young*, Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois. [Western Frontiersmen Series, V.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1955, pp. 393, \$10.00.) Philip St. George Cooke deserves a good biography, and Dr. Young has provided it. Cooke's career is thoroughly woven into the tapestry of the West. For forty-six years, from his graduation at West Point in 1827 to Indian campaigns in the 1870's, his was a notable name in the military history of the frontier. He was with the military escorts of 1829 and 1843 on the Santa Fe Trail, in the Black Hawk War, with the Dragoons under Dodge and Kearny in 1835 and 1845, commanded the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, conducted Indian campaigns in the fifties, and led cavalry during the Civil War against his son-in-law Jeb Stuart. The writings of Cooke are numerous. His official journals of campaigns, his two books of experiences and adventures, and his volumes on cavalry tactics make him one of the most literate of the men who conquered the western land. Today his writings are prized source materials of history. They are perhaps his greatest contribution. Although Cooke was romantic and ambitious, he was a dependable soldier and a strict disciplinarian. He won the high regard of frontiersmen, Mormons, and Mexicans, and the respect of Texans. Dr. Young gives a balanced treatment of the controversial Snivley Affair, in which Cooke disarmed a group of Texan freebooters on the Santa Fe Trail. He traces the notable Mormon Battalion march from Santa Fe to San Diego, breaking a southern route to California. At its termination Captain Cooke's "Order Number 1" congratulated his battalion on its "march of over two thousand miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry" (p. 222). In California Cooke was able to give Kearny the support he needed in the controversy with Fremont. In Cooke and the battalion "Kearny now held an extremely high card, for under his hand was a battalion of men who feared neither Californians nor trappers, obeying only God, Brigham Young, and Philip St. George Cooke" (p. 229). In the "Utah Expedition" of 1858-1859, Cooke pushed his dragoons on a winter march over the high plains and the Rockies to support Albert Sidney Johnston. Upon arrival at Fort Bridger he reported, "I had one hundred and forty-four horses and have lost one hundred and thirty-four" (p. 303). Despite the little aid he brought to Johnston, Cooke received a special commendation from General Winfield Scott and was presently awarded a colonelcy. The book is good history and also is well written. The publishers have given us another example of their high quality book production.

LEROY R. HAFEN, *Brigham Young University*

THE NAVAJOS. By *Ruth M. Underhill*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume XLIII.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956, pp. xvi, 299, \$4.50.) Every student of the American Indian is indebted to Miss Underhill for a most interesting study of the Navajo. Although the entire course of Navajo history is given consideration, the period from the Mexican War to the present is described in greater detail. The reviewer feels that this is as it should be; the People (as the Navajos refer to themselves) more and more are looking toward the future. Three points deserve particular mention. In most books on the Southwest, General Carleton is pictured as a harsh, ruthless man who preferred dead Indians to live ones. Miss Underhill calls

him "an idealist among conquerors" (p. 127) and does much to substantiate her view. "Sweet Carletonia," as the Bosque Redondo reservation was called, may have been a nightmare for the Navajos, but Carleton worked hard to make the best of atrocious conditions. This is a new view on an interesting episode. The chapter upon education gives a vivid picture of the difficulties faced by early teachers and mentions the work of Lieutenant Plummer, agent in 1893-1894. The relations between Plummer and the Indian Rights Association in Philadelphia throw a flood of light on Navajo problems and have not yet been adequately studied. The reforming spirit of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1934 to 1945, commendable in many ways, overwhelmed the Navajos by attempting to modernize their way of life far too quickly. This point is well taken and deserves the emphasis placed upon it. The Second World War, says the author, finally brought the Navajos into the modern world. Yet they retain a firm hold on the traditions of the past. An excellent bibliography, good maps and illustrations, and a far from complete index conclude a volume that is a must for every student of the Southwest and fine reading for anyone interested in the history of his country.

ALBAN W. HOOPES, *Hartwick College*

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Latin American History

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GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. Number 18, 1952. Prepared in the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress by a number of scholars. *Francisco Aguilara*, Editor; *Phyllis G. Carter*, Assistant Editor. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1955, pp. x, 324, \$8.50.)

EL MANEJO DE ARCHIVOS Y DOCUMENTOS. By *Philip C. Brooks*. (Panama, Gobierno Nacional de la República de Panamá y la Universidad de Panamá, con la cooperación del Instituto de Asuntos Interamericanos, [1955], pp. 213.)

MISIONES ECUATORIANAS EN LOS ARCHIVOS EUROPEOS. By *Fray José María Vargas*, O.P. [Misiones americanas en los archivos europeos, IX.] (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, 1956, pp. 192.) The eighteenth volume of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* maintains the usual high standards that its readers have come to expect. A total of 3,368 items have been annotated and arranged under fifteen broad subjects with geographic and topical subdivisions. The section on statistics for 1952 has been omitted but is promised for the forthcoming issue. The excellent author-subject index employed in the past two volumes, has been further improved by division into two separate units. Because of the time lag between the date of the items listed and publication of the *Handbook*, this volume suffers the same lack of timeliness that has been so frequently criticized in previous issues. Users of the *Handbook* will be pleased to learn, however, that in Volume 19 an attempt will be made to overcome this basic problem by including not only materials published in 1953 but also a selection of 1954 and 1955 items. The editors are to be congratulated on this decision, for in this way the *Handbook* should become even more valuable than it is at present. In 1954 President Remón of Panama requested the Point IV mission in that country to make available the services of a specialist to train Panamanian government employees in the management of archives and documents. Through the co-operation of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs Dr. Philip C. Brooks, chief of the Federal Documents Center at San Francisco, California, was invited to give a course on that subject at the University of Panama. The course, which dealt in detail with the basic principles and practices of modern archivalology, is summarized in *El manejo de archivos y documentos*. In *Misiones ecuatorianas en archivos europeos*, number nine in the series on American missions in European archives, the author has briefly indicated the chief interest and extent of research of six Ecuadorian scholars who have studied in Europe since 1885. The principal value of the book lies in its 165-page index of documents reproduced by Padre Enrique Vacas Galindo, O.P., during more than thirty years at the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla and at the Vatican Archives. While the indexed materials bracket the entire colonial period (1493-1819), the great majority deal with the *audiencia* of Quito in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The usefulness of the index is enhanced by the division of the documents into four categories—*patronato*, *cedularios*, *eclesiastico*, and *secular*.
ROLLIE E. POPPINO, *Washington, D.C.*

THE SPANISH ARCHIVES OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE OF TEXAS. By *Virginia H. Taylor*. (Austin, Lone Star Press, 1955, pp. viii, 258.) This volume contains a brief history of Spanish and Mexican land grants in Texas, the origin of titles, and the methods of measurement and demarcation. It contains chapters also on similar

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

grants between the Nueces River and the Río Grande and in Chihuahua. The final chapters discuss the difficult problem of settling land title questions in the Republic and State of Texas, and the special disposition of titled lands between the Nueces River and the Río Grande. Since the archives of the latter area were in Mexico, the problem was especially difficult. The Spanish and Mexican land titles, the author points out, are not merely of antiquarian interest, for twenty-six million acres of Texas lands have titles stemming from them. Many current questions involving land titles are settled by reference to the Spanish Archives of the General Land Office. An appendix listing name, date of title, amount of land, colony or commissioner, and present location where known, fills more than one hundred pages. This book should prove useful to anyone interested in land distribution and ownership, in either Latin America or the United States. For Latin Americanists, who have become increasingly aware of the significance of land ownership, Miss Taylor's efforts will be particularly helpful.

DONALD E. WORCESTER, *University of Florida*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1938.

In five volumes. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 6297.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1956, pp. v, 995, \$4.95.) During the year with which this volume deals a world crisis was fast approaching, yet on the comparatively placid sea of diplomatic relations between the United States and her neighbors, very little of this was visible or apparently anticipated in the published diplomatic documents. The usual problems of an inter-American nature were in evidence: trade agreements and commercial relations (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela); exchange problems and debts (Brazil, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay); expropriations and claims (Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico); sovereignty (Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama); and U. S. military instruction and missions (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Haiti, Peru). This material occupies pages 272-982 and deals with eighteen of the twenty countries—Paraguay and Guatemala being omitted. Only two sections in this portion of the volume deal with German relations: pages 382-96 are concerned with a Brazilian-German commercial agreement and pages 408-20 deal with the co-operation of the United States in checking Nazi activities in Brazil. The first portion of the book (pp. 1-271) is taken up with general topics: the Eighth International Conference of American States at Lima, December 9-27, 1938; the Chaco dispute and Peace Conference; an attempt of the United States, Cuba, and Mexico to settle the dispute between Haiti and the Dominican Republic; the controversy between Guatemala and the United Kingdom; and boundary disputes between Argentina and Chile, Ecuador and Peru, and Honduras and Nicaragua. In all of this correspondence there appears to be little new now disclosed for the first time. Pan American diplomacy in this period has already been pretty well spread on the pages of history, and the record is only buttressed by places, figures, names, and dates. Like so many state papers, the cold facts of diplomacy here leave the reader himself cold.

A. CURTIS WILGUS, *University of Florida*

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COLONIAL PERIOD

THE MISSIONS OF NEW MEXICO, 1776: A DESCRIPTION BY FRAY FRANCISCO ATANASIO DOMÍNGUEZ, WITH OTHER CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS. Translated and annotated by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1956, pp. xxi, 387, \$15.00.) The leading document in this collection is the report of a canonical visitation conducted by Domínguez as an emissary of the Franciscan Province of the Santo Evangelio in Mexico. A remarkable feature of the report is the extraordinarily vivid picture it conjures up of the individual missions. There is a wealth of minutiae, including illuminating data on mission administration and finance. Very little of this is critical. The reason undoubtedly is that this was the formal report of an investigation which the visitor had been enjoined to carry out in a "prudent and pacific" manner so as not to stir up difficulties. That there were conditions at some of the missions that disturbed Domínguez is indicated in his subsequent letters, ten of which are included in this volume. These improprieties were chiefly financial, and a sheaf of documents provided in the appendix helps make their nature clear. Taken together, the reports, letters, and documents yield a fairly well-rounded and satisfying view of the missions and their difficulties. The three letters of Escalante which follow throw light on the explorations he and Domínguez carried out in the fall and winter of 1776. These letters form a useful supplement to the late Professor Bolton's *Pageant in the Wilderness*. They will also serve to rectify an injustice by restoring to Domínguez the honor he rightfully shares with Father Escalante for the skill and courage that contributed to the success of their joint expedition. The translators and publishers of these documents likewise deserve their full meed of praise for the exact scholarship

and general sumptuousness of this volume. The rich notes, full appendixes, and comprehensive index are noteworthy. Also deserving of mention are the frontispiece, the attractive line drawings, and the set of eighteenth-century maps with which the book is enriched.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

After fifteen years in the Library of Congress Annex, the American Historical Association headquarters, and the *American Historical Review*, will move about October 1, or when remodeling is finished, to 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C., one short block behind the Annex. The new house will provide badly needed space, if not the view. Members of the Association are cordially invited to visit.

Miss Patty Washington retired on July 1 after forty-eight years of devoted service to the Association. As Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, she is known to thousands of historians through countless conversations and letters with them. These historians and the Association owe her a deep debt of gratitude and regret that she has gone on inactive duty. She will, we hope, be one of us for many years. Miss Rita K. Shea is her successor in the Association office.

The Service Center for Teachers of History, a service of the American Historical Association, began operation in July and is located at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C. The director is George Barr Carson, Jr., formerly a member of the department of history at the University of Chicago and editor of the *Journal of Modern History*. The Service Center has undertaken the publication of a series of pamphlets to provide summaries of research and annotated lists for the use of secondary school teachers. The director will also promote meetings for discussion between professional historians and school administrators and teachers on materials to aid the teachers of history in the schools. Inquiries should be addressed to the Center.

The American Historical Association has received a grant of \$96,000 from the Ford Foundation to enable the Association, in co-operation with the British Academy, the Mediaeval Academy of America, and the Royal Historical Society, to revise and complete a planned series of British bibliographies. The co-operation on the British bibliographies, begun in 1910, has continued through the years. The grant will enable a new bibliography of medieval British history, a revised edition of Conyers Read's *The Tudor Period*, a revised or new edition of Godfrey Davies' *The Stuart Period*, two new bibliographies, 1789-1900, and assistance to the *Writings on British History, 1901-1933*. Completion of the project will probably take up to ten years, though several volumes are expected to appear much before this. The British-American committee in charge consists of Miss Helen Cam for the Royal Historical Society, Professor W. E. Lunt for the Mediaeval Academy of America, Professor T. F. T. Plucknett for the British Academy, and Dr. Stanley Pargellis for the American Historical Association.

The Ford Foundation has granted \$69,000 to the American Historical Association to help finance the initial work on a project to film and edit German documents. The project has been organized by the American Committee for the Study of War Documents, whose executive board is a committee of the Association. The grant is to be applied in large part to preparing microfilms of historically important documents, such as files in England of the German Foreign Office from 1867 to 1919 and significant materials under the administration of the U.S. Department of the Army which concern the Nazi Reich and German operations in World War II. The committee also plans to publish a guide to available documentary material for this period in the United States and abroad, and to research already done or currently in progress concerning this period and field. The committee, whose executive secretary is Sidney Wallach, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, is composed of Reginald H. Phelps, Harvard, chairman; Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D.C., honorary chairman; Hans Kohn, City College of New York, associate chairman; Harold D. Lasswell, Yale; Lynn Case, University of Pennsylvania; Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia; George W. F. Hallgarten, Washington, D.C.; Koppel Pinson, Queens College; William O. Shanahan, Notre Dame University; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley; and Boyd C. Shafer (ex officio).

Copies of the 1955 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* are still available from the office of the Association. The price per copy is \$1.50.

Other Historical Activities

The personal papers of several American military leaders and of a cabinet member have been received by the Library of Congress. Among them are the papers, about 21,000 pieces, of General Hoyt S. Vandenberg (1899-1954), Air Force Chief of Staff during five critical years of the cold war. The papers were given by Mrs. Vandenberg; when they are organized, they may be consulted only by special permission, to be requested through the chief of the Manuscripts Division.

Other military collections of interest are the papers of two generals who served in World War I: George Van Horn Moseley and Charles P. Summerall (1867-1953). General Moseley recently added the main bulk of his papers, totaling about 20,000 pieces, to a small collection received in 1954. Included in the group, which covers a long and active career (1889-1954) are war diaries and notes, a series of bound scrapbooks of selected papers, many military reports and subject material, correspondence, scrapbooks of clippings, and much printed material. Permission to use the papers should be requested through the chief of the Manuscripts Division. The papers of General Summerall were given by his son, Col. Charles P. Summerall, Jr. They consist of about 10,000 pieces and include correspondence for

most of Summerall's official career; brief notebooks (1924-29); military orders, reports, and maps; memorandums and notes on many conferences while Chief of Staff; notes, sketches, and other data on the 1st Division; and a large number of speeches and addresses.

Smaller in size and somewhat different in interest are the papers—about three hundred items—of Colonel William Catron Rigby covering the years 1935-42 when he was retained as counsel for the government of Puerto Rico. In addition to correspondence, Colonel Rigby has given materials relating to Puerto Rican Hurricane Relief, 1934-35; a survey of the Grand Jury System there, 1937-39; and the organization of the United States Housing Authority in Puerto Rico, 1937-42.

The papers of James J. Davis (1873-1945), Secretary of Labor for Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, and senator from Pennsylvania, have been given by his children. Numbering some 13,000 items, they cover all phases of his career, the greater part dealing with the period he was in the cabinet (1921-30) and in the Senate (1931-45).

The May, 1956, issue of the *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* contains a comprehensive report of other materials added to the holdings of the Manuscripts Division during the calendar year 1955.

The library of Occidental College, Los Angeles, has recently acquired the F. Ray Risdon Collection of Lincolniana. The collection includes hundreds of books about Lincoln and about other Presidents and American political institutions in general, as well as periodicals and bibliographic memorabilia.

The Eastman Kodak Company has recently compiled an eight-page summary of information available to scholars on microprint cards. The findings are classified by fields, including "history," and indicate sources from which purchases may be made. The pamphlet is entitled "What's Available on Microprint Cards" and may be had without charge on request to the Graphic Reproduction Division, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester 4, New York.

The International Institute for Social History (Amsterdam) has recently issued the first number of *International Review of Social History*. The new *Review* will be published three times a year, with articles in English, French, and German. Social history is defined by the institute as the history of social groups and classes without regard to country or period. The institute welcomes manuscripts for consideration; these should be sent to Prof. Dr. A. J. C. Rüter, Directeur, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Keizersgracht 264, Amsterdam-C.

A review of the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences (Rome, 1955) and preparations for the Eleventh Congress (Stockholm, 1960) and for the intervening General Assembly (Moscow-Leningrad, 1957) of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS) were principal items on the agenda

of the ICHS Bureau at its meeting in Madrid on May 26-28, 1956. The ten persons who took part in the meeting were President Federico Chabod, Vice Presidents Sir Charles Webster and Nils Ahnlund, Secretary General Michel François, Treasurer Louis Junod, *membres assesseurs* Mme. A. M. Pankratova and Gerhard Ritter, *membres conseillers* Halvdan Koht and Robert Fawtier, and, substituting for *membre assesseur* Donald C. McKay, who was unable to attend for reasons of health, Arthur P. Whitaker. The following members also were absent for a variety of reasons: I. J. Brugmans, Waldo G. Leland, Hans Nabholz, and Heinrich Schmid.

Discussion of the approaching Stockholm Congress was based upon recommendations on that subject, together with comments on last year's Rome Congress submitted separately by each of the national committees in eighteen of the countries participating in the latter congress. (One of the eighteen was the United States, whose national committee consists of the American Historical Association's Committee on International Historical Activities under the chairmanship of Waldo G. Leland.) These comments and recommendations were presented to the Bureau in the form of a topically organized summary prepared by the secretary general. While many details were left for settlement at the General Assembly in 1957, the following decisions were reached: The Stockholm Congress is to be held in the latter half of August (1960) and is to be of the same duration as the Rome Congress, and of the same general type, though the national committees will be urged to screen program proposals more rigorously and the Bureau will exercise closer control over the program and greater care in the selection of session chairmen and will provide the latter with detailed instructions and briefing. The preparation of the program will be formally initiated in October, 1956, by a circular letter from the secretary general to all the national committees and other ICHS members, and to certain individual scholars, inviting them to submit detailed proposals for consideration at the General Assembly in 1957.

It was decided that this General Assembly should be held in June, preferably June 14-18, and that it should divide its time about equally between Moscow and Leningrad. The member from the Soviet Union, Mme. Pankratova, announced that her government will pay the living expenses (*frais de séjour*) of all the delegates and also the cost of their transportation between Moscow and Leningrad. It was estimated that the total number of delegates will come close to one hundred.

Among the actions of the Bureau on other subjects one of the most important was the policy decision to develop the role of the national committees in the ICHS and to prevent the proliferation of its other members, such as affiliated international organizations, and maintain a close oversight over their activities by the Bureau. Steps were taken to encourage the broadening of the base of one such organization, in the field of Renaissance studies, which had already been admitted at the Rome Congress.

The treasurer's report showed a normally healthy condition, though additional

funds are urgently needed for an expansion of ICHS activities. Proposals for an increase of dues were rejected on policy grounds, and one for an increase in International Congress registration fees was favorably received but referred to the next General Assembly for action. As regards ICHS publications, it was decided to continue the *Bibliographie internationale des sciences historiques* despite its relatively high cost, and, as an alternative to the proposed founding of a *Revue internationale d'histoire*, to expand the present periodical, *Bulletin d'information*. Among organizational matters, one that was discussed at length was the filling of the new Bureau seat created at the Rome Congress, but final action on this question rests with the General Assembly.

The Bureau's Spanish hosts provided excellent quarters for its meetings at the Consejo de Investigaciones Superiores, Calle Serrano 117. Entertainments included receptions by the Real Academia de la Historia and Sra. Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, and visits to the Palacio Real and the Escorial, at which latter place the members were honored with a luncheon given by the Diputación Provincial de Madrid. This hospitality helped to make their stay in Madrid a pleasant one for the members despite the weather, which was cold and wet. From a business point of view, too, the meeting was a decided success, thanks largely to careful preparation by Secretary General François and to the skill of the chairman, President Chabod.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

As the above report indicates, the Stockholm Congress of 1960 will once more have a series of "Reports" as one of the central elements in its program. These will, as before, be published and will be distributed to the delegates some months in advance of the Congress. They are to deal with subjects of large historical interest; will, in numerous cases, it is hoped, cut across conventional historical fields; and will deal preferably with problems of interpretation. They are not in any case to be merely bibliographical. The general nature of the reports is indicated in the selected list included in the report on the Rome Congress of 1955 (*AHR*, January, 1956, pp. 504-11). Interested members of the American Historical Association are urged to suggest suitable subjects for reports for the Congress of 1960 and the names of historians in the United States or abroad who are particularly suited to prepare such reports. The reports are in every case to be the responsibility of a single *rapporteur*, although the team principle is not excluded and may be particularly useful if such a group is present in one university or in one community. Suggestions should be sent to Donald C. McKay, 100 Woodside Avenue, Amherst, Massachusetts, not later than January 1, 1957, and will be considered at a February meeting of the Committee on International Historical Activities, previous to being forwarded, for final action, to the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which meets in June, 1957, in Moscow.

DONALD C. MCKAY

Sponsored by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich, an International

Conference on Contemporary History was held at Tutzing and Munich, May 22-25. Despite its general title, it was largely devoted to the history of the Third Reich. Of the approximately fifty participants more than half were German; the rest included French, Italians, Swiss, Austrians, British, Dutch, Scandinavians, and Americans. The three representatives from the United States were Chester Easum of the University of Wisconsin (at present the U.S. cultural attaché in Bonn), C. G. Haines of the Johns Hopkins Bologna Center, and Franklin L. Ford of Harvard. Among the papers read at the meeting were: "The European Democrats between the World Wars," by Professor Eschenburg of Tübingen; "The Army in the Totalitarian State," by Professor Castellan of the Institut d'études politiques, Paris; "The European States and the Rise of the Third Reich," by Professor Anchieri of Padua; "The Myth of Franco-German Collaboration," by James Joll of Oxford; "Collaboration and Resistance," by Dr. L. de Jong of Amsterdam; and "Self-Awareness in Our Age," by Professor Litt of Bonn.

A British Association for American Studies was formed in 1955, for the purpose of "the encouragement of study and research in the history, institutions, literature and geography of the United States. Among other means to this end the Association may concern itself with the holding of conferences; the periodical publication of papers; the establishment of a centre of record for research materials in the United Kingdom, including microfilm; and the investigation and encouragement of the means of travel and study for British scholars in the United States." Further information may be had from the secretary, Mr. Marcus Cunliffe, Department of American Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester 13, England.

At the May, 1956, meeting of the Pacific Northwest History Conference in Tacoma a new organization, the Council on Regional Historical Research in Progress, was created. Consisting of thirty-one members from teaching, library, and nonacademic fields, the council proposes to stimulate and encourage active research in Pacific Northwest history. Those interested in Pacific Northwest history who live outside the region may request information from the council chairman, George Frykman, Washington State College, or the council secretary-treasurer, Siegfried B. Rolland, Department of History, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.

The spring Upper Midwest History Conference was held at St. John's University on May 5. Reverend Vincent Tegeder, O.S.B., presided and Professor A. C. Krey, now of the University of Texas, read a paper entitled "Monte Cassino, Metten, and Minnesota Revisited."

A European history breakfast conference will be held during the annual convention of the Southern Historical Association, Durham, North Carolina, November 15, 1956. Teachers of ancient, medieval, modern European, or English

history in southern institutions, as well as graduate students in these fields, are invited to attend. P. H. Hardacre, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, is making the arrangements.

In addition to conducting competitions for Fulbright awards, the Committee on International Exchange of Persons of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils (2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C.) recommends candidates to the Department of State for lecturing abroad under the Smith-Mundt Act. In this connection the committee is compiling a register of professors interested in overseas lecturing appointments. Such persons are asked to complete data sheets providing information on their academic training, teaching experience, publications, preference as to countries, probable periods of availability, and ability to lecture in foreign languages. The register serves as a primary source of candidates not only for Smith-Mundt grants but for any Fulbright awards not filled from the open competition. Early in the autumn of 1956 the Conference Board Committee plans to invite members of the American Historical Association who are interested in lecturing abroad, either in 1957-1958 or at some later date, to complete a data sheet. In considering whether or not to register, one should keep in mind that the requests from abroad vary greatly. Some of the major universities of western Europe desire candidates who have attained wide reputation as research scholars; elsewhere, the need may be for the talented teacher rather than for the research specialist. For some openings, young instructors are preferred to more experienced scholars. Qualities of personal adaptability are often more important, assuming sound academic preparation, than an impressive record of publication. Ability to lecture in a foreign language is sometimes a requirement, although in many countries lectures may be given in English. Exceptions are Germany (except at the Amerika Instituts), Austria, France, Italy, Spain, and most of the Latin-American republics. Historians are urged to consider registering with the committee when they receive the data sheets.

The U. S. Civil Service Commission has announced an examination for historians to fill positions in various federal agencies in the Washington, D.C., area. Positions overseas may also be filled. The following optional fields are included in this examination: National Defense, Agriculture, Diplomatic, National Park, Museum, and General. No written test is required. To qualify, applicants must have had appropriate experience including specialized experience in one of the optional fields. Appropriate college study may be substituted for part of the experience, and experience in teaching college-level courses in the social sciences or the humanities will be accepted as professional experience in these fields. Applications will be accepted until further notice and must be filed with the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D.C. Further information and application forms may be obtained from many post offices throughout the country or from the Commission in Washington.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded fellowships to the following historians: *Faculty Research Fellowships*: Donald C. Cutter, University of Southern California, research on the influence and legal status of the North American Indian in white society; Charles R. Ritcheson, Kenyon College, research on Anglo-American relations and political thought following the American Revolution. *Research Training Fellowships*: Peter J. Coleman, assistant professor, Park College, research on mercantilism in the thirteen original states, 1776-1860; Henry E. Friedlander, Ph.D. candidate, University of Pennsylvania, research in Germany on the structure and practices of a Marxian labor party; Martin J. Havran, Ph.D. candidate, Western Reserve University, research in Britain on the position of Roman Catholics in the reign of Charles I; George P. Rawick, Ph.D. candidate, University of Wisconsin, postdoctoral fellowship for training in sociology and related disciplines, in preparation for research on the history of race relations; Morton Rothstein, Ph.D. candidate, Cornell University, further study in economics and research in England on the history of the British-American wheat trade; Robert H. Wiebe, Ph.D. candidate, University of Rochester, research on the response of American businessmen to the national progressive movement, 1901-1912. *Grants-in-aid*: Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, research in the United States on British colonial policy in the American Revolution; Stephen B. Baxter, Dartmouth College, research in England on parliamentary corruption, 1660-1702; Thomas C. Bryan, North Georgia College, research on the history of gold mining in Georgia; Robert J. C. Butow, Princeton University, research in Japan on General Hideki Tojo and the role of the Japanese military in affairs of state, 1868-1945; Berlin B. Chapman, Oklahoma A. and M. College, a case study in the land history of the Otoe and Missouri Indians; Andreas Dorpalen, St. Lawrence University, research in the United States on German civilian attitudes toward the Reichswehr in the Weimar Republic; Richard W. Emery, Queens College, research in the United States on commerce, industry, and finance in Perpignan, France, 1250-1400; Norbert J. Gossman, University of Detroit, research in the United States on republicanism in Victorian England; W. Turrentine Jackson, University of California, Davis, research in the United States on the British contribution to the development of mining in western North America, 1850-1900; Henry S. Lucas, University of Washington, research in France on the role of the House of Avesnes (Hainault) in European history, 1204-1339; Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, research in the United States on the idea of history in the English Enlightenment; John H. Mundy, Barnard College, research in the United States on the social and constitutional history of Toulouse in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; Michael R. Powicke, University of Toronto, research in England on conscription and liberty in medieval Britain; Ronald V. Sires, Whitman College, research in the United States on the background of policies of the Liberal party in England, 1906-1914; John L. Snell, Tulane University, research in Europe on the origins of the Weimar Republic and the antecedents of the German Revolution of 1918; Bernard A. Weisberger,

Wayne University, research on the careers of successful American revivalists; Reynold M. Wik, Mills College, research in Europe on the influence of Henry Ford among European farmers; James H. Young, Emory University, research on the social history of patent medicines in the United States. *Grants for research on history of American military policy*: Louis Morton, deputy chief historian, Department of the Army, research on naval war plans, 1919-1938; Raymond G. O'Connor, Stanford University, research on the relation of the United States to the London Naval Conference of 1930; Sidney Ratner, Rutgers University, research on the economic history and civil-military relations of Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Japan, and the United States during World War II; William H. Riker, Lawrence College, research on measures of performance by American states of their Constitutional duties concerning the militia; Dale O. Smith, U. S. Air Force, research on civil-military relations in the United States with respect to aviation, 1903-1939; George K. Tanham, RAND Corporation, research on the co-ordination of plans and policies of the War and Navy Departments, 1898-1917. *Grants for Slavic and East European studies*: Arthur E. Adams, Michigan State University, research in the United States on the Soviet Civil War on the Ukrainian front, 1918-1921; Michael B. Petrovich, University of Wisconsin, research in the United States on modern South Slavic historiography; Boleslaw Szczesniak, University of Notre Dame, research on the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches during the Bolshevik Revolution; Wayne S. Vucinich, Stanford University, research in Europe on the foreign relations of Serbia, 1908-1914.

The Ford Foundation recently awarded 154 fellowships for training in foreign and international affairs. Most of the fellowships are intended to help increase the corps of Americans with expert knowledge of Asia, the Near East, Africa, the Soviet Union, and eastern Europe. They provide for graduate work in one of the social sciences or humanities with special reference to these foreign areas. This is the first year for the international relations fellowships. It is the fifth year the Foundation has granted fellowships for foreign-area training, and one third of this year's grants went to Fellows of previous years whose performance has been outstanding. Among the recipients are the following students and teachers in history: *International Relations Training Fellows*: John A. DeNovo, associate professor, Pennsylvania State University; Lewis J. Edinger, assistant professor, Air University; David C. Elliot, associate professor, California Institute of Technology; Walter F. Vella, research associate, Cornell University. *Asian and Near Eastern Training Fellows*: Jackson H. Bailey, graduate student, Harvard University; George M. Beckmann, associate professor, University of Kansas; Sidney D. Brown, assistant professor, Oklahoma A. and M. College; Richard L. Chambers, graduate student, Princeton University; Francis P. Corrigan, Jr., graduate student, Columbia University; James B. Crowley, graduate student, University of Michigan; Scott R. deKins, graduate student, Stanford University; Martin B. Dickson, graduate student, University of Tehran, Iran; James T. Force, graduate

student, Columbia University; Jerome B. Grieder, graduate student, Harvard University; John W. Israel, graduate student, Harvard University; Norman Itzkowitz, graduate student, Princeton University; Harold L. Kahn, graduate student, Harvard University; Marlene J. Mayo, graduate student, Columbia University; Martin Polstein, graduate student, Columbia University; Conrad Roger, graduate student, Harvard University; James Sheridan, graduate student, University of California, Berkeley; John M. Smith, Jr., graduate student, Columbia University; Burton Stein, instructor, Indiana University; Philip H. Stoddard, student, Ankara University, Turkey; Edgar B. Wickberg, graduate student, University of California, Berkeley. *African Studies Fellowship Grant*: Robert O. Collins, graduate student, Balliol College, Oxford. *Soviet and East European Training Fellows*: James M. Ealum, graduate student, Harvard University; Alan P. Gartner, undergraduate, Antioch College; Sidney Heitman, assistant professor, Colorado A. and M. College; Josephine A. Hopkins, undergraduate, Smith College; Jacob B. Hoptner, graduate student, Columbia University; Marian A. Low, graduate student, Radcliffe College; Donald M. Lowe, graduate student, University of California, Berkeley; Robert McNeal, instructor, Princeton University; George F. Putnam, graduate student, Harvard University; James A. Rogers, graduate student, Harvard University; Alfred E. Senn, graduate student, Columbia University; Joseph P. Sherman, graduate student, Michigan State University; Peter F. Sugar, graduate student, Princeton University; James J. Zatko, graduate student, University of Notre Dame.

Grants-in-aid announced for 1956-1957 by the Henry E. Huntington Library include: John A. Hawgood, University of Birmingham, the relations of Mexico and the European powers during the 1830's and '40's; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin, the history of the American Revolution, 1763-1789; and T. C. Mendenhall, Yale University, an edition of the letters of J. F. Schlezer. Paul W. Gates of Cornell University has received a fellowship for "The Struggle for Land: An Agricultural History of the United States, 1815-1860."

The James V. Forrestal Fellowship in Naval History of the United States Naval Academy has been awarded to Marshall Smelser of the University of Notre Dame for 1956-1957. He will study the thinking of the Federalist leadership on the value of sea power to the United States, 1787-1798.

Willard A. Smith of the University of Toledo has been given a grant by the Spanish government to enable him to go to Spain to do research toward a study of the regime of Primo de Rivera.

Among the twelve retired professors appointed by the John Hay Whitney Foundation to the Whitney Visiting Professors Program for 1956-1957 are Arthur C. Cole, Brooklyn College, who is serving at C. W. Post College, Greenvale, New York, and Richard A. Newhall, Williams College, who is at Colby College, Waterville, Maine.

In the eight years 1948-1955, universities in the United States awarded 2,257 doctorates in history. In 1954, 355 were awarded and in 1955, 310.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

University of Akron: Clara G. Roe named chairman of department; George Knepper promoted to assistant professor. *University of Alabama*: Frank L. Owsley, Hugo Friedman professor of history, awarded a Fulbright Fellowship at the University of Cambridge for 1956-57, Bernerd C. Weber a Fulbright research grant to study at the Royal University of Malta on the Knights of Malta in the sixteenth century; O. C. Skipper of the Mississippi State College for Women serving as visiting professor and Robert E. Johnson as visiting assistant professor; Joe B. Ezell appointed instructor. Charles G. Summersell, chairman of the department, elected president of the Alabama Historical Association. *Antioch College*: William Landeen, professor emeritus of Washington State College, appointed visiting professor for the year; Roger L. Williams, formerly of Michigan State, appointed assistant professor; Irwin Abrams on sabbatical leave in Europe. *Arizona State College* (Tempe): Harold M. Hyman appointed associate professor. *Brooklyn College*: Arthur C. Cole retired as professor and chairman of the department (see *AHR*, July); Irving W. Raymond promoted to professor, Hyman Kublin to associate professor; Abraham Eisenstadt appointed instructor. *University of California* (Berkeley): George H. Guttridge named chairman of the department, succeeding James F. King; William J. Bouwsma, of the University of Illinois, serving as visiting professor for the year. *University of California* (Davis): W. Turrentine Jackson promoted to professor. *Canisius College*: William R. Kenny appointed instructor. *Catawba College* (Salisbury, N.C.): Glenn Weaver appointed associate professor. *University of Chicago*: Hans Rothfels, professor of history, has retired. William T. Hutchinson named Preston and Sterling Morton professor of American history; Leopold Haimson and Stephen N. Hay, both of Harvard, appointed assistant professor and instructor, respectively.

Clark University: Robert F. Campbell on leave of absence; Herbert J. Bass appointed instructor for 1956-57. *Coe College* Albert J. Schmidt promoted to associate professor. *University of Colorado*: Robert G. Athearn promoted to professor, Vincent W. Beach, Hal Bridges, and Robert P. Browder to associate professors, and Carl Ubbelohde to assistant professor. James G. Allen on leave for the year to work on a project including a further volume of British Commonwealth editorials and a study of the significance of the reformers in English history of the early nineteenth century. Robert P. Browder on leave to edit two volumes on the Provisional Government at the Hoover Library; Earl Swisher on leave for two

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

years as director of the Asia Foundation's program in the Far East, with headquarters in Formosa; S. Harrison Thomson on leave during the fall at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton to work on a comparative study of later Latin paleography. *Colorado State College of Education* (Greeley): Thomas Stirton appointed to division of the social studies. *Columbia University*: Henry L. Roberts promoted to professor and appointed director of the Russian Institute; Walter L. Dorn, of Ohio State University, appointed professor of modern European history; John H. Mundy, formerly of Barnard College, appointed associate professor of medieval history and transferred to the graduate division; Peter Gay, previously of the department of public law, transferred to department of history as assistant professor; Richard Lemay appointed lecturer in the School of General Studies; James Shenton and Andrew Whiteside promoted to assistant professors, the former in Columbia College and the latter in the School of General Studies. *Cornell University*: Marc Szeftel promoted to professor. *DePauw University*: George A. Manhart, chairman of the department, has become professor emeritus, but continues part-time teaching; Andrew W. Crandall appointed chairman of the department; Dwight L. Ling promoted to assistant professor; John L. Shover appointed instructor. *Georgia State College* (formerly Atlanta Division, University of Georgia): John A. Alexander named chairman of the department; Henry T. Malone promoted to associate professor; Mae S. Ringold appointed assistant professor and A. Taber Green appointed instructor. *Gettysburg College*: Basil L. Crapster promoted to associate professor. *Hamline University*: Clarence W. Rife has retired with the rank of professor emeritus. *Harpur College, State University of New York* (Endicott): Sidney S. Harcave appointed chairman of the division of social sciences for 1956-59; Robert Neil McLarty appointed assistant professor, and Richard D. Face, instructor. *Harvard University*: H. Stuart Hughes appointed professor, effective July 1, 1957 (he will remain at Stanford University for the current academic year); S. E. Thorne appointed professor of legal history; Benjamin I. Schwartz promoted to associate professor of history and government. *Hofstra College*: Benjamin Nelson, formerly of the University of Minnesota, appointed professor of history and social science and chairman of the department of sociology and co-ordinator of the new experimental integrated social science program. *Hunter College*: Madeleine H. Rice promoted to associate professor. *University of Idaho*: Frederic C. Church, professor and chairman of the department, retired after thirty-five years of service; William S. Greever named chairman of department; Charles A. LeGuin, formerly of Emory University, appointed assistant professor. *University of Illinois*: Frederick C. Dietz retired September 1; J. W. Swain succeeds him as chairman of the department; Bryce Lyon, formerly of Harvard, appointed associate professor; Norman A. Graebner, of Iowa State College, serving as visiting professor for the year; Lucille Shay granted sabbatical leave for research in Italy. *Illinois State Normal University*: Robert G. Bone, formerly professor of history and assistant provost of the University of Illi-

nois, named president. *Institute of Early American History and Culture* (Williamsburg): Newly elected council members: Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton; Lawrence Henry Gipson, Lehigh; Philip M. Hamer, National Historical Publications Commission; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College. Walter M. Whitehill, Boston Athenaeum, re-elected to council and to chairmanship of council and of executive committee. Clifford K. Shipton, American Antiquarian Society, elected vice-chairman of council, and John R. Alden secretary. Lawrence W. Towner, formerly associate editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, replaces Lester J. Cappon as editor. Michael G. Hall appointed research associate. *University of Kentucky*: Carl Cone and James F. Hopkins promoted to professors. *Library of Congress*: Katharine E. Brand has resigned; Joseph C. Vance, formerly of the Clinch Valley College of the University of Virginia and the Alderman Library, appointed head of the recent manuscripts section of the Manuscripts Division. *Louisiana College* (Pineville): E. Frank Masingill appointed assistant professor.

Massachusetts State Teachers College (Bridgewater): Stephanie O. Husek appointed professor. *University of Miami*: Duane Koenig promoted to professor. *University of Michigan*: Palmer A. Throop promoted to professor; John W. Baldwin and Jacob M. Price appointed instructors. *Michigan State University*: Elmer B. Lyon retired after thirty-two years of continuous service; Thomas H. Greer promoted to professor. *University of Minnesota*: Clarke Chambers promoted to associate professor. *Montana State University* Robert T. Turner, chairman of the department, named dean of the College of Arts and Sciences; Oscar J. Hammen succeeds him as chairman. Jules A. Karlin promoted to associate professor; Stephen B. Barnwell and Paul A. Carter appointed assistant professors. *Muhlenberg College*: H. Dunseth Wood promoted to assistant professor. *Nebraska State Historical Society*: William D. Aeschbacher named director. *New York University*: Henry B. Parkes on leave to lecture on American studies under a Fulbright grant at the University of Athens during 1956-57. *Northwestern University*: Leften S. Stavrianos promoted to professor and Roger F. Hackett to assistant professor. *Oberlin College*: Barry McGill promoted to assistant professor. *Ohio State University*: Warner F. Woodring, professor of history, has retired. Robert H. Bremner and Harry L. Coles promoted to associate professors, and Philip P. Poirier and R. Clayton Roberts to assistant professors. *Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*: Alfred Levin awarded a Fulbright grant and sabbatical leave to go to Finland for research on the Third Imperial Duma; Berlin B. Chapman and Sidney D. Brown on leave, 1956-57; Milton I. Vanger appointed instructor.

University of Oregon: Earl S. Pomeroy on sabbatical leave, replaced by Ramon Ruiz as acting assistant professor; Vernon F. Snow promoted to assistant professor and on leave for the year, replaced by Joseph M. Gallanar of Johns Hopkins; Ramsay MacMullen and Gustave Alef appointed instructors. Gordon Wright reappointed as chairman of the department for three years. *Park College* (Mis-

souri): Howard S. Greenlee, formerly associate dean and professor of history at Southwestern University, appointed dean. *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*: Earle W. Newton, formerly editor of *American Heritage*, appointed director of the Bureau of Museums, Historic Sites and Properties. *Pennsylvania State University*: Robert K. Murray promoted to associate professor; H. Trevor Colbourn, Malcolm Freiberg, John E. Pixton, and Edward C. Thaden promoted to assistant professors. *Portland State College* (Oregon): Basil Dmytryshyn appointed assistant professor. *Princeton University*: Hans Rosenberg of Brooklyn College awarded Shreve Fellowship for current academic year. *Rice Institute*: Frank E. Vandiver promoted to associate professor. *Rider College* (Trenton, N. J.): A. Cyrus Warner appointed assistant professor. *University of Rochester*: Glyndon G. Van Deusen, chairman of the department, named Watson professor of history, succeeding Dexter Perkins. *School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University* (Washington, D.C.): Vernon McKay, formerly of the Department of State, appointed professor of African studies. *Smith College*: Lenore O'Boyle, formerly of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, appointed to history staff. *Southern Illinois University*: Harold E. Briggs resigned from chairmanship of the department to devote full time to teaching and research. *Stanford University*: Ernst L. Presseisen appointed instructor for 1956-57. *Syracuse University*: W. Freeman Galpin became professor emeritus in June, 1956, but will continue to be employed in writing a history of the university; A. Robert Schoyen, formerly of the University of Delaware, appointed assistant professor.

Temple University: Daniel M. Fisk and Raymond B. Munson both retired in June, 1955; each had served in the department since 1928. John S. Kramer promoted to professor. *Texas Christian University*: G. G. Arnakis, formerly of the University of Texas, appointed professor. *Tufts University*: Ruhl J. Bartlett has discontinued his teaching and chairmanship of the department in the College to devote full time to teaching and research in the Fletcher School of International Law and Diplomacy; Albert H. Imlah appointed chairman of the department and granted sabbatical leave for first semester; Freeland K. Abbott and Russell E. Miller promoted to associate professorships. *Tulane University*: John L. Snell promoted to associate professor; W. Burlie Brown promoted to assistant professor; Charles T. Davis appointed instructor. *University of Virginia*: Thomas T. Hammond on leave for study in France under a Fulbright grant, 1956-57. *University of Washington*: Giovanni Costigan on sabbatical leave in England and Ireland; Charles M. George appointed acting assistant professor and Ralph E. Giesey appointed instructor. *Washington College* (Chestertown, Maryland): William M. Armstrong appointed associate professor and chairman of the department of history and political science. *Westminster College* (Pennsylvania): Delber L. McKee named chairman of the department; James A. Duran, Jr., appointed instructor. *Whittier College*: John A. Schutz promoted to professor; Harry Nerhood

on sabbatical during 1956-57; C. Herman Nixon appointed visiting professor and Wayne Miller visiting instructor for 1956-57. *Williams College*: Richard A. Newhall has retired as Brown professor of history; Robert C. L. Scott is acting chairman of the department; Charles R. Keller granted leave of absence; Charles Nauert, formerly of Bowdoin, and Orville T. Murphy, formerly of the University of Minnesota, appointed instructors. *Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*: Richmond Dean Williams, formerly of Williams College, appointed director. *Yale University*: George Vernadsky retired in June after twenty-nine years on the faculty; Cushing Strout awarded a Yale Morse Fellowship and leave of absence for research and writing during 1956-57; Dudley W. R. Bahlman, William R. Emerson, Cushing Strout, Ralph T. Fisher, Mario Rodriguez, and Winton U. Solberg promoted to assistant professorships.

RECENT DEATHS

Francis Hagar Squire, professor of history, dean of the school of arts and science and dean of the university at the University of Delaware, died suddenly in London on April 26, 1956, at the age of fifty-three. Born in Westfield, Massachusetts, in 1902, he was graduated from Yale in 1925 and received his doctorate there in 1935, with a thesis, written under the direction of Wallace Notestein, on the English country gentleman in the early seventeenth century. In 1927 he joined the faculty of the University of Delaware, where he remained until the year of his death, except for a brief return to Yale in the 1930's and for two and a half years of service in the Naval Aviation Training Command during World War II. He became chairman of the department of history in 1941 and was appointed dean in 1945 upon his release from the Navy. In February, 1956, he went to England on sabbatical leave to continue his studies of the early Stuart period. A brilliant teacher and a wise and sympathetic dean, he was loved by the students he taught and by the colleagues whose burdens he shared.

Robert J. G. McClurkin, an American diplomat assigned to the Imperial War College in England, died May 6 at the age of forty-four. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1938.

Hiram Bingham, author, explorer, historian, and public figure, died June 6 at the age of eighty. He had been a life member of the American Historical Association since 1900.

Fletcher Pratt, author of many books on Civil War and American naval history, died June 10 at the age of fifty-nine.

Louis Madelin, historian and member of the Académie Française, died August 20 at the age of eighty-five. Among the works which brought him fame are

Fouché (1901); *La Rome de Napoléon* (1904); his volume on the French Revolution, which won the Gobert Prize of the Académie and was published in 1911 in the "National History of France" series edited by Funck-Brentano; a later volume in the same series, *The Consulate and the Empire; Histoire politique de 1815 à 1804* in the "Histoire de la nation française" series edited by Gabriel Hanotaux; biographies of Danton (1912), Napoleon (1934), and Talleyrand (1944); and two volumes on battles of World War I.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor M. L. W. Laistner's criticisms (*American Historical Review*, LXI [1955-56], 613-14) of the form in which Professor Westermann's *Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* appeared—more specifically, of the inconsistency in citation and the failure to adjust citations to the list of abbreviations—make it necessary for me to record the grounds for the decision which permitted those inconsistencies to remain in the published edition. This decision was prompted by the fact that, since two thirds of the book was in page proof when the work came to my hands, the alterations required to produce the consistency in question would have involved very great, therefore unjustifiable, expense. Considerable expense and effort were, however, devoted to an attempt to assure clarity of text and citation, and I am pleased to note that Professor Laistner has recognized that the solid merits of the work have in no way been lessened by the external form in which it appeared.

An additional consequence of the necessity to deal with most of the work at the late stage of page proof was that it was impossible then to undertake a thoroughgoing verification of printer's copy—which had been handled by readers, other than myself, of several different categories. Hence, while I did undertake a very considerable amount of verification, and while I made a very considerable number of changes and corrections of misprints (the "Editor's Note," not mine, following the Preface of the book was not added without knowledge), my procedure, in general, was to verify copy only when something seemed suspect. Owing to the demands of this procedure—superimposed upon the normal requirement of close attention—the misprints which Professor Laistner refers to ("... more particularly, the number of missing accents in Greek quotations or in the titles of French and German books . . ."), I regret to say, were not caught. I can reduce by a little the number of oversights reckoned by Professor Laistner—and, at the same time, illustrate the difficulty in catching certain misprints in connection with the titles of foreign books—by pointing to the justified inference that some of the mistakes he reckoned were in the citation of the fundamental encyclopedia in the field of classical studies where Professor Westermann's *Sklaverei* appeared, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll *et al.*, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, for which Professor Laistner has the spelling (p. 613) *Realenzyklopädie*—a spelling not found in the Wissowa edition since its inception in 1894, nor in the original Pauly edition (1839-52).

Barnard College, Columbia University

JOHN DAY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

My withers are unwrung. Mr. Day's first point is that Westermann was responsible, at least in part, for inconsistencies in abbreviation. Why was this fact not made clear in the Editor's Note to the Preface and a statement added that it would have been too costly to make all the necessary changes?

When I wrote my review, an offprint, given me by the author, of Westermann's original article was before me. The second word on the outer cover, which I enclose for your information, is *Realenzyklopädie*. Mr. Day's concluding remarks seem to imply that he is not familiar with the German original. If he were, he would know that the proofreading of that article was impeccably done and that the accents and umlauts are there, all present and correct.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Many readers of this journal, including those, like myself, who applaud the more critical tone of recent reviews, will read Alfred Vagts' review of Gordon A. Craig's *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640-1945* with regret. The Vagts review is *narrow* (criticism of Craig's preoccupation with the "grosse Politik" of the army), *pedantic* (pointing to mistakes in "the minutiae of noble names and the like" as evidence that "factual errors" in the book "are not rare"), and *unfair* (criticism of Craig for his failure to use Gerhard Ritter's volume on Goerdeler, a book which had not been published when Craig completed his history). Ritter himself regards the Craig study as *Geschichte*, not as a *Geschichtserzählung*, a label which Vagts used disparagingly to describe this volume. Readers of this journal who desire a serious evaluation of the Craig study as history will do well to consult Ritter's own highly competent and critical appreciation in the January, 1956, number of the *Journal of Central European Affairs*, which rightly recognizes it as the product of years of work, an admirable seriousness of purpose, and a depth of thought which is as desirable as it is rare in this age of science, pseudo-science, and new witchcrafts.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I cannot help thinking Mr. Snell a bit *vorschnell*, precipitate, in his protest against my review of Craig's book, finding in it evidence of "pseudo-science and new witchcrafts." (How my late fatherly friend George Burr, the historian of witchcraft, would have enjoyed having black magic detected in me at last!) There will be better occasions, I trust, to make use of such grand condemnatory epithets than my modest and, as I thought, and still think, appreciative review.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In the article entitled "A Survey of United States Historians, 1952," by J. F. Wellenmeyer, which appeared in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1956,

pp. 339-52, the author cited the following statistics: only 326 of the historians actively teaching in colleges and universities were women; 9 per cent of the graduate students and 40 per cent of the retired historians. The median age of women historians was 46, whereas that of men was 40. Women teaching in colleges received a median salary \$700 lower than men. "The low percentage of women in the profession may reflect their reluctance to enter it because of discrimination against them in the field."

Foreigners coming to our shores sometimes say that cultural traditions are being kept alive by women's clubs rather than by men. This is a service, but where a woman has the ability to be a prominent historian, why should there be discrimination just because she is a woman? A young man starting on a career wants an even chance to show his ability and to compete for rewards. Women historians ask for the same equality of opportunity. Too many times, they are not even given a chance. How often do heads of departments, asked to recommend young scholars for beginning appointments, give names of promising young women as well as young men? Is there something about history, as compared with political science, languages, or natural sciences, that excludes competence on the basis of sex? There needs to be, first, a revolution in the minds of some men historians and, secondly, the opening of posts to women in men's institutions before women historians will cease to feel discrimination and will enjoy an equal opportunity with men.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

Assistant Editor's Note

The editor has kindly turned over this space to me for a few suggestions on technical matters. Future contributors to the *Review* will help the printing process enormously if they will heed the following, wherever applicable: (1) Type *all* manuscripts double space, with generous margins. (2) Send us the ribbon copy, use a legible ribbon (better than faintly legible, please), and keep a carbon copy for reference and in case of loss. (3) Type footnotes, double space, on separate sheets at the end of an article. (Don't worry; they will turn up in print at the bottoms of the appropriate pages!) The printer sets footnotes separately, in a smaller size type than the text; he has to read every mark, no matter how insignificant it may seem to you; and, considering the multilingual nature of most of your sources, this is no small feat. Give him a break! Spell out the first, as well as the last, names of the authors you cite, give accurate titles, insert in parentheses the place and date of publication, and the edition if not the first, cite volume numbers in roman numerals, use p. or pp. before page numbers unless preceded by a volume number. Give the depository where a manuscript collection is located and cite manuscripts consistently and in a way that will enable an interested searcher to find them. (4) Try to say what you mean the first time, but, if you must make a correction in galley proof, please do not add or delete a word or

phrase at the beginning of a long paragraph without compensating for it. Resetting is expensive, and subject to errors.

Now, having admonished you—and only a few are truly guilty—I turn you over, chastened I hope, to my successor, Miss Nancy Hall Kane. By the time you see this, the forty-ninth issue of the *Review* to be subjected to my blue pencil, I shall be coping with new problems as associate editor of the University of Chicago Press. It will be a change and a challenge—but I'll miss you!

CATHARINE SEYBOLD

[EDITOR'S NOTE: And we will miss Miss Seybold.]

Announcement

All communications to the
American Historical Review
and the American Historical
Association should be sent to
the new address:

400 A Street, S.E.,
Washington 3, D.C.

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We Shall Gladly Teach*

DEXTER PERKINS

A LARGE proportion of the members of the American Historical Association are college teachers. Yet in seventy-odd years of the history of this organization no presidential address has directly dealt with the central function of our profession. We have had committees to deal with the question of history in the schools; we have recently shown an acute awareness of the important fact that we have, over the long pull, become increasingly out of touch with secondary education and that something ought to be done about it. In the university world, as we face increasingly complex problems, we are perhaps more aware than we used to be of the significance of classroom activity in stimulating the young people of our land. But still the fact remains that no President of the Association has ever addressed himself directly to the problem of college teaching. I propose tonight to do this.

It is not perhaps strange that things have been as they are. Like most people, we philosophize too little with regard to the profession which we have had the happiness to adopt. We are engaged in highly agreeable work—paid,

* Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association, Sheraton-Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, December 29, 1956.

as Carl Becker used to say, for doing precisely the thing which we most want to do. We occupy positions of some prestige in the societies in which we live. Though many of us carry heavier burdens than we ought to carry, from the standpoint of our intellectual growth, and have less time for meditation and reflection than we ought to have, we enjoy a certain freedom from routine that is immensely satisfying; we live for the most part in an atmosphere free from external constraints; and we are not subjected to the painful necessity, obvious in the case of the administrator or the businessman, of making significant day-to-day decisions on which the fortunes of others may depend. It is no wonder, therefore, that we do not ask ourselves, as often as we might, the central questions as to just what we intend to accomplish by our labors and, more specifically, how we are to view our function as teachers and make that function more effective.

In answering these questions, or in trying to answer them, I intend to take no narrow view of the place of the historian. There are eminent men in our profession whose gifts do not lie in the classroom. There are certainly other ways of serving God than by talking to undergraduates, or even to graduates. There are values to be communicated artlessly as well as by taking thought. It is possible to do a big job in the world without ever asking why, to fire young men and young women by one's gifts of enthusiasm, of industry, of inquiry, not so much purposefully as by the very force and range of one's mind and character. Yet when all this is said, it still seems to me that we are under some compulsion to inquire whether, in this year of grace 1956, we have thought enough of the problem of teaching, of its social significance, and of the central concepts which ought to play a part in our instruction.

The problem is particularly important at the present time. We know, in the first place, that the colleges are going to grow portentously in the course of the next decade. The Report of the Committee of Fifteen on the Graduate School of Today and Tomorrow, published by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, which I commend to your attention, estimates that the number of college students, now about 2.7 million, will reach 3.2 million by 1960, and 6.4 million by 1970. To serve our present students, we have 190,000 college teachers. If the present teacher-student ratio is to be maintained, we shall need 250,000 college teachers by 1960, and 495,000 by 1970. We have here an urgent problem that we must face and that, even with the best will in the world, we will have great difficulty in solving.

In the second place, we shall have to admit (some of us reluctantly) that the trend in the American academic world is more and more vocational. This is not entirely to be deplored. The American college is one of the great mechanisms by which we maintain social fluidity, and social fluidity is one

of the deepest values of American life. The application of the scholarly attitude to problems outside the traditional and older disciplines is also one of the distinctive features—and one of the useful features—of our society. Nonetheless, a subject like history is in a somewhat exposed situation in this kind of educational world. Where its values are practical and immediate, they are likely to be appropriated by other disciplines; where they are more general, they may well be neglected or depreciated. We have seen a process of decline in classical studies; we have seen and are seeing such important branches of history as medieval history threatened; we may see the area of interest further narrowed.

But there is a bigger reason than this why we should occupy ourselves with the problem of teaching. We have tended, as it seems to me, to exalt the written over the spoken word in the practice of our profession. Both carry their special messages, but for most of us the possibility of reaching large audiences through what we write is not great. Our best chance of making some impact on others will come through the influence we can exert in the classroom, through the enthusiasms we kindle, through the interests we arouse, through the wisdom that history teaches and that we can strive to disseminate. Here, as I see it, for all but the greatest and most imaginative scholar, is our greatest chance of usefulness, our largest hope. The young men and women who participate in our instruction are eager and anxious to learn from us; they are capable of benefiting by our multiplied historical experience; they may be warmed by our personalities and fired with a generous view of life and a wider view of knowledge. Are we making the most of our opportunities? These questions I cannot fail to ask, nor can I fail to try to answer them.

But let us not misunderstand one another. I intend, most certainly, no depreciation of what is called, sometimes a little exaggeratedly, productive scholarship. For the college teacher, instruction and research are both fundamental. They ought not to be separated. There is no real dichotomy between them; they are two faces of the same problem. It should be clear, even to the most enthusiastic teacher, that research is, in some sense of the word, indispensable to the effective practice of his profession. We need to be ever-inquiring if we are to be effective teachers. It is easy to let our instruction degenerate into routine; to give the same lectures year after year, with the same stale jokes in the same context, with the same unexplored generalizations drawn from the same available secondary works, and with the same sometimes soporific effect upon the innocent victims of our instruction. To be worthy of our calling, we must possess, first of all, the instinct to go on learning. When a teacher has ceased to ask questions, when he has ceased, in other

words, to cultivate the spirit of research, he has ceased to be effective. Many years ago Professor Robert Matteson Johnston of Harvard put the matter cogently in one of his seminars. He said of the classroom teacher that we learn by example in this world. A good teacher is an example of a man thinking, and somehow or other the example of a man thinking may, by the grace of God, communicate itself to some of those around him. Our subject is a vast one—since it concerns the totality of human experience, the vastest of all themes. Each of its parts, the intellectual life of man, his systems of economic and political organization, his religion, his arts, his science, and all the rest of it, is interrelated. We can never know enough to teach as we would like to teach. We must always be acquiring new insights, asking new questions. Furthermore, we are in grave danger of imprecision. It is, of course, the mark of a poor teacher that he never generalizes, that he confines himself to mere episode, mere narrative. But it is also the mark of a poor teacher if he generalizes wildly, with inadequate data. Research is the means by which we discipline ourselves, by which we make ourselves more careful, more accurate, and more profound.

It is possible to go further. There is an intellectual excitement in the process of research that can be communicated to others. To make it clear that it is fun to learn, fun to explore, fun to “follow knowledge like a sinking star,” is to perform a service. In the complex world of today it has become more than ever necessary to penetrate deeper into the facts. Every practical question, as well as those not practical, is a question of scholarship. It ought to be interesting and challenging so to regard it.

There is, then, no quarrel between the man who emphasizes teaching and the man who emphasizes research. But before we leave the latter subject, we may perhaps for a moment examine the question whether our present attitude toward research has not led us into some pitfalls and created for us some problems. Scholars—such as we profess to be—ought to be imbued with the spirit of humility; and one of the questions that we may ask ourselves with propriety is whether, in our zeal for research, we have not lost, or may lose, or are in some danger of losing, the art of communication with large numbers of people by concentrating our attention on communicating—not always in a very attractive style—with a few people. What we write for each other is useful; it extends the boundaries of knowledge—sometimes—and it helps us to see old problems in a new light, or to discover new problems. We usually praise each other's works in the historical reviews, and this is undoubtedly good for our collective egos. But is this enough? How able are we, I ask again, to communicate with an important audience? How far in the long run are we able to make our noble subject better understood in a big way? Is it not

significant that so many of the Pulitzer prizes in history and so many of the book-of-the-month club books on history are written by nonprofessional historians? Is it not significant that so many of us do not get beyond our doctor's theses and that these often require—or at least ought to have—extensive revision before publication? To do research supremely well might perhaps be enough satisfaction for any man. But, if we view the matter squarely, we see that there may well be a question whether our social contribution is everything that we would like to have it.

There is another aspect to the question on which we may well reflect. We have often been told that advance in the natural sciences has owed much to plain natural curiosity. Research that has no practical relevance, that is perhaps only remotely related to the existing body of knowledge, that derives purely and simply from a desire to know more about the nature of the universe, may lay the foundation for significant progress of a much more concrete character. An abstract thinker like Einstein may, through his speculation, have an enormous influence upon the application of science to life. No fact about the natural world is so insignificant that it cannot conceivably be related to a broad pattern of profound value. Oftentimes, by analogy, we are told that all historical research is valuable, irrespective of its perceived implications. But is the analogy sound? Is it really true that, in our own field of history, one subject is just as important as another? Do we, in our graduate work, reflect sufficiently on the relationship of this or that particular field of research to the larger pattern of the past? Of course we need not, and should not, in our explorations, seek immediate utility. To do this would be to constrict and limit our field to an intolerable degree, to turn a universal discipline into a mere handmaiden of other subjects, especially those most immediately concerned with the contemporary world. But is it unreasonable to ask, when we undertake or suggest a piece of research, that it should bear some relationship to a broad pattern, that it should be more than an isolated intellectual adventure (appealing as that can be), that it should be also a contribution to some larger conception of the past? There is another way of saying the same thing. Some of the most fruitful research is often the asking of questions about matters with which we are already familiar (the age of Jackson, for instance, or the age of reform) in an attempt to develop new insights rather than to explore the hitherto unexplored. Such researches may or may not be wholly justified in terms of the interpretation which results. But they are decidedly stimulating. They proceed, as pedestrian research usually does not, from a kind of intellectual audacity very far removed from the exhaustive interpretation of some subject which scarcely ties in with any broad conception of history.

We should do better, perhaps, if, in the direction of our students, we gave more consideration to the possibility of reinterpretation of fields already covered as compared with digging away at obscure facts, in an obscure area, in an obscure way. Do we really need to know, to borrow from Carl Becker, "whether Charles the Fat was at Ingelheim or Lustnau on July 1, 1887?" It is a fair question whether we do not sometimes kill the very spirit that we wish to foster, the spirit of exciting and excited inquiry into the past, by directing our students' attention to matters which fail to challenge them and turn what ought to be a highly intellectual adventure into a dreary kind of grubbing. And by the time the victim has completed his study, he may have lost all sense of the grandeur and scope of history, and he may find it difficult to think in bold or even in general terms of the vast pageant of the past.

Years ago, when I was an undergraduate at Harvard, the Reverend Samuel MacChord Crothers delivered an address to the honor students on what he called "The Retrospective Re-education of Doctors of Philosophy." I have been unable to recapture this address. But the title itself suggests well enough what he was talking about. He was pleading for the large view, for the broad understanding of a subject, as compared with the intensive cultivation of a small area. He was resting his case on the stock definition of a specialist as a man who knows more and more about less and less.

But let us return to the subject of teaching. We agree that the best teachers must also be scholars, that they must always be asking questions, always expanding, deepening, and broadening their own knowledge. We agree, I hope, that they must always be looking for insights as well as for new facts. But we are only at the beginning of our inquiry. How shall we make certain that they know how to teach, and what values are we to expect them to communicate?

The answer to these questions lies on two levels. It involves, in the first place, a matter of selection and training. It involves, in the second place, the deeper values which give history its dignity and meaning.

Is it not possible to improve our methods of preparation for a teaching career in history? Are we getting the right people? Are we training them in the right way? Are we fixing for them the right standards?

There is certainly no easy answer to the first of these questions. Undoubtedly, part of the problem is financial. We need more fellowships for graduate study in history; we need higher standards of compensation for our profession in general. But there is another facet to the matter. We cannot ourselves treat teaching casually, or as a mere interruption of something more important. The quality of our students will depend in no small degree upon the personal enthusiasm for our subject that we can communicate. The more

glow there is in our instruction, the more successfully will we recruit the teachers of the future. If our work is central to us, it will become central to them. We need, too, to be less obsessed than many of us are by grades acquired in the course of an undergraduate career. Some of the very ablest graduate students will turn out to have very unpromising undergraduate records, just as some of the top men in law or medical school will. Young men and young women mature at different speeds. They are not finished at commencement. Furthermore, some of those with the most formidable number of "A's" may lack entirely the fundamental gift of communication or even a genuine "feel" for our subject. They may be mere prodigies of memory, without originality or that sympathetic attitude toward others which has so much to do with success in the classroom. Once a college student has had his enthusiasm aroused, he may show unexpected power and atone for deficiencies in his undergraduate career. But the dull dog who thinks only in terms of marks and attained them without much else to commend him is very likely beyond redemption. We need to think more of the total personality and less of the score sheet and the aptitude test in selecting and encouraging our graduate students.

After we get our graduate students, what then? Can we not in the first place pay a little more attention to teaching in our training for the doctorate? As matters stand, we often give candidates for the Ph.D. an opportunity to earn a little money on the side by classroom instruction. And then, too often, we forget all about them and leave them completely on their own. They deserve better of us than this. They deserve to be watched, to be improved, to be understood and evaluated.

On the lowest level the problem is a technical one. There are a few things to be learned, no doubt, with regard to method. To speak slowly, and so that you can be heard; to make the big facts stand out from the subordinate ones, in other words, to develop the gift of emphasis; to avoid ponderosity and flippancy alike; to talk, not to read; to present a subject as a related whole—these and similar matters are no doubt worth a little attention. Errors with regard to them can be pointed out effectively, if we take the trouble to visit the classes of our graduate students and see what it is they are doing wrong.

But there is a deeper aspect to teaching. Students must be made to feel that this work is not merely an honorable way of finding the funds for their graduate education, but that it has central significance, that the success they have in it will have something to do with the recommendations we give them and with their professional success. We must genuinely know what they are like and be able to answer with positiveness and, it is to be hoped, with enthusiasm when we are asked about them for jobs. Let us make an end of this

miserable matter of recommending for teaching positions young men and young women of whose capacities as teachers we have little exact knowledge and who, whatever their learning, lack the gifts required of them in our noble calling.

I would, as a matter of fact, go further. For every promising graduate student, it seems to me, the preparation of a lecture, or a series of lectures, should be a part of training. I do not mean a highly specialized report such as we get in some of our seminars; I mean a lecture of the kind that he will have to give when he enters the world of teaching. The best of the graduate students ought to have a chance at the undergraduates. If this is not feasible, then there might well be a graduate seminar in which the participants lecture to one another, with subjects of the scope they will present in the classroom. It would do no harm, either, if they learned to conduct a discussion and demonstrated their ability to conduct such a discussion in a stimulating manner, indicating that they had grasped the essentials of a significant problem in a way that showed real insight.

This brings us to the general examination. The idea of the general examination is, in my view, highly meritorious. Here, indeed, is a kind of provision for a wide range of knowledge, as compared with the intensive cultivation of a small field. There are, however, some criticisms to be made of it. One is that it sets an exaggerated value on memory alone, on the ability to memorize large bodies of facts and present them to an admiring audience in a relatively brief space of time. After all, a well-trained person is under no very great difficulty in getting more and more facts as he goes along. Of course the power, the capacity, to absorb and retain is valuable. But let us not rate it too highly. There is plenty of time ahead in which to learn. And there are some students who show up badly in an examination which seems to them crucial, but who have very great merits indeed. At any rate, let us not think that a man ought to be judged on this one test. There are many qualities that go to make a successful teacher besides memory. Enthusiasm, insight, the humane spirit—all these are essential.

If we think of the general examination in terms of teaching, there are perhaps other criticisms that will occur to us. Should the fields chosen not be integrated in some degree with what are the most likely teaching programs for the candidate? Should they not sometimes (and oftener than they do) fall outside the field of history? Is it possible, for example, for a man to teach American history well if he has not had a good grounding in economics? Is it not desirable, in connection with work for the degree, to have every candidate familiarize himself with the philosophy of history? It is not that Brooks Adams in *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, or Spengler with his

demoniac worship of power, or Croce with his inveterate relativism have any of them reached the ultimate in historical speculation. But is it not particularly worth while to bring students into contact with men who have thought in broad terms with regard to the significance of historical materials?

Finally, with regard to our technical problems, should we not revise the work for the master's degree and make that degree more meaningful in terms of capacity to teach? We shall, in all likelihood, not be able to supply the market with Ph.D.'s of sufficient numbers and high quality. Should we not give some thought to a master's program directly related to instruction at the college level?

And now we come to the ultimate problem which transcends all questions of method. How is the historical scholar to be both broad and deep? How is he to maintain standards of precision, of exactitude, of faithfulness to the spirit of research, and at the same time spread himself over a large range? What is he to do in a world in which the body of historical literature is continually accumulating at an awesome rate? What is he to do, particularly if he is an American historian in the modern field, in a world in which important political transactions are carried on over the telephone, in which international dealings are frequently on a verbal basis, in which the records of business concerns are portentously voluminous, in which the mass of the data grows and grows? How is he at the same time to be "definitive" and to keep his eye on the large and fertilizing conceptions which make history both interesting and valuable?

The answer to this question, as I see it, is something like this. We cannot teach any broad course to undergraduates and live up to the standard of precise scholarship which we would wish to attain and for which we must strive. But what we can do, and what we should be trying to do, is to set a pattern with regard to the past that has value for young men and young women. It is for us a cardinal responsibility to find that pattern; it will be one thing for one teacher and something else for another—but some *Weltanschauung*, some fundamental intellectual and moral attitude, that we must have. For history is in the last analysis a point of view; and the undergraduates who listen to us, long after they have forgotten the facts we communicated to them, will remember the point of view.

I venture, therefore, in what follows, to illustrate this general theme. I do so not in the spirit of one who lays down the law but in the spirit of one who makes some suggestions that may be of use to others. And my illustrations will, of course, be chiefly drawn from that American history which I know best.

Now the first thing to be stressed, it seems to me, is that we shall do less

than justice to our subject if we think of it in the narrow terms of its practical usefulness in solving the problems of the present. History is useful in this sense, and we have certainly no reason to be ashamed of this fact. There is scarcely another discipline, even the sciences, that is not enriched and deepened and better adapted to the handling of a contemporary issue by some study of the past. There is more recognition of this fact than there used to be. The best political scientists are steeped in the historical study of American institutions. The best economists know full well that they cannot grapple with the problem of deflation or reflation, or of wages and prices, without some thorough grounding in the years that are gone. The best students of international relations—at least so I hope—realize that you cannot understand American foreign policy if you understand only the last ten minutes of it or fail to pay regard to the complex of ideas and habits and institutions that have helped to form the international mores of the American people. If our subject has been captured by others, and more and more used by others, this is occasion for rejoicing rather than jealousy.

But we cannot conceive of history in these narrowly empirical terms. To do so not only would leave no important place for the medievalist, or the classicist, or the student of the age of rationalism, to choose just a few examples, but would be—and this is far more important—a gross perversion of the very heart of our calling. We—and we alone with the philosophers—still place our faith in, and rest our profession on, the ancient Latin maxim, “*humani nihil a me alienum puto*.” We alone, and the philosophers, must assert in an age of increasing specialization the majestic doctrine that it is man’s duty to know and inquire with regard to everything that concerns him. We alone, with the philosophers, have an opportunity to communicate to our students that sense of excitement which comes from the very broadest view of human activity.

It is difficult, to be sure, to reconcile this view with the tendency toward segmentation that exhibits itself in academic programs, so far as departments of history are concerned. But the opportunity is there. Take, for example, the field of diplomatic history. This field has been largely concerned with the documents, in the narrow sense of the term. But surely more can be made of it. In the last fifty years the study of the past has been much enriched by the changing fashions of our times. Economic history has followed on political history, social history on economic history, intellectual history on social history. Surely it is time for the historians of foreign policy—and there should certainly be such—to refresh and invigorate and enlarge their narrative by giving it a broader focus. How can we talk of the events of the 1930’s without giving more emphasis than we have given to the great depression, and how can we talk of the diplomacy of the 1950’s without relating it to the economic changes

of the last two decades? How can we discuss the isolationism of the nineteenth century without relating it to the field of ideas? How can we discuss intelligently the diplomatic relations of the United States with Great Britain unless we understand the cultural complexes that have tended to unite—or divide—the two nations? How can we deal intelligently with the questions of the Orient unless we try to get some insight into the Oriental way of thought? The opportunity lies ready for the next generation to rewrite the diplomatic history of the United States in broader and more meaningful terms than ever before. And what could be said of diplomatic history can most certainly be said of political history, which, I venture to hope, will receive increasing attention in a fresher and broader context.

There is, conceivably, another aspect to this question of breadth. All approaches to history are interesting to someone. But do we, in our course offerings, put enough weight on the history of specific periods, treating these periods from a broad and varied point of view, with emphasis on their numerous aspects? And, if we were to do this, should we not see to it that the aspects of a specific period which have the deepest significance should receive the major attention? I once knew a teacher who gave a course in the Renaissance and devoted his major attention to the political rivalries of the Italian city-states. He might, it seems to me, have better placed the emphasis on the extraordinary artistic efflorescence of the period and tried to give to his students a deeper sense of the beautiful. In medieval history is not the central problem to make vivid the development of that majestic church of which Macaulay said: "She may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of Saint Paul's." Might we not, in general, make more of an effort than we generally do to seize the spirit of an epoch and come to grips with the hypotheses and assumptions by which it lived?

One of the major problems of successful teaching, I suspect, lies in the power with which the teacher is able to portray human personality. It may well be that there have been writers and academics who have inordinately stressed the personal. We can hardly be subscribers, like Carlyle, to the great man theory of history. Even the largest figures have to be understood in a context which far transcends their individual aspirations, ambitions, and capacities. But if we must not exaggerate the role of the individual, so we must not minimize it or forget that the decisions made by presidents and prime ministers and generals may actually alter the historical trend—as very likely did President Truman's decision to go into Korea in 1950. On the whole, as it seems to me, the trend of our modern historical research runs in

the direction of depersonalizing history and reducing the role of the central figures. Social history represented—and represents—an immense broadening of our knowledge, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the men who pioneered in the field. But there is always the danger that, in thinking in terms of social forces, the role of the individual will become blurred and that for living, breathing human beings we shall substitute a list of names of the relatively obscure. The peril is equally great in intellectual history. The discovery of a new idea is always worth while, but it is necessary to ask just how much the new idea really mattered. We do not want to spend too much time on the trivial, merely because it happens to be novel. And we do not want the actors on the great stage of the world to be submerged by forces and ideas. The average man is intensely personal; therefore let us be sure that there are people in history. Let us make them live; let us share their triumphs and frustrations; let us *know* them. History is a kind of introduction to more interesting people than we can possibly meet in our restricted lives; let us not neglect the opportunity. Let us get to know Abraham Lincoln or Descartes or Julius Caesar at least as well as we know some of our day-to-day acquaintances.

But there is more to the matter than that. It is not wise to moralize too long or too often in the classroom. There is a sound instinct in undergraduates to react against moral attitudinizing. But is it necessary on that account to ignore the majestic example set by some of the great figures of our history, or all history? Shall we not properly dramatize and honor the burly German who stood before the emperor at the Diet of Worms and, when pressed as to his beliefs, declared: "Here stand I; I cannot otherwise"? Can we properly describe Washington without laying some of the emphasis on the unshakable sense of duty, on the undaunted tenacity with which he faced his problems? Is it not worth while (and encouraging, too) to note of him, as Jefferson said, that, if his mental qualities were decidedly not of the first order, he yet attained enormous wisdom, that he was perhaps, as Lecky said of him, "of all the great men in history the most invariably judicious" because he had the gift of consultation, of weighing and harmonizing conflicting opinions? Is it not possible that some of our students may learn something from his example and that they will order their lives better if they truly catch the feeling of his wisdom? Is it possible to live with Lincoln, as we American historians must live, without underlining and gaining some inspiration from his immense humility? "With malice toward none, with charity for all," run the words of the second inaugural. "I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League [the National Union] have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have con-

cluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river." May we not learn from such expressions as these that humility is not weakness and that pride is not strength? Is it not possible to communicate this feeling to some of those we teach, to their own advantage and to their own growth?

As a matter of fact, our training and, too often, our intellectual habit lead us to analyze away the qualities that have made some of the great figures of the past leaders in their own time. We dissect and criticize—we, the little ones—but too rarely do we strive, in our interpretation of the past, to catch the authentic quality in the lives of the dominating figures of a by-gone era that warmed men's hearts and fired their minds. Let us look for a moment at Woodrow Wilson. He was often obstinate; he was sometimes intoxicated with his own verbosity; his sense of righteousness often became self-righteousness; his moral intensity became cloying; and there is an immense tragedy in the close of his political career. All these things can and must be said. But none of them explains the impact that Woodrow Wilson had on his own generation; none of them helps us to see why it was that so many men followed him, none of them helps us to measure his influence. Only those who lived as adults through the war of 1917-18 can realize just what his leadership meant; and if, in the days ahead, the American people come to take a wider view of their world responsibility than they did in 1919 and 1920, part of the honor and the glory, it can be demonstrated, is due to the Wilsonian example.

I press this point further. It is not only in the assumption of a wider role for America in international affairs that Wilson belongs to the wave of the future. He framed for himself a conception of the presidency that has an abiding vitality and even more relevance today than it had forty years ago; he spoke for the rising nationalities of the world and for a mitigation of the imperial impulse; he set his stamp on the practice of open diplomacy which, whether we like it or not, has become the necessary apparatus of the democratic state; in his views on the tariff and the currency he was one who looked toward our own age. Despite his crotchets, he deserves more admiration than he has usually received and more remembrance than he sometimes commands.

But it is not only through the vivid influence and example of personality that we can make our students see history as an attitude toward life that ought to be fruitful and helpful. Take another matter, the dangerous proneness of the man in the street to form shallow and partisan judgments on current matters on the basis of assumptions that cannot be either proved or wholly disproved. We have suffered in the past from such judgments: "World War I was a great mistake," "we lost China," "we fought the Second World War only to get into a greater mess than ever," and so on. This is the kind

of opinion we ought never to permit ourselves to utter, and for reasons closely connected with the very marrow of our subject. It is to be freely admitted that the revisionist school of diplomatic historians can perform, and have performed, a not inconsiderable service. By challenging conventional assumptions, by demanding new light on the facts, even by highly subjective interpretations of the facts, they stimulate discussion and quicken the sense of scholarly responsibility in the rest of us. But it does not seem unfair to say that in another sense they sometimes perform a fundamental disservice to their profession and to those whom they teach. The disservice is this. Human events are immensely complicated; the lines of cause and effect are in many cases very difficult to trace; and in matters into which so many elements enter, as in foreign policy, we should beware of that kind of dogmatism which writes history in terms of hypothesis and which assumes a kind of prescience with regard to what would have happened if some other course had been followed than that which was followed. We should, as the Second World War recedes into the distance, try—more conscientiously than we have done—to understand the motives and assumptions of those who described themselves as isolationists as well as the motives and assumptions of those who took a contrary view; but we should be careful to make it clear that no finality can possibly attach to the thesis that we would have been better off outside the struggle than in. Things were as they were; they were because the mass of the American people came to believe (not unreasonably) that Hitler and Tojo posed a definite threat to the future security of the United States, and of its place in the world; and in this, as in other matters, it is wise to remember that there is some truth in the saying that “*die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*.” It is more important to understand the reasons why we acted as we did than it is to speculate on what might have been if we had acted differently. What a boon it would be if, taking heed from this principle and instructed by our knowledge, the ordinary man paid less attention than he sometimes does to the self-interested interpretations of the past used to promote the fortunes of a party or an individual!

What I have just said with regard to the Second World War raises a larger question. Are we, as teachers, to affirm or to question? Is our function to arouse doubt, to foster the critical attitude; or is it to set some positive standard of thought and action? If one puts the matter in more philosophic terms, is it true that the world suffers more from those who believe too little than from those who believe too much and believe what cannot be proved? Is skepticism corrosive and faith sustaining? Or is skepticism the necessary prelude to clarified thought and action, and is faith sometimes a blinding influence on conduct? The answer to these questions will be given by each

individual according to his temperament. But perhaps we can make some little headway in dealing with it. Young people feel the need for affirmation, and yet they should be made to re-examine their own postulates. Can we not, in our teaching, distinguish between the things that can be safely affirmed and the things that ought not to be affirmed? We can take positive stands on some matters that admit of prudent generalization. We can say, for example, that the Eighteenth Amendment was a failure, and a ghastly failure at that; we can indicate that much of the New Deal has been right in the sense that it has attained widespread popular acceptance, has been assimilated into the American way of life, and has been accepted—and in some respects even extended—by American conservatives. We can say, to choose an example more remote in time, that the Specie Circular had some very unfortunate consequences. But we cannot make dogmatic judgments on questions which are highly complex and which involve assumptions insusceptible of proof. We cannot, for example, assert that the country would have been ruined if William Jennings Bryan had been elected in 1896, or that the history of the world would have been changed had we entered the League, or that it was a mistake to intervene in Korea. We should illustrate in our teaching the difference between certainty and uncertainty, and the need of both for the well-balanced mind. Let us not shrink from affirmation where affirmation is possible, but let us recognize the limits of affirmation as well.

Closely connected with what I have been trying to say is the matter of seeing many sides. One must remember, however, that there are two sides to the question of seeing many sides. Much of the effective work of the world is done by men of strong feeling who move toward their goals without too much analysis of the pros and cons of conduct. Much is accomplished by men of power who reckon little of the social consequences of their action. But it is, it seems to me, more consistent with the spirit of our profession—indeed fundamental—that we should maintain a kind of intellectual and moral balance in our instruction. The function of the mind is to temper, to direct, to moderate, and to elevate the natural instincts and passions of mankind. If we believe at all in the rule of intelligence, then we must seek to understand divergent points of view and to chasten selfishness and unregulated feeling with reason and some objective criterion of the public good. The spirit of learning was never better described than by Woodrow Wilson in an address delivered to the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in 1909. It consists, to paraphrase him, in a preference for the non-partisan point of view, in the ability to look at the essentials rather than stick to the letter of the reasoning, in the kind of detachment that eliminates from the account personal considerations of mood or class and relates itself to carefully thought-

out and disinterested ends. In arriving at some such attitude, it is by no means to be supposed that we come to nothing but a pallid neutrality. It is an error, and a gross one, to imagine that what scholarship demands of us is no opinion at all. As one of the greatest of our past presidents insisted, to come to no conclusion is to come to a very dangerous and antisocial conclusion, to a kind of historical nihilism. Our students do not want this. What they want, and what they will profit by, is to see us turn a question about in our minds, going over its complexities and varied points of view, and then to see us come to a decision informed by knowledge and based on considerations that can be recognized as rational. They want, too, to see us approach a great public question in a spirit of what we deem to be disinterested consideration for the public good. And, if we do this with regard to the problems of the past, we will help them to do the same with regard to the problems of the present.

This kind of intellectual and moral balance can be illustrated in many ways, and with regard to many matters. Take, for example, the operation of our business system. In the course of the last two or three historical generations, workers in the field of American history have been, on the whole, highly critical of the business classes. The fact is understandable. The selfishness and ruthlessness of the business struggle as it unfolded itself in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the resistance of large elements of the business classes to the most necessary reforms, their invocation of legal process to arrest or delay these reforms, the failure of many of the leaders of the business world to understand even the most elementary principles of the economy under which they were operating, and, above all, the dramatic collapse of 1929, all contributed to a very unfavorable view among scholars of the role of the capitalist in American society. But, in reviewing these and other facts of the same kind, our historians have often underrated the essential, the fundamental contribution of the capitalist. The actual management of our vast industrial machine is a task that calls for very high qualities, and they are not the qualities usually associated with the academic mind. The ability to make decisions, the ability to organize a hierarchy of administrative talent, the ability to harness the energies of others in the most productive way, the willingness to take chances, the quality of confidence and faith in the future, these are some of the things that are necessary to the operation of our system; and they are most surely to be found in the higher ranks of business. So long as we have the kind of social and economic order that we have, and so long as we can justly say that this order has played its part in producing the most prosperous society that the world has ever known, we shall do well not to denigrate in generalized terms our business leaders. And there is more than this to be said. In this, as in other matters, we are often the victims of the past which

we study. Is it not true that the newer generation in the business field approaches the problems of society with a more enlightened and a broader view than that which prevailed three decades ago? The great depression was a profound educational experience. Its lessons were assimilated, at least in part, not only by academicians but by those who play a more active role in the management of the economy.

Let me make another point. No trained historian can possibly put himself in the position of a thick-and-thin exponent of the static. If there is one thing clearer than another, it is that change is the law of life, one of the deepest and most inevitable of all human phenomena. We shall all of us live more happily if we accept its inevitability. And we ought to help our students to do so, to think of social change not in terms of apprehension or of indignation but coolly and constructively, applying intellectual and not emotional criteria to the problems of social adjustment, weighing the advantages and disadvantages of this or that measure, but recognizing at the same time that it is rarely possible to cling devotedly to the status quo. We have our choice, as all history teaches, between the gradual reconciliation of the old and the new and those more violent processes which destroy much that is good along with much that is evil.

Just as we accept the inevitability of change, so we ought to seek to understand the values of a society that is past. In an increasingly secular age one of the major values of medieval history must lie in a clearer understanding of the great church that flourished in the days of Anselm and Aquinas and still exercises its mighty and pervasive influence over the lives of men. The comfort of faith, the hope of happiness in the world to come, the emphasis on moral rather than on material values, these are all things we should seek to appreciate. For they live on in a world in which preoccupation with social improvement and economic progress often crowds out some of the deepest sources of strength for the individual.

Nor need we uncritically identify change with progress. Take, for instance, a more current problem, the problem of imperialism. In the world of today, the tide runs strongly against the domination of one society by another. Abstractly speaking, this is easy to understand. Does not our own Declaration of Independence declare that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"? But the question may be looked at differently. Is self-government inevitably—in all cases and in all lands—in the interest, objectively conceived, of the peoples concerned? Are all peoples capable of self-rule; or, on the other hand, does independence, in many parts of the world, mean the domination of the societies concerned by a narrow and selfish oligarchy, less occupied with the welfare of the masses than an external

regime might be? Is it not the case that imperialism, now a term of reproach, has provided the basis of order and stability which permitted the importation of foreign capital, put technical abilities at the service of the populations concerned, and provided internal improvement and growth which laid the basis for a more widely diffused prosperity? Was not our forty-odd years' occupation of the Philippines an illustration of this principle? Did not the British rule in India lay the basis for more successful self-government than would have arisen spontaneously in that vast subcontinent? And is it necessarily a gain today if the less mature nations of the world sweat material progress out of the labor of the masses, throw off tutelage, deal harshly with the foreign capital that has made or would make development possible, and insist upon proceeding on their own? We shall have to wait a long time before we know surely whether this is progress or retrogression.

In judging any age, whether of centuries ago or our own, we need to strike—as scholars—a proper balance between liberalism and conservatism. The essence of the former point of view, as I see it, lies in a humane desire to see the improvement of the social order, in a generous view of the capacities of human nature, in a critical attitude toward authority and dogma, in a wise, though restrained, hope in the possibility of making the world a little better place, in a belief in the dignity of human effort. The essence of conservatism, as it appears to me, lies in the spirit which insists upon a careful and critical examination of any proposal of change, takes account of the intransigence and capacity for evil of the human species, recognizes the difficult tactical problems involved in any project of reform, and understands that there are values to be preserved in any healthy society, as well as new values to be gained. Whatever history we teach, we can give due weight to both these points of view. And, if we do so, we shall produce neither cynics nor visionaries but well-balanced citizens.

And now let me go back to recapitulate what I have been trying to say this evening. I believe that the greatest challenge confronting historians today is the challenge of the classroom. To meet it we shall have to give to teaching a higher place in our scale of values than we do today. We shall have to select our students more definitely with this end in view; we shall have to give them an opportunity to exercise their capacities in this regard; we shall have to reward them adequately for their performance. And—it goes without saying—we shall ourselves have to be the best teachers that we know how to be, the most humane, the most sympathetic, the most dedicated.

And what we teach will be more than knowledge. Knowledge we must have, and have in growing measure—the fruit of an ever-exploring mind, the product of a restlessly inquiring spirit. But, in addition, we shall be influential

in proportion as we think about the *values* that we wish to communicate as well as about the *facts* that we wish to communicate. We must make the past more vivid and the quality of man's adventure more deeply understood; we must interpret the past broadly, in the spirit of a man to whom nothing human is alien; we need not be afraid to speak of moral values, to be sensitive and compassionate, or to exalt wisdom and goodness; we must set the example of a sound intellectual and moral balance, of a broad view of human values; we must make the processes of the mind in seeking truth so fair, so understanding of various opinions, and yet so clear that they will command respect and deserve imitation. And, if we do these things, the classroom will be more than a lecture place, more than a preparation for examinations, and more than the medium for communicating facts that will soon be forgotten; it will be an abiding influence in the life of the great nation to which we belong and a source of light to the generations that sit at our feet. It will be a vital part of life itself.

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Hamilton's Notes in His Pay Book of the New York State Artillery Company*

E. P. PANAGOPOULOS

AUGUST of 1776 was a busy month for Alexander Hamilton. Five months earlier he had been appointed by the New York Provincial Congress Captain of the Artillery Company of that Colony.¹ This company existed, however, only on paper. It was Hamilton's duty to find, enlist, and equip his men, drill them daily in the Fields, and solve all the problems involved in the organization and training of a new unit.²

Such a task needed to be performed quickly. The Revolution had entered a serious phase, and General Howe's next step was anticipated with foreboding by the leaders of the patriots. However, making well-trained gunners out of undisciplined, enthusiastic volunteers was difficult and time-consuming work. And Hamilton was then only twenty-one years of age.³

Yet, with all his work and worries, Hamilton found time not only to fulfill his military duties successfully but also to continue by his own efforts the studies which had been interrupted at King's College. He read a number of significant books and encyclopedias and kept careful notes on most of them. Thus, in the empty space of his Company's Pay Book, he kept about 112 pages

* The author of this paper wishes to acknowledge the kindnesses extended by Dr. David C. Mearns, Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, and the librarians of the Division, in the examination of the Alexander Hamilton manuscripts.

¹ Berthold Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, N. Y., 1887), XV, 84.

² Alexander Hamilton to the Provisional Congress of New York, May 26, July 26, and August, 1776, in Henry Cabot Lodge, ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1886), VII, 473-76; this work hereafter cited as *Works* (Lodge). For the few biographical data included in this paper see the Alexander Hamilton Collection in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. See also any of the less unbiased biographies of Alexander Hamilton, or those where prejudice at least stems from family relationship rather than political attitudes, such as John Church Hamilton, *The Life of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1840); his *Life of Alexander Hamilton, A History of the Republic of the United States of America as Traced in His Writings and in Those of His Contemporaries* (Boston, 1879); Allan McLane Hamilton, *The Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1810).

³ Until the appearance of Harold Larson's "Alexander Hamilton: The Fact and Fiction of His Early Years," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., IX (April, 1952), 139-51, the year 1757 had been conventionally accepted as Hamilton's birth date. Since no official records of his birth have been found, the controversy around Hamilton's age had been settled, in a manner, on the basis of Hamilton's own statement in Alexander Hamilton to Alexander Hamilton [in Scotland], Albany, N. Y., May 2, 1797, in *Works* (Lodge), VIII, 463. There Hamilton implies the year 1757 or 1756 as his birth date. After the documentary evidence, however, presented in the above study by Larson, it seems proper to correct Hamilton's year of birth from 1757 to 1755. See also *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XII (April, 1955), 330-32.

of notes, the study of which shows that they constitute only part of a greater body of notes, now probably lost.⁴

The existence of this Pay Book has been known to scholars since 1850, when John Church Hamilton published the works of his father and, in two pages, gave a "specimen"—and a poor one indeed—of the notes.⁵ Since then, several authors have mentioned or used these two pages, but very few have had the curiosity to examine the manuscript itself, and perhaps no one has ever attempted to make an analytical study of the entire body of the notes.⁶ The fact that they could not be classified as belonging to the principal writings of Hamilton, that they were the work of a young man, and that they looked like school exercises made such material quite unattractive to the students of Hamilton's life. Close examination, however, shows how richly they deserve annotated study. They not only reveal how early Hamilton developed his interest in economics and statesmanship but also shed light on the scholastic background of the man. More important, perhaps, they disclose ideas that recur years later in several of his important papers. Here concealed in the official garb of military accounts is a long-neglected source for the thinking of a young man during his formative years.

The Pay Book itself⁷ is not impressive, the size being $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The covering title page, written in flowery eighteenth-century calligraphy by Hamilton himself, reads as follows: "New York, August 31, 1776. Pay Book of the State Company of Artillery Commanded by Alexander Hamilton." It is paged both by Hamilton and by another hand.⁸ The latter designated the manuscript's first page as "p. 129" and continued with successive numbers, marking only the right-hand pages, those to the left being unnumbered.⁹

⁴ Clear internal evidence of the precise period when Hamilton made these notes is lacking. The uniformity of ink and calligraphy throughout the document suggests that the notes were written continuously during a short period, and not at interrupted intervals. Differences, if any, between entries on the Company's financial matters and the notes from readings are very small. One should not entirely exclude, however, the possibility that the notes may have been made a little later, after 1776 and before 1779; for in the fall of 1779, Hamilton wrote his well-known letter on the National Bank, in which he seems to have used these notes (see below). A chemical analysis of the ink of a document approximately 180 years old offers, unfortunately, wide margin of error and fails to date it exactly. If one excludes, however, the year 1776, which appears on the Pay Book, then a possible date might be the year 1779, when Hamilton's military duties at Morristown allowed him more leisure for reading.

⁵ John C. Hamilton, ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1850), I, 4-5; this work hereafter cited as *Works* (J. C. Hamilton).

⁶ The author of this paper has prepared an edited study of these notes.

⁷ Now among the manuscripts of the Alexander Hamilton Collection in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

⁸ The difference in handwriting from that of Hamilton in most of the numbers and in the letter "p" preceding them, as well as the use of darker ink, indicate that another hand, in a much later period, perhaps during the first half of the nineteenth century, made a more complete paging.

⁹ This is the paging used in the present study; but for the convenience of this analysis, the left-hand pages will be numbered with the number of the previous page plus the letter A, i.e., the page that follows MS p. 140 will be MS p. 140A.

Hamilton, on the other hand, followed the customary way of paging in book-keeping, placing the same number on both left and right pages.¹⁰ The first part of the Pay Book contains various accounts of the Artillery Company, and the actual notes appear in the back part.

From the point of view of the material included, these notes can be clearly classified into five categories: first, those involving economic analysis of several countries; second, those on various other economic subjects; third, those on "political arithmetic," concerning problems of population related to those of government; fourth, extracts from classical authors; and finally, jottings on miscellaneous subjects.

In the first category, one finds notes on a wide range of countries and geographic areas covering most of the world.¹¹ In analyzing them, one observes that a certain pattern has been applied to almost all the regions. At the beginning comes a brief statement about the geographic location and size of the country, and then the following topics are explained: natural resources and products, principal cities and their economic significance, trade, and commercial relations of the country. Often discussed are the country's policies on commerce and manufactures and the rate of exchange between local and foreign currency. Although certain of these topics occasionally are omitted, the pattern as a whole remains unchanged.

The notes in this first category, though very enlightening in general, were designed to meet an individual's needs rather than to offer information to an average reader. The uniformity of content and expression, moreover, shows them all to be from the same source. Although the Pay Book contains no source reference, its identification is not very difficult. The kind of informa-

¹⁰ After leaving the first thirteen pages unnumbered, Hamilton designated the next two opposing MS pp. 135A and 136 as "p. 1," MS p. 136A and 137 as "p. 2"; and he continued the numbering in the same manner up to "p. 97," which are numbered MS pp. 228A and 229. The notes run from MS p. 227 to MS p. 282. It is unfortunate that Hamilton did not page the whole manuscript. As long as the two systems of paging continue, the detection of missing pages is possible. Thus, through comparison it is revealed that between MS pp. 171A and 172, two of the original pages are missing. Also, between MS pp. 213A and p. 214, six more pages are missing. For the most important part of the Pay Book, however, that which contains Hamilton's notes, there is only the added paging of the later period, and thus the detection of the number of lost pages becomes almost impossible. Also evident are two more irregularities related to the paging. Hamilton, perhaps by mistake, repeated the same page number in two consecutive sets of opposing pages. Thus, MS pp. 206A, 207, 207A, and 208 were all numbered by Hamilton as "p. 73." Also, the author of the added system of paging left unnumbered one manuscript sheet between MS pp. 244 and 245, which, however, he numbered later as "p. 244^a."

¹¹ The following countries and areas appear under separate headings. (They have been placed here alphabetically, and the page numbers are those of the manuscript.) America, 239A, 281A; Asia, 240A; Asia Minor, 228A, 229; Asia Minor Islands, 241, 241A, 242; Austria, 236A; Austrian Netherlands, 237A; Azores Islands, 244^aA; Bohemia, 237A; Britain, 229A, 230, 230A, 232A, 233, 233A; British America, 240; Canary Islands, 244^aA; China, 240A, 241; Egypt, 243A, 244^aA; Europe, 227; Florence, 244A; France, 234A, 235; Modern Greece, 228A; Hungary, 238, 238A, 239; Ireland, 231A; Netherlands, 237; Portugal, 247, 247A, 248, 248A; Russia, 247A, 248; St. Domingo, 235A; Scotland, 231; Spain, 246A, 247; Spanish America, 247; Venice, 244^aA, 248A, 249.

tion, the style, and the mention of Postlethwayt's name,¹² all reveal that Hamilton's source was *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, edited by Malachy Postlethwayt.¹³ Indeed, this is the sole source of all notes included in the first three categories of the above mentioned classification. Ideas and data from other authors, quoted by Hamilton usually by the last name only, are all taken from the same work.

It is very unfortunate that little if any research has yet been made on the influence of Malachy Postlethwayt on the economic thought of American statesmen during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. His *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* was an important and almost standard authority for study by responsible public-spirited figures. In its two volumes, statesmen could find an extensive analysis of the economic structure, financial policies, and commercial relations of the most important countries of the world; they could increase their erudition by reading the detailed historical background offered on almost every subject in it, the provisions of many treaties relating to economic questions, and extensive quotations from and references to significant contemporary or classical works. There they could study issues such as public debts, taxes, funds, money, and banks; and there they could obtain information on problems relating to the trading companies, colonies, plantations, and many similar themes. Where else could they get so clear a picture of such various situations and derive such ready support for their arguments than from Postlethwayt's abundance of statistical data, tables and charts, and excellent maps? In short, this treasury of information on technical aspects of trade, agriculture, manufacture, and finance could offer more than mere competence. It is of little significance that Malachy Postlethwayt was a master of plagiarism and that he often used material from important contemporary authorities without the customary acknowledgment. His statements were indeed an epitome of mid-eighteenth-century economic theory, and his Remarks, which followed almost every article, were vivid and convincing.¹⁴

In connection with Hamilton, one can safely say that Postlethwayt's *Dictionary* constitutes the most important document yet discovered showing the background and immediate sources of his principal writings, especially

¹² MS pp. 229A, 234, 239A, 242A, 246, 246A.

¹³ *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, Translated from the French of Monsieur Savary, with large Additions and Improvements*, by Malachy Postlethwayt (London, 1751-55), I and II; hereafter cited as *Dictionary*.

¹⁴ For Malachy Postlethwayt (1707?-1767), his economic writings, plagiarisms, and standing in scholarship see Luigi Cossa, *An Introduction to the Study of Political Economy* (London, 1893), p. 252; William Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times* (Cambridge, 1892), pp. 420-21; John Ramsay McCulloch, *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical of Commerce and Navigation* (London, 1849), p. xxii; William A. S. Hewins, "Malachy Postlethwayt" in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, XVI, 205-206.

his Reports. Several authors, analyzing Hamilton's economic thought, have overlooked this work and have struggled with all sorts of hypotheses, endeavoring to explain factors that may have influenced him. Had they consulted the dictionary, they could have found that in most of Hamilton's Reports there are traces of Postlethwayt's economic theories and, indeed, whole paragraphs quoted from the *Dictionary*, sometimes directly, sometimes masterfully adapted to current American situations.¹⁵

Hamilton started using the *Dictionary* quite early. In *The Farmer Refuted*, published on February 5, 1775—a year and a half before his note taking in the Pay Book—he quoted Postlethwayt twice,¹⁶ mentioning only his name, without giving an exact reference. Both quotations, however, were taken from the *Dictionary*.¹⁷ In subsequent articles, he borrowed frequently and heavily from the *Dictionary*, but he never again acknowledged the source of his information. Consciously or not, he treated Postlethwayt in the same manner as the latter had previously treated most of the authors he had used. In his notes in the Pay Book, following the same policy, Hamilton never mentioned the entries he had used or even the title of the *Dictionary*. Nevertheless, copying Postlethwayt's exact wording and often combining material from two or more of the articles, he used, in all, excerpts from thirty-eight of its entries.¹⁸

In his notes in the second category, Hamilton examined the following economic topics: funds,¹⁹ money,²⁰ circulation of money,²¹ money coined in England,²² coin,²³ labor,²⁴ landed interest,²⁵ and the Dutch fisheries.²⁶ In addition, attracted perhaps by their curious composition, he kept detailed notes on glass²⁷ and amianthus.²⁸ There is, also, a note on "a short rule to determine the interest."²⁹ These notes do not cover all the aspects of the sub-

¹⁵ Among the studies of Hamilton's theoretical background made by serious scholars of an older generation the most significant are, perhaps, the following: Edward G. Bourne, "Alexander Hamilton and Adam Smith," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, VIII (Apr., 1894); Charles Franklin Dunbar, "Some Precedents followed by Alexander Hamilton," *ibid.*, III (Oct., 1888), also in his *Economic Essays* (New York, 1904), pp. 71-93; Edward C. Lunt, "Hamilton as a Political Economist," *Journal of Political Economy*, III (June, 1895); Jonathan Elliot, "The Funding System of the United States and of Great Britain," *Executive Documents*, II, Doc. No. 15, 28th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, D. C., 1845). In the above papers, however, as well as in the voluminous works of William Graham Sumner, the name of Postlethwayt and the title of the *Dictionary* are not mentioned at all. The explanation is probably that these scholars endeavored to locate original sources consulted by Hamilton and not a dictionary such as Postlethwayt's. Twentieth-century scholars, unfortunately, have added almost nothing to the identification of Hamilton's sources, in his writings generally and especially in his Reports.

¹⁶ *Works* (Lodge), I, 137-38, 141.

¹⁷ *Dictionary*, I, 532-33, 536; entry Colonies.

¹⁸ These, alphabetically arranged, are the following: America, Amianthus, Anatolia, Annuities, Asbestos, Asia, Asia Minor Islands, Austria, Austrian Netherlands, Azores Islands, Bohemia, Britain, British America, Canary Islands, China, Circulation, Coin, Egypt, Europe, Exchange, Fisheries, Florence, France, Funds, Glass, Gold, Greece (Modern), Hungary, Labour, Landed Interest, Money, Netherlands, People, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Spanish America, Venice.

¹⁹ MS pp. 242A, 243.

²⁰ MS p. 245A.

²¹ MS p. 234.

²² MS p. 280A.

²³ MS p. 245A.

²⁴ MS pp. 243, 246.

²⁵ MS p. 245.

²⁶ MS p. 227A.

²⁷ MS p. 228.

²⁸ MS pp. 244, 244A.

²⁹ MS p. 279A.

ject under examination, but only those phases in which Hamilton himself was interested. Already evident, however, is the nature of the topics that attracted his attention, topics destined to dominate his activities and thoughts for the rest of his life. All of these notes, with the exception of the last one on interest, were copied word for word from various entries in the *Dictionary*. Even when Hamilton gave an extensive definition of money and added as a reference "Aristotle's *Politics*, Chapter 6,"³⁰ or when he quoted Sir Isaac Newton on the parity between gold and silver,³¹ he took the exact text and references from the *Dictionary*, in the first case from the entry Money³² and in the second from the entry Coin.³³

The third category of Hamilton's notes deals with political arithmetic, a subject very close to his heart. Included are tables and statistical data on the synthesis of population and the ratio between births and deaths.

It was just prior to the seventeenth century that people, amazed at the progress of mathematics, developed a faith in this science and endeavored to explain almost everything in mathematical terms. Shortly thereafter, Newton's great contributions strengthened this faith, and soon a new field developed applying mathematics to subjects relating to social problems and government. Sir William Petty's *Political Arithmetic* gave the name to this field,³⁴ and it came to be regarded as the duty of all statesmen to be versed in the mathematics of political science. Hamilton very early realized the significance of this new branch of mathematics, and political arithmetic became the foundation of his calculations on public affairs in later years, for it was evident that no clear picture could be obtained of the wealth, production and consumption, revenues, movements in trade, agriculture and manufactures, or even of the military strength of the country, without a competent knowledge of the fluctuations and composition of the population and the relation between births and deaths. When Hamilton calls Postlethwayt "the ablest master of political arithmetic,"³⁵ he certainly extended to him one of his greatest compliments.

In the notes of this category, Hamilton quoted data and tables composed by several authors, but he gave most of the space to Dr. Edmond Halley's

³⁰ MS p. 245A.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Dictionary*, II, 282, col. 2.

³³ *Ibid.*, I, 528, col. 2.

³⁴ Sir William Petty (1623-1687) first published a small book on this subject together with a Captain John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations . . . Made upon the Bills of Mortality [of the city of London]* (London, 1662); this was followed by two similar studies in 1682 and 1683; three years later he published his *Two Essays in Political Arithmetic* (London, 1686); and in the year of his death he published his *Five Essays in Political Arithmetic* (London, 1687).

³⁵ *The Continentalist*, No. VI (July 4, 1782) in *Works* (Lodge), I, 267. Though, as usual, no reference is given by Hamilton, the statement quoted by him was taken from the *Dictionary*, II, 13, col. 1, entry Landed Interest, which is identical with *ibid.*, I, 879, col. 2 and 880, col. 1, entry Funds.

tables on the mortality of mankind³⁶ and especially to his statistics on the duration of life of the population of Breslau, Silesia.³⁷

In the fourth category are fifty-one pages of notes all taken from Plutarch,³⁸ with the exception of one from Demosthenes. Explaining why he kept them, Hamilton stated: "These notes are selected more for their singularity than use—though some important facts are comprehended."³⁹ There are, indeed, several "important facts" in the material, and it is not surprising that Hamilton sought for them in Plutarch. As has been very pertinently observed concerning the early American statesmen: "These men were *not* fitted for public responsibility by courses in civics, sociology and psychology, but by the study of Plutarch's Lives, of the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes and of Thucydides."⁴⁰ There Hamilton could find fine examples of statesmanship, lofty political ethos, and remarkable precedents; and there he could enrich his knowledge with the experience of the political failures and successes of the ancients.

Hamilton knew the value of the classics, and up to the time of his military career, the main body of education he had received was classical. Though his first training in St. Croix was limited, perhaps, to the three R's, it is very probable that his teacher, Dr. Hugh Knox, a Princeton graduate himself, initiated him into the world of the classics. Later, in 1773, when he spent a year in the grammar school of Frances Barber at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, preparing himself for his entrance to college, it is certain that the classics comprised the main body of his studies. His curriculum there is quite obscure, but the entrance requirements of both Princeton, which he planned to attend, and King's College, which he finally entered, are known. Hamilton had to prepare himself in order to meet them, and both colleges included in their requirements a knowledge of Virgil, Tully's Orations, and Latin grammar; Princeton, moreover, required that the candidate should be "so well acquainted with the Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language into Latin or English; and to give the grammatical connection of the words. . . ."⁴¹

³⁶ MS p. 278A.

³⁷ MS p. 276A. Edmond Halley (1656-1742), the famous astronomer, published his first two studies on the mortality of mankind, drawn from the Breslau tables of births and deaths, in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, XVII, No. 196, 596-610, and No. 198, 654-56 (London, 1693).

³⁸ On the significance of Plutarch as a source illuminating Hamilton's views on politics and his personal ambitions, see the penetrating study by Douglass Adair, "A Note on Certain of Hamilton's Pseudonyms," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XII, (Apr., 1955), 282-97. This study, however, made no use of material from the Pay Book.

³⁹ MS p. 251A.

⁴⁰ Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Ancient Classics in a Modern Democracy* (London, 1939), p. 23.

⁴¹ For the entrance requirements at Princeton see John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1877), I, 132; at King's College, *A History of Columbia University, 1754-1904* (New York, 1904), app. B, p. 446.

When Hamilton entered King's College, he found one of the most complete classical curricula offered in America during the second half of the eighteenth century. In this comparatively young college, the first three years were confined to the study of classics.⁴² Among the authors the students studied were Virgil, Ovid, Aesop, Lucian, Cicero, Epictetus, Pliny, Horace, Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, Theocritus, Tacitus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aeschylus, Thucydides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Isocrates; in addition, training was given in Latin and Greek grammar and rhetoric.⁴³ Hamilton, because of his special agreement with the college and the two years' time he studied there, perhaps did not carry all this classical load; nevertheless, his college education was primarily centered around this curriculum.⁴⁴ Thus, it was quite natural that Hamilton devoted almost half of his Pay Book notes to the writings of ancient Greece and Rome.

Four of Plutarch's *Lives* are quoted by Hamilton, those of Theseus, Romulus, Lycurgus, and Numa Pompilius. Most of the time the notes constitute free outlines of Plutarch's statements, and since they were probably taken in a rather free style for private use, they include several mistakes in spelling and punctuation. They contain a certain amount of mythology, a number of those charming stories that make reading Plutarch so attractive, and many descriptions of Athenian, Spartan, and Roman life. There are two subjects, however, to which Hamilton devoted the greater part of this group of notes.

The first, as might be expected, concerned the governmental practices and political institutions of antiquity. Thus one reads notes on the early social stratification of the Athenians;⁴⁵ the distinction by the Romans between patricians and the "populace," the relationship between patrons and clients, and the division of the Romans into tribes and curiae;⁴⁶ the institution of the helots in Sparta and the practice of the cryptiae;⁴⁷ the establishment of the Roman Senate⁴⁸ and the Spartan Gerousia;⁴⁹ the Spartan kings;⁵⁰ the inclination of Theseus toward popular government;⁵¹ and the absolutism of Romulus.⁵² One finds condensations of material on the Spartan Ephori,⁵³ the power of the early Athenian magistrates to interpret and administer the law,⁵⁴ and the legislative power in Sparta.⁵⁵ Summaries were included of articles on

⁴² *Minutes of the Governors of the College of the Province of New York in America, 1755-1768, and of the Corporation of King's College in the City of New York, 1768-1770*, Minutes of March 1, 1763 (New York, photolithographic, 1932). This curriculum remained almost unchanged until Hamilton's time.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ The few school exercises found among the Hamilton manuscripts demonstrate this fact. They are now in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

⁴⁵ MS p. 253.

⁴⁶ MS pp. 255A, 256, 256A.

⁴⁷ MS pp. 268A, 269, 270, 270A, 271.

⁴⁸ MS p. 255A.

⁴⁹ MS pp. 260A, 261, 261A, 269A.

⁵⁰ MS pp. 260, 260A.

⁵¹ MS p. 253.

⁵² MS p. 258.

⁵³ MS pp. 261, 262, 269, 269A.

⁵⁴ MS p. 253.

⁵⁵ MS p. 261A.

Numa's land reform and his encouragement to agriculture;⁵⁶ Lycurgus' redistribution of land,⁵⁷ division of property, and coinage system;⁵⁸ the reaction of the rich Lacedaemonians against Lycurgus reforms;⁵⁹ and on various other subjects such as the institution of the Roman Pontifices,⁶⁰ the synthesis of the Roman legions,⁶¹ the mode of Spartan elections,⁶² and the civic duties of the Lacedaemonians.⁶³

The second subject on which Hamilton kept extensive notes is probably interesting to those who attempt a Freudian analysis of his complex personality. It deals with love themes in legends and stories or in habits and customs which found expression in a more or less irregular way.

Thus one reads of the passionate love of Theseus' wife, Phaedra, for her son Hyppolitus;⁶⁴ how King Tharsetius offered his daughter as a mistress to the god Priapus, how she replaced herself with her servant, and how the fruit of this relation was the birth of Romulus and Remus;⁶⁵ the whipping of young married women by two naked young noblemen during the celebration of the Lupercalia in Rome and "how the young married women were glad of this kind of whipping as they imagined it helped conception;"⁶⁶ and the relations between young Spartan men and women and the festivities where "the virgins should go naked as well as the young men and in this manner dance in their presence."⁶⁷ Included are excerpts on the promotion of marriage in Sparta,⁶⁸ the quasi-forcible abduction of brides, and subsequent marital habits;⁶⁹ how old husbands in Sparta loaned their young wives to young men and thus acquired worthy children;⁷⁰ the concept of adultery in Sparta;⁷¹ the institution of lovers for every lad;⁷² the love of a certain mountain nymph for Numa and the frequent meetings of the two in private;⁷³ and the relations of Hercules with his mistress Larentia.⁷⁴ Perhaps Hamilton had in mind these notes when he stated at the beginning that they "are selected more for their singularity."

Besides the material from Plutarch, Hamilton included in the notes two quotations from Demosthenes' *Orations*. The first one, appearing also in John C. Hamilton's edition of Alexander Hamilton's works,⁷⁵ has been rightly referred to as a Hamiltonian concept of leadership.⁷⁶ Hamilton's quotation is followed by the correct reference "Demosthenes *Orations*, Philip 1."

⁵⁶ MS p. 276.⁵⁷ MS p. 263.⁵⁸ MS pp. 262A, 263, 272.⁵⁹ MS p. 263A.⁶⁰ MS p. 274A.⁶¹ MS pp. 256, 256A.⁶² MS p. 269A.⁶³ MS pp. 263, 268A, 269.⁶⁴ MS p. 253A.⁶⁵ MS p. 254A.⁶⁶ MS p. 257.⁶⁷ MS p. 264A.⁶⁸ MS p. 265.⁶⁹ MS p. 265A.⁷⁰ *Ibid.*⁷¹ *Ibid.*⁷² MS p. 266A.⁷³ MS p. 274.⁷⁴ MS p. 255.⁷⁵ *Works* (J. C. Hamilton), I, 5.⁷⁶ See Bower Aly, *The Rhetoric of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1941), p. 193; Nathan Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1946), p. 34.

As a general marches at the head of his troops, so ought wise politicians, if I dare use the expression, to march at the head of affairs; in so much that they ought not to wait the event, to know what measures to take; but the measures which they have taken, ought to produce the event.⁷⁷

For the second quotation: "Where attack him it will be said? Ah Athenians, war, war itself will discover to you his weak sides, if you seek them," Hamilton gave as a reference Longinus, *On the Sublime*, Chapter 16, and added his punning remark: "Sublimely simple!"⁷⁸ However, the quotation in the form appearing in Hamilton's notes is not from Longinus originally, but from Demosthenes' *First Philippic*, 44, 16-19.⁷⁹

The fifth, and last, category of the notes in the Pay Book includes a few of Hamilton's memoranda and random thoughts. There is, for instance, a long list of articles which he probably planned to study from Postlethwayt's *Dictionary*.⁸⁰

In John C. Hamilton's edition of the *Works* of his father, there is a list of books,⁸¹ supposedly contained in the manuscript of the Pay Book. It is not clear if Hamilton had bought or used or intended to obtain the twenty-eight books in the list, which covered a great variety of topics, from Rousseau's *Emile* to Ralph Cudworth's *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*. In the Pay Book notes, none of these books has been quoted, with the exception of Demosthenes' *Orations*. What is interesting in this case is the fact that this list of books is not included in the manuscript of the Pay Book, as John C. Hamilton asserts; and it is evident that he either interpolated it among the notes or, and this is very possible, derived it from one of the now missing pages. After Alexander Hamilton's death, at least ten books from this list were found in his library.⁸²

⁷⁷ MS p. 249A. This actually constitutes a liberal translation of Demosthenes' *First Philippic*, 39-40.

⁷⁸ MS p. 249A.

⁷⁹ Longinus, quoting the same paragraph for an aesthetic analysis in his *On the Sublime*, XVIII, I, 10-12, omitted several words of the original; thus, he omitted the "Ah Athenians" of Hamilton's translation; instead of "his weak sides," Longinus has "the weak sides of Phillip," and he also omitted the last four words, "if you seek them."

⁸⁰ MS p. 282.

⁸¹ *Works* (J. C. Hamilton), I, 4. The following is the list of these books as they appear, with frequent erroneous spelling: Rousseau's *Emilius*; Smith's *History of New York*; Leonidas; *View of the Universe*; *Lex Mercatoria*; Milhot's *History of France*; *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*; *Review of the characters of the principal Nations of Europe*; *Review of Europe*; *History of Prussia*; *History of France*; Lasset's *Voyage through Italy*; Robinson's *Charles V*; *Present State of Europe*; *Grecian History*; Baret's *Travels*; Bacon's *Essays*; *Philosophical Transactions*; Hobbe's *Dialogues*; Plutarch's *Morals*; Cicero's *Morals*; *Orations—Demosthenes*; Cudworth's *Intellectual System*; Entick's *History of the Late War*; *European settlements in America*; Ralt's *Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*; Winn's *History of America*; Montaigne's *Essays*.

⁸² These books are the following, listed by Allan McLane Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 74-75, with spelling almost identical to that appearing in John C. Hamilton's list: Robertson's *Charles V*; Bacon's *Essays*; Hobbe's *Dialogues*; Cicero's *Morals*; *Orations*, Demosthenes; Cudworth's *Intellectual system*; Entick's *History of the Late War*; Ralt's *Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*; Winn's *History of America*; Montaign's *Essays*. The complete list of books in Hamilton's library appears *ibid.*

Among these miscellaneous notes, there is one expressing dissatisfaction with the American diplomatic representatives abroad and the members of Congress who were not well informed on international affairs. He remarked: "What intelligence has been given to Congress by our ministers of the designs, strength by sea & land, actual interests & views of the different powers in Europe?"⁸³ A similar idea, perhaps, had induced him to collect all the information on foreign countries which he included in the Pay Book. In the same section he also expressed his opinion that the tax collectors should be appointed by Congress rather than by the states.⁸⁴

It is not certain to what extent Hamilton later used his notes. The economic analysis of foreign countries, though offering a great deal of information, could not have helped him very much. The compilation of facts was originally made by Postlethwayt before 1750. Within the next thirty or forty years, important changes were to take place on the international scene, and Hamilton later could refer to situations described in his notes as history. The major part of the rest contributed to building a broad background rather than to helping in the solution of specific problems. Nevertheless, the study of Hamilton's works reveals that years later and during his most creative period, he went back to his Pay Book several times and incorporated in major writings some of the information found there.

Thus, in his "First Report on the Public Credit,"⁸⁵ communicated to the House of Representatives on January 14, 1790, Hamilton drew from his old notes on political arithmetic. In this Report, which constitutes one of his most important papers, Hamilton, in computing the annuities which would be enjoyed by certain persons in certain cases, used a whole page from his Pay Book notes.⁸⁶ The notes were originally taken from the *Dictionary* entry on Annuities and include Dr. Edmond Halley's tables on the duration of life.⁸⁷

In his "Report on the Establishment of a Mint,"⁸⁸ communicated to the House of Representatives on January 28, 1791, writing about the desirable ratio between gold and silver, he quoted his note, which included Newton's proposition as well as Postlethwayt's statement, that the ratio of the two metals throughout Europe was 1 to 15.⁸⁹ Hamilton, however, was somewhat cautious because of the time that had elapsed since Newton made his calculations and hence added the following reservation:

⁸³ MS p. 250A. ⁸⁴ MS p. 280.

⁸⁵ *American State Papers, Finance*, I, 32.

⁸⁶ MS p. 276A.

⁸⁷ On the use of Dr. Halley's tables and Hamilton's silence over Dr. Richard Price's more up-to-date and popular calculations, see C. F. Dunbar, *Economic Essays*, p. 83, fn. 2.

⁸⁸ *American State Papers, Finance*, I, 94.

⁸⁹ MS p. 245A. The quotation of Newton's proposition was originally taken from the *Dictionary*, I, 528, col. 2, entry Coin and Postlethwayt's from *ibid.*, II, 282, col. 2, entry Money.

But however accurate and decisive this authority may be deemed, in relation to the period to which it applies, it cannot be taken, at the distance of more than seventy years, as a rule for determining the existing proportion. Alterations have been since made in the regulations of their coins, by several nations which as well as the course of trade, have an influence upon the market values. Nevertheless; there is reason to believe that the state of the matter, as represented by Sir Isaac Newton, is not very remote from its actual state.⁹⁰

In his "Report on Manufactures,"⁹¹ communicated to the House of Representatives on December 5, 1791, Hamilton copied almost word for word the entire page on glass from his Pay Book,⁹² which in turn had been copied from the entry Glass of the *Dictionary*.

The use of the material contained in the notes is widespread and diverse, oftentimes adapted for a particular purpose. In one of his notes on France one reads:

Lewis the 14th in June 1700 established the Council of Commerce consisting of some of the principal officers of State and twelve merchants chosen and paid by the principal trading towns, to represent all things relative to trade and manufactures and propose regulations etc—infinite good has resulted to France from this institution. The salaries are about 400 S Stg per annum.⁹³

While still in the army, Hamilton, being deeply concerned with the financial instability of the country, proposed in a letter to a member of Congress a plan for the establishment of a National Bank; in this amazing document, among other suggestions, he advised as follows:

. . . XII. The bank to be managed by the trustees of the company, under the inspection of the Board of Trade* (* This board ought immediately to be established at all events. The Royal Council of Commerce, in France, and the subordinate chambers in each province, form an excellent institution, and may, in many respects, serve as a model. . .)⁹⁴

⁹⁰ *American State Papers, Finance*, I, 94. Postlethwayt's data are given *ibid.*, 92-94.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁹² MS p. 228. While in this and other cases there is no doubt that Hamilton did go back to his notes in the Pay Book, there are several instances where, in the writing of his Reports, he has used material not included in the notes but, nevertheless, taken from Postlethwayt's *Dictionary*. It seems that either this additional material was contained in pages of the Pay Book now lost or, and this is very probable, Hamilton performed a more scholarly and careful work by resorting again to the *Dictionary*. The page on glass is identical in his Pay Book and in the *Dictionary*, so that the immediate source here is indeterminable.

⁹³ MS p. 236; taken from the *Dictionary*, I, 832, entry France.

⁹⁴ *Works* (Lodge), III, 76. While the letter does not indicate the addressee, Lodge maintains that it was sent to Robert Morris; he dates it in 1779 in one place (I, xv), and in 1780 in another (III, 61). Nathan Schachner, on the other hand, (*op. cit.*, 97-98) asserts that the recipient of this letter was General John Sullivan and that the letter was written in Nov., 1779. The latter's opinion is shared by most scholars. See also Joseph Charles, "Hamilton and Washington: The Origins of the American Party System," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XII, (Apr., 1955), 242.

In another instance, in *The Continentalist*, No. VI, (July 4, 1782),⁹⁵ Hamilton used his notes on the value of the production and consumption of Great Britain and on the proportion between her exports and imports.⁹⁶

Another interesting example of adaptation appears in a letter of 1781 to Robert Morris, in which Hamilton, taking into consideration the factor of immigration and relying on his favorite subject of political arithmetic, changed Postlethwayt's ratio of population increase as it was quoted in his notes.⁹⁷ In this communication, again on the topic of the National Bank, he asserted:

Our population will be doubled in thirty years; there will be a confluence of emigrants from all parts of the world, our commerce will have a proportionable progress, and of course our wealth and capacity for revenue.⁹⁸

Using the same statistics seven years later when he spoke before the New York State Convention for the ratification of the Constitution, Hamilton foresaw the following increase: "At present we have three millions of people; in twenty-five years we shall have six millions; and in forty years nine millions."⁹⁹

Although it seems that Hamilton took notes on Plutarch's writings more for "their singularity" than for use, he had this author in mind on several occasions when he turned to subjects from ancient Greece and Rome; for instance, he made a direct reference to the Life of Pericles in the *Federalist*, No. VI. The examples, however, were not taken from the four *Lives* he included in his Pay Book notes.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to suppose that Hamilton did not use these notes at all. In his above-mentioned speech at Poughkeepsie, New York, explaining the institution of the Ephori in Sparta, he used the relevant note from the Pay Book.¹⁰⁰ In a report to George Washington on August 18, 1792, answering George Mason's objections against the new government, as well as in the *Americanus* of February 1, 1794,¹⁰¹ he referred to the story of Procrustes, which had appeared in his notes,¹⁰² but was probably a favorite metaphor at that time. And his notes on Spartan communal life¹⁰³ were quite useful to him when he briefly referred to this subject in *The Continentalist*.¹⁰⁴ These instances, however, are very few considering the great number of notes on Plutarch which Hamilton kept.

⁹⁵ *Works* (Lodge), I, 267.

⁹⁶ MS pp. 242A, 243; taken from the *Dictionary*, I, 879, entry Funds.

⁹⁷ MS p. 246; taken from *ibid.*, II, 438, col. 1, entry People.

⁹⁸ Hamilton to Morris, Apr. 30, 1781, *Works* (Lodge), III, 124.

⁹⁹ Jonathan Elliot, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Philadelphia, 1836), II, 252.

¹⁰⁰ MS. p. 262.

¹⁰¹ *Works* (Lodge), II, 263; IV, 263.

¹⁰² MS p. 252.

¹⁰³ MS pp. 262A, 263, 263A, 265A.

¹⁰⁴ *Works* (Lodge), I, 268.

Hamilton's thoughts developed at an early age and, as expressed in his Pay Book notes, remained with him during the rest of his life. An illuminating example is the following question asked in one of his notes. It implies a strong nationalistic feeling which, as far as is known, was here for the first time expressed by Hamilton:

Quere? Would it be adviseable to let all taxes even those imposed by the States be collected by persons of Congressional appointment and would it not be adviseable to pay the collectors so much per cent on the sums collected?¹⁰⁵

A few years later, on July 4, 1782, Hamilton came back to the same question, publicly this time, explaining that:

The reason of allowing Congress to appoint its own officers of the customs, collectors of the taxes, and military officers of every rank, is to create in the interior of each state a mass of influence in favor of the Federal Government.¹⁰⁶

On January 27, 1783, in a speech in Congress, he strongly opposed the idea that the states should appoint the collectors of revenue for the use of the government, characterizing it as "a system by which the collectors were chosen by the people, and made their offices more subservient to their popularity than to the public revenue." He advocated their appointment by Congress "as being more economical, since the collection would be effected with fewer officers under the management of Congress than under that of the States."¹⁰⁷ The next day, Hamilton returned to his proposal, revealing his whole purpose:

Mr. Hamilton, in reply to Mr. Ellsworth, dwelt long on the inefficacy of State funds. . . . As an additional reason for the latter to be collected by officers under appointment of Congress, he signed that as the energy of the Federal Government was evidently short of the degree necessary for pervading and uniting the States, it was expedient to introduce the influence of officers deriving their emoluments from, and consequently interested in supporting the power of Congress.¹⁰⁸

He was so thoroughly convinced of the expediency of his plan that he did not realize the political blunder he was making, because this very increase of federal authority was the main fear of his opponents. Madison, recording this incident, described it as "imprudent and injurious to the cause it was meant to serve." Madison noted that Hamilton's opponents "smiled at the disclosure" and that "Mr. Bland, and still more Mr. Lee, who were of this number, took

¹⁰⁵ MS p. 280.

¹⁰⁶ *The Continentalist*, *op. cit.*, 272. It was the same thought that induced Hamilton a year earlier, in April 30, 1781, in a letter to Robert Morris, to make the frequently-quoted statement that "a national debt, if it is not excessive, will be to us a national blessing. It will be a powerful cement of the Union" (*Works* [Lodge], III, 124). Nine years later, in his "Report on the Public Credit," Hamilton maintained again that "the proper funding of the present debt will render it a national blessing" (*American State Papers, Finance*, I, 24).

¹⁰⁷ Elliot, *Debates*, V, 33.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 35. See also Irving Brant, *James Madison* (New York, 1948), II, 227-28.

notice in private conversation that Mr. Hamilton had let out the secret."¹⁰⁹

A month later, on February 12, 1783, Hamilton offered in Congress the following Resolution:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of Congress that complete JUSTICE cannot be done to the creditors of the United States, nor restoration of PUBLIC CREDIT be effected, nor the future exigencies of the war provided for, but by the establishment of permanent and adequate funds to operate generally throughout the United States, *to be collected by Congress*.¹¹⁰

On May 14, of the same year, explaining to Governor Clinton why, among other reasons, he considered a proposed plan of funding the public debt as inadequate and had voted against it in Congress, Hamilton stated that:

. . . the nomination and appointment of the collectors of the revenue are to reside in the State [according to the proposed plan] instead of at least the nomination being in the United States; the consequence of which will be that those states which have little interest in the funds, by having a small share of the public debt due to their own citizens, will take care to appoint such persons as are least likely to collect the revenue.¹¹¹

One can imagine Hamilton's satisfaction when on November 1, 1791, he saw the materialization of his idea, fifteen years after he first expressed it. On that date, George Washington communicated to Congress a report announcing the arrangement made by the President of the United States with respect to the revenue districts, the appointment of the tax collectors, the assignment of their compensation, etc. This report merely echoed the "Report on Spirits, Foreign and Domestic," framed by Hamilton and signed by him, as Secretary of the Treasury, the day before. Hamilton's Report embodied the second part of his original note in the Pay Book, namely, that it would be advisable to pay the revenue collectors "so much per cent on the sums collected."¹¹² Hamilton had strongly emphasized the significance of such a provision in the previous year when, in his Report to the House of Representatives of April 23, 1790, on "Operations of the Act Laying Duties on Imports," he stressed that the security of the revenue greatly depended on such a measure and that it was "certain that competent allowances are essential to the idea of having the service performed by characters worthy of trust."¹¹³ Even after the establishment of this principle by law, Hamilton returned to the subject again on March 6, 1792. In another "Report on Spirits, Foreign and Domestic," communicated to the House of Representatives on March 6, 1792, he asked for an

¹⁰⁹ Brant, *loc. cit.* See also Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison* (New York, 1900), I, 336.

¹¹⁰ *Works* (Lodge), I, 285; the capitalization and underlining were done by Hamilton himself.

¹¹¹ Hamilton to Clinton, May 14, 1783, *ibid.*, VIII, 117.

¹¹² *American State Papers, Finance*, I, 110-11.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 48.

increase of the rewards given for the "diligent services of respectable and trustworthy" collectors, as "essential to the execution of the law in a manner effectual to the purposes of the Government and satisfactory to the community."¹¹⁴

The notes included in the Pay Book of the New York Artillery Company, product of Hamilton's youthful industry as they are, undoubtedly enlighten several aspects of his career, help to follow the unfolding and development of some of his ideas, and contribute to a better understanding of his significant personality.

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¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 158.

The Extraordinary Ideas of Alexander the Great

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

THROUGHOUT the ages, and with the most diverse emphases, the meteoric career of Alexander the Great has appealed to all manner of men. My distinguished friend, C. Bradford Welles, once remarked¹ that "there have been many Alexanders. . . . No account of him is altogether wrong. . . . The problem of Alexander is more than a purely historical problem. It is, essentially, a psychological one. . . . The problem of Alexander is comparable, actually, only to the problem of Jesus. . . . One's difficulty is to know what to believe." As for biographies of Alexander, Welles went on to specify "the documentary and statistical Alexander of Berve,² the reasonable Alexander of Wilcken,³ the mythical Alexander of Radet,⁴ the gentlemanly and sporting Alexander of Tarn" with the extreme views reminiscent of "the English gentry,"⁵ my "humanitarian Alexander,"⁶ and Schachermeyr's "brutal" Alexander.⁷ It is certainly fair to say that each of these biographies rests on detailed study of the ancient evidence, and yet there is no area in Graeco-Roman history where sharper disagreement still exists. I submit that the main problem is not essentially a psychological one—although these pages will make clear that it can easily turn into that—but rather one of nailing down in chronological order each of Alexander's extraordinary ideas, or actions which may be indicative of such ideas, provided the source is a good one.⁸

¹ In his review of Schachermeyr (see fn. 7, below), *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, LV (1951), 433-36; cf. my reply, "Alexander's Brutality," *ibid.*, LVI (1952), 169-70.

² Helmut Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (2 vols.; Munich, 1926).

³ Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander der Grosse* (Leipzig, 1931); cf. my review, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LIII (1932), 383-85. The English translation by George C. Richards (London, 1932) is here cited as Wilcken.

⁴ Georges A. Radet, *Alexandre le Grand* (2d ed.; Paris, 1950); cf. my review, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LXXIV (1953), 222.

⁵ William W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (2 vols.; Cambridge, 1948). Here cited as Tarn. The first vol. is a biography, the second consists of monographic studies. Cf. my review, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LXX (1949), 192-202.

⁶ *Alexander the Great* (New York, 1947).

⁷ Fritz Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Grosse* (Graz, 1949); cf. my review, *Classical Philology*, XLVII (1952), 196-98.

⁸ When he set out for Asia, Alexander brought two secretaries with him, Eumenes and Diodotus, whose task it was to keep the Royal Journal (*Ephemerides*), a dry "official" daily record. Aristotle's nephew, the philosopher Callisthenes, also accompanied Alexander and wrote a *History* of the expedition on the march, basing it in part on the Royal Journal. Callisthenes was arrested in 327

The chief interest of present-day students of Alexander revolves around these extraordinary ideas: what was his attitude toward universalism, cooperation between peoples, the brotherhood of man (or however you wish to express it); did he really plan world conquest; why did he seek his own deification? A proper understanding of Alexander demands that these complex questions, which belong together, be studied more often as a unit. Indeed, perhaps without fully realizing it amid the plethora of articles,⁹ we may have come the full circle, for the most recent article¹⁰ on Alexander suggests that the Royal Journal or Diary (the *Ephemerides*)—the rock bottom source for all subsequent accounts¹¹—is an ancient forgery.¹² The purpose of my paper is to present all of Alexander's extraordinary ideas together, as they developed, in each instance giving the ancient source, with the hope that a sufficiently full and reasonable picture will emerge to allow the reader to draw a proper conclusion.

There is no way of knowing the extent of Alexander's ambition when he crossed to Asia in 334 B.C., but it is a good guess that it was not modest. Back of him, at the end of the fifth century, lay the amazing fact that 10,000 and more Greeks had been able to march with Xenophon and the young

B.C., just before the departure of Alexander from Bactria for India, which of course brought his *History* to an end. In India, the Royal Journal was burned, but it was preserved as far as 327 B.C. through Callisthenes' *History* (the present paper is only incidentally concerned with Alexander after Bactria). Later on, after Alexander's death, histories of the expedition were written by, among others, two persons who had been with him in Asia: the architect Aristobulus and his general, Ptolemy, founder of the famous Egyptian dynasty, both of whom drew on Callisthenes as well as their own recollections. The next centuries saw many more histories of Alexander—good and bad; most of them, influenced by Aristotle's hatred of Alexander for Callisthenes' death, gave a picture of Alexander as the lucky despot (the development of the fabulous Alexander Romance is something else). About three dozen survive in fragments. Those that survive in their entirety are by Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch (*Life*)—the so-called Alexander-historians; but the fundamental question is their source for each statement. Arrian (second century A.D.) says in his Preface that he has accepted as authentic all statements by Ptolemy and Aristobulus, when they agree. Through them, perhaps without always realizing it, he has based his account up to 327 B.C. on Callisthenes and the Royal Journal. At least this far (the chief period covered by this paper) a trustworthy source is available, if used with care. Other statements Arrian includes as "the following account" or "so they say." In my opinion, it is impossible to appeal from Arrian when he bases a statement on Ptolemy and Aristobulus. I may add that it is my belief the quotations must be cut as short as possible, as I explained in my review of Ernst Kornemann, *Die Alexandergeschichte des Königs Ptolemaios I von Ägypten* in *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LVIII (1937), 108–10. For a discussion of the stratification of the sources, see my *History of Alexander the Great*, I (Providence, 1953), pp. viii–x, 1–6.

⁹ See Roberto Andreotti, "Il problema di Alessandro Magno nella storiografica dell' ultimo decennio," *Historia*, I (1950, pub. 1952), 583–600.

¹⁰ Lionel Pearson, "The Diary and the Letters of Alexander the Great," *Historia*, III (1955), 429–55.

¹¹ See fn. 8 above and my *Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition* (Providence, 1932), esp. pp. 63–73.

¹² Pearson's proof is substantially this: "There is ample evidence that fake documents and nonauthentic records were given literary form. Fictitious letters of Alexander are known to have been in circulation in later Hellenistic times. . . . The analogy of the letters and the *Stathmoi* suggests that a published version of the Diary would not be an authentic or accurate copy of the original document written by Eumenes and Diodotus" (fn. 10, above, pp. 454–55).

Cyrus to the very gates of Babylon and, though defeated, return alive. Earlier in Alexander's own century, the Spartan king, Agesilaus, had enjoyed considerable successes in Asia Minor, and, of course, Philip, Alexander's father, had been ready to march against the Persian empire at the time of his murder (336 B.C.). Nor should we overlook, for its later implications, the practical certainty (though there is no evidence for it) that Alexander could hardly have been unfamiliar with the activity in Sicily and Italy of his royal relatives and neighbors, who lived just to the west of Macedonia in Epirus.

This much, however, we do know. Alexander inherited Philip's army, but instead of rashly crossing into Asia—the bridgeheads of the Dardanelles were then held by Parmenio, Philip's old general—he spent the next two years training the army, marching to the Danube and beyond and then into what is now eastern Yugoslavia,¹³ all for the added purpose of insuring his later communications between Europe and Asia. And we also know that Alexander inherited Philip's commission from the Corinthian League to lead the Greeks in a Panhellenic War of Revenge against the Persian empire, to punish it for the crimes it had committed against Greece a century and a half earlier.¹⁴

Thus, when he crossed to Asia, Alexander came in a dual capacity. He was both commander-in-chief (hegemon) of the Corinthian League and King of Macedon. The latter office meant that he was responsible to no one but himself in military matters, but we must emphasize (again for the later implications) that in civil affairs the army—that is, the armed citizens—also played a role. It is safe to guess that Alexander did not come as a mere marauder and seeker after loot—otherwise, why the Danube expedition and its extension westward? But whether or not he planned simply to substitute Hellenic despotism for Oriental is the primary question, and certainly we do not have the answer at this point in his career.

It is well known that Alexander was never anything but young (356-323 B.C.). It is also probable that if his cold rationalism and military skill came from Philip, his ability to dream, his mysticism—and probably his temper, which was his worst enemy, and perhaps, too, the growing megalomania which is discernible at the end of his life—came from his mother, Olympias, the fiery and passionate princess of Epirus. Nevertheless, young or not, it is difficult to understand why, on entering Asia as the uninvited intruder in an ancient empire which people looked upon as essentially equivalent to the civilized world, he left his army¹⁵ and made a side trip to Troy.¹⁶ The common interpretation that Alexander did this for its propaganda effect¹⁷ on the wavering Greeks at home—that here was another Achilles or Agamemnon

¹³ Arrian I, 1-6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* I, 1, 2; II, 14, 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* I, 11, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* I, 12, 1.

¹⁷ For example, David G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (London, 1897), p. 177.

leading a victorious European host against Asia—will not stand up; for the real way to win Greek support was to defeat the Persians in battle. The trip to the famous city was primarily a youthful stunt.

There is something else about Alexander that is not so well known, however, and without it he can never be fully understood: his amazing capacity for rapid growth. This is illustrated by his entirely different reaction to two similar experiences within months of each other. At the Granicus, his first encounter with the Persians, Alexander captured Greek mercenaries who had been fighting for Darius, the Great King, against the Panhellenic decrees of the Corinthian League. In his capacity as hegemon, he sent them back to Macedonia in chains to till the soil;¹⁸ but when, a little later, he captured more Greek mercenaries at Miletus, he allowed them to enlist in his own army.¹⁹ Obviously, Alexander's reliance on the Corinthian League was weakening, but we do not yet know what he was planning to substitute for it: personal dominion is the tempting explanation. Nor, most unfortunately, is the ancient evidence clear about his treatment of the liberated Greek cities along the coast. Did he join them to the Corinthian League or to himself as allies? The best answer to this much debated question is that, by and large, Alexander's successors in Asia were prone to follow his schemes in outline; and since Antigonus, his successor in Asia Minor, allied the Greek cities to himself, it is likely that the precedent had been set by Alexander.²⁰

Soon afterward, in Caria, Alexander allowed the native queen, Ada, to adopt him as her son,²¹ an indication that he had come in a somewhat larger capacity than that of mere conqueror. Then, as he proceeded into the non-Greek districts of the interior, he claimed the tribute which had previously been paid the Great King.²² At Gordium, of course, he cut the famous knot—another stunt, and also a challenge he had to accept, though against the familiar story that world dominion was promised to the man who could untie it, we should place the more likely story that rule over Asia Minor alone was held forth.²³ In the interior of Asia Minor, at last, we get a clue to Alexander's thinking, for he appointed barbarians, non-Greeks, as satraps of two provinces.²⁴ Later on, in the farther East, it was common enough for him to appoint barbarians to administrative posts, but, so the argument runs, there were not enough Greeks and Macedonians to go around and he could hardly have done otherwise. Asia Minor, however, was different, for it was

¹⁸ Arrian I, 16, 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* I, 19, 6.

²⁰ Victor Ehrenberg, *Alexander and the Greeks* (Oxford, 1938), chap. 1; cf. my review, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LXI (1940), 498–99. See also Arrian III, 2, 7, for Alexander's further independent treatment of Greek cities (the Chian traitors).

²¹ Arrian I, 23, 8.

²² For example, *ibid.* I, 17, 1.

²³ Curtius III, 1, 13.

²⁴ Arrian I, 23, 7 (Ada is appointed satrap of all Caria); II, 4, 2 (Sabictas is appointed satrap of Cappadocia).

a world of Greeks.²⁵ Then, eighteen months after he had crossed the Dardanelles in the dual capacity of King of Macedon and hegemon of the Corinthian League—and had meanwhile also become the arbiter, and perhaps the ally, of the Greek cities of the coast, the adopted son of a native queen, and the Great King of the native districts (at least for the collection of tribute);²⁶ had treated the Greek mercenaries of the Persians as he liked; and had appointed two barbarians as satraps—Alexander defeated the Persians a second time, at Issus, and Darius was in flight.

It had been a crowded year and a half. If Alexander revealed unexpected and strange ideas, it is impossible for us to place a label upon them; we must wait several years, until his arrival in Bactria, to do that. Meanwhile, there are several important things to notice. The first is the foundation of Alexandria,²⁷ for it is an outstanding example of Alexander's well-known policy of founding cities across Asia. Most of them, in fact, were not new creations but represented, rather, the addition of colonists (generally old or wounded soldiers) to existing communities. Their chief purpose was to form a local gendarmery and to insure the safe arrival of supplies and reinforcements, but they became mighty forces in the Hellenization of Hither Asia.

Another thing we must notice is Alexander's famous trip²⁸ across the desert to the oracle of Ammon in the oasis of Siwah, where, it is declared, he was greeted as the son of God. The institution of divine monarchy in western civilization dates from the divine honors paid Alexander the Great on his death. Whether or not the living Alexander gave any impetus to the idea is the question; and, to judge from the extensive modern literature on the subject, the answer, on balance, is that it dates from this trip. Ferguson, for example, says: "The greeting of Ammon, whose influence had waxed in Greece as that of Delphi had waned, gave them [the cities] an adequate pretext to accede to his suggestion [to enroll him among their gods]; for, once Zeus through his most authoritative oracle had recognized Alexander as his son, no valid objection could be offered to his deification even by men who, in this general age of indifference, retained their faith in supernatural powers or their aversion to religious change."²⁹ Nock comments: "Acknowledged by the god

²⁵ Alexander's inheritance, that of Greeks in general, included his tutor Aristotle's statement that all barbarians, especially those of Asia, were slaves by nature and Plato's statement that all barbarians were enemies of the Greeks by nature. See further my paper, "Alexander the Great and the Barbarians" in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton, 1936), pp. 298-305.

²⁶ Alexander subsequently became the suzerain of Indian rajahs, etc., but it is not the purpose of this paper to make a catalogue.

²⁷ Arrian III, 1, 5.

²⁸ Arrian III, 3, 5 (Chinnock's translation throughout); Diodorus XVII, 49, 2; Justin XI, 11, 2; Curtius IV, 7, 16; Plutarch 26, 6 (Perrin's translation, Loeb edition, throughout).

²⁹ William S. Ferguson, "Legalized Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome," *American Historical Review*, XVIII (1912), 29-47.

Ammon as his son, Alexander retained his belief in the supremacy of Zeus, a belief intimate and almost mystical."³⁰ Prentice says that "Alexander from now on was declared and declared himself to be of divine origin,"³¹ while Wilcken states that the salutation "must have entered his soul like a flash of lightning and caused the deepest emotion."³² Welles comments that he made the "pilgrimage to Ammon to get a new father."³³

The most respectable ancient source for all this is Plutarch, who, however, includes the statement that Alexander also asked the god "whether it was given to him to become the lord and master of all mankind."³⁴ This is enough to condemn the entire passage—one of the most delightful bits of writing that has survived—for no such thoughts can be ascribed to Alexander at this time. The only trustworthy evidence is Arrian's simple statement: "Alexander then was struck with wonder at the place, and consulted the oracle of the god. Having heard what was agreeable to his wishes, as he himself said, he returned to Egypt."³⁵ Tarn, too, follows Arrian, but in the end he finds something "deep" in the visit:

Alexander consulted Ammon as naturally as he had consulted Apollo of Delphi. . . . He certainly did not go to Ammon to be recognized as a god for the Greek world or for anything else; but he did not take either of the regular routes, from Cyrene or Memphis, and this fact enabled his journey to be worked up into an adventure. He went along the coast to Paraetionium, where he received and accepted Cyrene's offer of alliance, and thence struck across the desert. . . . The priest greeted Alexander as son of Ammon; he could do no other, for Alexander came to him as Pharaoh, and, like every Pharaoh, was already to Egyptians the son of Amon-Re. Those with Alexander heard the greeting; the king then entered the inner shrine alone with the priest. Naturally many stories of what passed became current, but he himself divulged nothing except that he was pleased. . . . Later he disclosed that Ammon had told him to what gods to sacrifice . . . which means that . . . he must have asked the oracle about the success of his expedition; but his subsequent attitude towards Ammon shows that there was something which went much deeper than that.³⁶

If Alexander did not go to Ammon to discover his origin, why did he make the hazardous journey? Had it been exclusively a youthful stunt, he could have gone directly from Memphis (the way he returned)—dramatic enough to enable any trip to be worked up into an adventure. Actually, as Hogarth saw long ago,³⁷ military considerations were at the bottom of the

³⁰ Arthur D. Nock, "Hellenistic Religion—The Two Phases" in *Syllabus of Gifford Lectures* (Aberdeen, 1939), p. 9.

³¹ William K. Prentice, *The Ancient Greeks* (Princeton, 1940), p. 238.

³² Wilcken, p. 127.

³³ *Loc. cit.* (see fn. 1, above).

³⁴ Plutarch 27, 4.

³⁵ Arrian III, 4, 5.

³⁶ Tarn, I, pp. 43–44; see also II, p. 355: "Alexander felt the relation to be something very serious, even perhaps sacred."

³⁷ David G. Hogarth, "The Deification of Alexander the Great," *English Historical Review*, II (1887), 317–29.

trip. The man who had once crossed the Danube against the Triballians and later was to cross the Jaxartes against the "Scythians" to protect his frontier, now wished to do the same in Egypt. It was not simply a matter of establishing the existence of the Libyan desert, however, since this could have been done from Memphis, but of going along the coast to receive the submission of Cyrene too, as Diodorus and Curtius attest.³⁸ It will have been noted that Tarn records, in the matter-of-fact way of an itinerary, Alexander's route by way of Paraetionium and Cyrene's alliance but does not draw the conclusions³⁹—a perfect illustration of how close the Alexander studies often are and yet how far apart!

The victory at Gaugamela (Arbela, 331 B.C.) left open to Alexander the glorious capitals of the ancient East—Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. In the latter city, Alexander burned the royal palace,⁴⁰ to show dramatically to the world that the Achaemenid regime had in fact come to an end. What precisely was to take its place he did not yet make clear, but he spent some relatively quiet weeks in Persepolis, which at least gave him the opportunity to think.⁴¹ In the midst of this, word reached him that Darius was at Ecbatana, planning to flee to Bactria-Sogdiana (northern Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan) and raise rebellion in eastern Iran.

With lightning speed Alexander set out for Ecbatana, only to find Darius gone. In a sense, he should have pursued at once, but he saw the necessity of explaining his position to his followers. After all, most Greeks and Macedonians had doubtless thought of the expedition's original objective as limited to Asia Minor, but after Issus, Alexander had turned automatically down the Phoenician coast. Probably the general point of view was summed up by Parmenio at Tyre, when a letter reached Alexander from Darius offering all his empire west of the Euphrates and alliance. Parmenio observed that if he were Alexander he would accept; to which Alexander made the celebrated reply that he would, too, if he were Parmenio.⁴² But now Alexander was at Ecbatana, with Egypt and Mesopotamia behind him, and everything ahead was wholly unfamiliar to the Hellenic world.

Alexander, therefore, called a halt and dismissed the Thessalian cavalry and the other Greek allies,⁴³ as proof that the War of Revenge—though not his alliance with the Corinthian League—had come to an end. But he allowed those who wished to re-enlist, and "not a few"⁴⁴ availed themselves of the

³⁸ Diodorus XVII, 49, 2; Curtius IV, 7, 9.

³⁹ In his Appendix on Alexander's deification, Tarn (II, pp. 347–59, devoted to "Ammon") does not allude to Alexander's route via Paraetionium.

⁴⁰ Arrian III, 18, 11.

⁴¹ For the only important chronological problem in the entire expedition, see my paper, "When Did Alexander Reach the Hindu Kush?" *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LI (1930), 22–31.

⁴² Arrian II, 25, 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.* III, 19, 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* III, 19, 6.

opportunity. Since Tarn states that the Thessalians were "sent home" from Ecbatana,⁴⁵ and since all other students (I believe) have missed the significance of this—indeed, the unfolding of Alexander's extraordinary ideas in Bactria depends in an odd way on these Thessalians, Parmenio's men—it is important to establish the fact of their re-enlistment. Their re-enlistment, along with that of other Greek allies, permits us one conclusion, and only one, that Alexander was here building an *imperial* army.

On the other hand, Tarn says that, with Persia finished, Alexander now set to work, in Eratosthenes' phrase, to mix Greeks and barbarians as in a loving cup and to reconcile the Persians "both to his rule and to the higher culture which he represented."⁴⁶ The appointment of Mazaeus as satrap of Babylon, "his first appointment of a Persian,"⁴⁷ is Tarn's sole evidence for Alexander's extraordinary idea: "Mazaeus' appointment shows that he had already made up his mind" to "organise peace" with the "immemorial civilizations" of Egypt, Babylon, and Persia. To which we need only reply that, so far as appointments are concerned, important administrative posts had already gone to various nationalities.⁴⁸

The relationship with Parmenio at this time is also vital, in a curious way, to the unfolding of Alexander's ideas in Bactria. It is customary to say⁴⁹ that Alexander left Parmenio behind at Ecbatana in Media on communications, but Arrian does not bear this out. Instead, Arrian says that Alexander "told Parmenio himself to take the Greek mercenaries, the Thracians, and all the other horsemen except the Companion cavalry [thus including the Thessalian volunteers] and march by the land of the Cadusians into Hyrcania."⁵⁰ On Alexander's arrival in Hyrcania (after coming across Darius' murdered body, meanwhile), there is no comment on Parmenio's absence, and Arrian writes as if nothing had been expected of him. When, however, Alexander left Hyrcania (the Caspian area) on his march toward India, Arrian says that reinforcements came to him in Parthia out of Media, including "the Greek mercenary cavalry and those of the Thessalians who had volunteered to remain."⁵¹ Why had not Parmenio marched into Hyrcania as ordered? How

⁴⁵ Tarn, I, pp. 54–55.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Until I found the motivation for Alexander's universalism (see below), I had been inclined (e.g. in "Alexander the Great and the Oecumene," *Hesperia*, suppl. viii [1949], 299–304) to refer to Ecbatana Alexander's conception of himself as king of both Greeks and barbarians, but the evidence proves that the idea came later.

⁴⁷ Tarn, I, pp. 52, 54.

⁴⁸ See fn. 24, above, for Caria (Ada) and Cappadocia (Sabictas). The kings of Phoenician cities and of Cyprus were reinstated by Alexander (Arrian II, 20, 1–3). An Egyptian was appointed governor of the land (Arrian III, 5, 2).

⁴⁹ For example, Tarn, I, p. 55, says that Parmenio "was left in Media with some Thracians and mercenaries as general of communications"; but, as will be seen, Parmenio was ordered to use these very troops on an expedition.

⁵⁰ Arrian III, 19, 7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* III, 25, 4.

did it happen that the troops he was to take into Hyrcania joined Alexander in Parthia? Had Parmenio been guilty of disobedience and been arrested in the interim? There is a passage in Arrian that I have never been able to understand, because it does not make sense; and yet, when viewed in this connection, it looks as if Parmenio had indeed already been arrested. We would expect Arrian, in his account of the Philotas conspiracy, to say that messengers were sent to the generals in Media to relieve Parmenio of his command and put him to death. Instead, Arrian says that Alexander sent letters ordering Parmenio's execution to the generals in Media, "who had been placed over the army commanded by Parmenio."⁵² Apparently Arrian has forgotten that he has not previously explained why Parmenio was no longer the army commander.

Whether or not Parmenio's attitude toward Alexander was a contributory factor, there occurred, immediately after the departure from Parthia, the famous conspiracy of Philotas, Parmenio's son, his trial by the army—the citizens under arms—and his judicial execution.⁵³ For safety's sake, as all commentators have it, Alexander then ordered the execution of Parmenio, which, we read, was plain murder, the blackest moment in his life.⁵⁴ This is, admittedly, tangent to the purpose of my paper,⁵⁵ but for Clio's sake I may remark parenthetically that Curtius refers to a Macedonian law, whereby relatives of conspirators against the king must also die.⁵⁶ The execution of Parmenio, accordingly, was judicial.⁵⁷ What is not tangent to this paper, however, is Tarn's comment that Alexander, by the executions, "had shown his generals that he was master; he struck once, with terrible effect, and the lesson went home; six years passed before he had to strike again."⁵⁸ In actual fact, a serious mutiny broke out not long after the execution of Parmenio.

⁵² *Ibid.* III, 26, 3.

⁵³ Arrian III, 26; Diodorus XVII, 79; Justin XII, 5; Curtius VI, 7; Plutarch 48.

⁵⁴ Tarn, I, p. 64: "Parmenio's [execution] was plain murder." Wilcken, p. 164: "It is the darkest spot in Alexander's life." Welles (see fn. 1, above): "He killed his most devoted and most deserving followers: Philotas, Parmenio, Clitus, Callisthenes." Alexander committed other crimes, but this is the chief list of personal crimes that can be leveled against him, and the only true one is the murder of Cleitus. It is the historian's duty, however, to bring out that Cleitus' murder occurred during a long argument, when Alexander received many taunts and was, moreover, drunk. The executions of Philotas and Parmenio were judicial (in accordance with Macedonian law; see below). As for Callisthenes, see my paper, "The Arrest and Death of Callisthenes," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LIII (1932), 353-57, which shows that the fate of Callisthenes is unknown.

⁵⁵ I discuss the point in "Alexander the Great and Parmenio," *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, XLIX (1945), 422-24.

⁵⁶ Curtius VI, II, 20: "Meanwhile some of the officers who were related to Parmenio, hearing that Philotas was being tortured, and fearing the Macedonian law whereby relatives of conspirators against the king were put to death, committed suicide, while others fled . . . so that Alexander revoked the law." This is confirmed by Arrian III, 27, 1-3. Curtius gives the law again at VI, 10, 30-32; and VIII, 6, 28.

⁵⁷ Doubtless, however, Alexander could have persuaded the army to different action, had he wished; and he owed Parmenio much.

⁵⁸ Tarn, I, p. 64.

We come now to the special significance of Parmenio and the Thessalians. Not all people, and especially perhaps Parmenio's superb Thessalian cavalry, approved the executions. It is a fact that, soon after crossing the Hindu Kush and before the Oxus River (the crossing of which presented difficulties), the Thessalians mutinied and were sent home.⁵⁹ If we ask ourselves how it ever happened that during the following two busy years in Bactria-Sogdiana (329-327 B.C.)—years of aroused Iranian nationalism and guerrilla warfare, sickness, wounds, treachery, murder—Alexander should find time to conceive extraordinary ideas about the inhabited world, the oecumene, where should we seek his motivation, in view of the silence of the ancient writers—in the fact that he had read a book,⁶⁰ or in some immediate, down-to-earth need? Is it not likely that Alexander was *compelled* by circumstances to think along revolutionary lines and that sheer military necessity is probably the only thing that will fill the bill?

Alexander never gave up anything voluntarily, and yet the loss of his Thessalians could have meant the termination of his entire expedition at this point. Though the steady arrival of reinforcements from home is a significant fact of the expedition, he obviously could not find more Greeks and Macedonians at a moment's notice. There was only one thing to do, to take a chance. This is why, for the first time, he incorporated large numbers of Asiatics in his army,⁶¹ and certainly his willingness to trust his own personal safety, and the success of the expedition, to barbarians must be placed at the top of his extraordinary ideas. Incidentally, the new troops proved their worth. Once military necessity—perhaps survival itself—forced Alexander to view the world in terms larger than Aristotle's narrow exclusiveness, other, and equally dramatic, new ideas came to him; together they form a rounded pattern.

When he stood at the Jaxartes, Alexander thought he was at the Don, and therefore he considered the people across the river to be Scythians, who in fact

⁵⁹ Probably the reason this has never been noticed is because of the curious way in which Arrian has preserved it. At III, 29, 5 Arrian says that Alexander, before crossing the Oxus, "selected the oldest of the Macedonians, who were now unfit for military service, and such of the Thessalians as had volunteered to remain in the army, and sent them back home." No mention of a mutiny. But at V, 27, 5—in India, at the time of the army's mutiny on the Hyphasis (Beas)—Arrian includes these words in Coenus' speech to Alexander: "Of our number you did well in sending back home the Thessalians at once from Bactra, because you saw that they were no longer eager to undergo labors"—that is, Parmenio's cavalry had been mutinous. Tarn (II, p. 290) took these words as partial proof against the genuineness of Coenus' speech: "The statement that the Thessalians were sent home from Bactra is wrong"; they had been sent home from Ecbatana (I, p. 54).

⁶⁰ Tarn (II, 365), in discussing Alexander's plan of deification at Bactra, says: "Alexander, who had not only read Isocrates' *Philippus*. . ."

⁶¹ Arrian (IV, 17, 3) records the fact of their enlistment subsequent to his account of the embassy of Pharasmanes (see below), but he puts it in the past tense. See further my paper, "Motivation for Alexander's Universalism" in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, II (St. Louis, 1953), pp. 830-32.

lived around the Black Sea. Being badly confused about the earth's geography—though almost never about the immediate terrain—it was only natural for Alexander to view sympathetically the embassy of Pharasmanes, King of the Chorasmians.⁶² This king, doubtless thinking exclusively of his own border troubles and being ready, for whatever reason, to equate the Sea of Aral with the Sea of Azov, offered to help Alexander conquer the areas up to the Black Sea, as it was filtered to Alexander through the interpreters. Alexander thanked Pharasmanes and said that eventually "he would return to Greece and thence make an expedition with all his naval and military forces to the Black Sea," when he would gladly welcome the barbarian's aid; at the moment, Alexander added, "his mind was engrossed by the desire of conquering the Indians; for when he had subdued them, he should possess the whole of Asia." It was here, then, in Bactria-Sogdiana that Alexander first expressed himself, as far as we now know, on the subject of a western expedition, that is to say, on the subject of world conquest.⁶³ The topic has been long debated, but it has almost always⁶⁴ revolved around certain Memoranda⁶⁵ that were presumably found among Alexander's papers after his death. The Memoranda are demonstrably false,⁶⁶ as Tarn has valiantly shown,⁶⁷ but he has failed to study the situation in Bactria for evidence, which, nevertheless, supports not the Memoranda but the idea embodied in them.⁶⁸

About this same time Alexander carried his policy of cooperation with the barbarian world a step further by ordering that 30,000 native youths be taught the Greek language and trained in the use of Macedonian weapons⁶⁹—a policy so unpopular⁷⁰ that the arrival of the youths four years later contributed to the army's revolt at Opis on the Tigris. Next he married Roxane,⁷¹ the

⁶² Arrian IV, 15, 4-6. The extraordinary ignorance of geography, which would have been impossible in Arrian's day, points to the genuineness of the source for this simple passage. To Alexander, as to everyone else, the world meant essentially the Persian empire, that is to say, Asia—an Asia which ended not far beyond the Indus River, where one meets Ocean, the eastern limit of the world. Alexander's ideas developed as his expedition progressed, and in India (Arrian V, 26, 1) the knowledge of a larger world brought him other ideas, but ideas that were still relatively simple and, perhaps, a little naïve.

⁶³ Arrian (IV, 7, 5; Alexander is in Bactria) probably expresses only his own judgment when he speaks of Alexander's plan to "sail right round Libya as well as Asia and hold them both in subjection, as indeed Alexander designed" and to add "possession of Europe to that of Asia and Libya."

⁶⁴ An exception is my paper, "Alexander's Plans," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LXI (1940), 402-12.

⁶⁵ Diodorus XVIII, 4, 1-6.

⁶⁶ Even so, Schachermeyr returns to the argument, "Die letzten Pläne Alexanders des Grossen," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts*, XLI (1954), 118-40.

⁶⁷ Tarn, II, pp. 378-98. Pearson (p. 454, see fn. 10, above) merely follows Tarn: "The important conclusion that can be drawn is that documents as well as letters were fabricated or invented in the second century B.C." Apparently Pearson's purpose is to set up an "analogy" for a faked Royal Journal (see fn. 12, above).

⁶⁸ Tarn's Appendix (see fn. 67, above), as he himself states in his Preface, is substantially the same as his earlier article, "Alexander's Plans," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIX (1939), 124-35.

⁶⁹ Plutarch 47, 3.

⁷⁰ Arrian VII, 6, 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* IV, 19, 5.

beautiful daughter of the Bactrian baron, Oxyartes, which was quickly dressed up by legend as a wonderful love story. Obviously, it was a political move,⁷² designed to placate Iranian nationalism—but, again, it is the first indication we now have of Alexander's ideas concerning race mixture. It is not that Alexander planned a deliberate Hellenization of the East or a barbarization of the Greeks and Macedonians. Those who wished were free to pursue their own national life—and they would inevitably represent the overwhelming majority—but beside this there was to develop a new life based on an interchange and mixture of customs and blood. Here was to be the driving force of the empire, a new attitude toward the world—a necessary correction, I think, to Tarn's estimate of Alexander's empire: "But the true unifying force was lacking; there was no common idea, or ideal."⁷³

We may note parenthetically that on his return to Susa in 324 B.C., Alexander married a daughter of Darius, to legitimize his own rule.⁷⁴ And, to place his stamp of approval on race mixture, Alexander at the same time gave presents to those of his men, over 10,000 in number, who had *already* married or taken up more or less permanently with an Asiatic girl.⁷⁵ The widely-held notion, however, is that 10,000 Greeks and Macedonians now married natives, and it seems impossible to correct it. Tarn, for example, says that "one recalls that unique event in history when Alexander induced 10,000 of his troops to marry their native concubines."⁷⁶ Welles says that Alexander "felt no compunction in staging mixed marriages for his Macedonians and Greeks on a scale which Schachermeyr compares to cattle breeding."⁷⁷ It was only the economic condition of Alexander's men (whatever their other status) that was changed at Susa; and we, for our part, must not be surprised that all those Greeks and Macedonians found girls during the many years in Asia. It is more to the point to note official policy in the making.

To return to Bactria-Sogdiana, Alexander indicated in various ways, then, that he proposed to become king of the barbarians as well as of the Macedon-

⁷² Plutarch 47, 4: it was also "thought to harmonize well with the matters which Alexander had in hand."

⁷³ Tarn, I, p. 141.

⁷⁴ Arrian VII, 4, 4. To Hephaestion and the rest of his Companions, continues Arrian, Alexander "gave the choicest daughters of the Persians and Medes, to the number of eighty. . . . This appeared the most popular thing which Alexander ever did"; the weddings were celebrated at a banquet, Arrian adds.

⁷⁵ Arrian VII, 4, 8; Plutarch 70, 2. Alexander, says Arrian, "also ordered that the names of all the other Macedonians who had married any of the Asiatic women should be registered. They were over 10,000 in number; and to these Alexander made presents on account of their weddings." Plutarch: "At Susa Alexander brought to pass the marriage of his Companions, took to wife himself the daughter of Darius . . . and gave a general wedding feast for those of his Macedonians who had already contracted other marriages. At this feast, we are told, nine thousand guests reclined at supper."

⁷⁶ Tarn, II, p. 329; see also I, p. 111.

⁷⁷ *Loc. cit.*, see fn. 1, above.

ians. That is why he now occasionally wore Persian dress,⁷⁸ which was simpler than the Median; for it was a dramatic way of impressing these thoughts on others—including the Greeks, who needed to be reminded that their special partnership with him had ended. It was even earlier, according to Plutarch, that Alexander "listened to the teachings of Psammon the philosopher in Egypt, and accepted most readily this utterance of his, namely, that all mankind are under the kingship of God, since in every case that which gets the mastery and rules is divine. Still more philosophical, however, was his own opinion and utterance on this head, namely that although God was indeed a common father of all mankind, still, He made peculiarly His own the noblest and best of them."⁷⁹

Finally, there is one other thing of the first importance that happened at Bactra. This is the famous banquet in 327 B.C.,⁸⁰ during which the subject of proskynesis was discussed and with it, the desirability of paying homage to Alexander as a divine personage.⁸¹ Inevitably, this extraordinary proposal produced various accounts in antiquity and, in turn, an extensive modern literature.⁸² We must, as always, carefully distinguish the sound ancient evidence from the unsound. This will give us the picture of the banquet itself, so far as it can now be recovered. To discover Alexander's motive is another matter; but it will be simpler, once we see that toasts and the difference between Macedonian and Greek methods of drinking one's health—all leading to the worship of Alexander's daemon and the establishment of an Alexander-cult—have nothing whatever to do with it.⁸³

According to Arrian, an arrangement was made between Alexander and the sophists in conjunction with the most illustrious of the Persians and Medes that the topic of proskynesis should be mentioned at a banquet at Bactra.

Anaxarchus commenced the discussion by saying that Alexander would much more justly be deemed a god than either Dionysus or Heracles. . . . He added

⁷⁸ Arrian IV, 7, 4; Plutarch (45, 1-2) places the change of dress in Parthia, at any rate, after the departure from Ecbatana and the death of Darius.

⁷⁹ Plutarch 27, 6.

⁸⁰ In "The Seer Aristander," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, L (1929), 195-97, I showed that Callisthenes' *History* certainly extended into the year 328 B.C., and on p. 70 of my *Ephemerides* (fn. 11, above) that it very probably extended into the early spring of 327 B.C., thus including the banquet at Bactra.

⁸¹ Arrian IV, 10; Justin XII, 7; Curtius VIII, 5; Plutarch 54. There is a lacuna in Diodorus at this point, but it seems clear from the table of contents of Book xvii that he wrote of the banquet.

⁸² See Tarn, I, pp. 79-80; II, Appendix 22; and my paper, "Alexander's Deification," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LXIV (1943), 286-301.

⁸³ See, however, Grace H. Macurdy, "The Grammar of Drinking Healths," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LIII (1932), 168-71; Lily Ross Taylor, "The 'Proskynesis' and the Hellenistic Ruler Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVII (1927), 53-62; *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, 1931), reviewed by Arthur D. Nock, *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 513-18; further references will be found in the studies mentioned in fn. 82, above.

that the Macedonians might with greater justice gratify their king with divine honors, for there was no doubt about this, that when he departed from men they would honor him as a god. How much more just then would it be to reward him while alive, than after his death, when it would be no advantage to him to be honored.

After Anaxarchus had spoken, continues Arrian, those who were privy to the plan applauded his speech and wished at once to begin the ceremony of proskynesis. Most of the Macedonians, however, were vexed and kept silence, but Callisthenes opposed him in a vigorous speech.

Thus Callisthenes greatly annoyed Alexander but spoke the exact sentiments of the Macedonians. When Alexander perceived this, he sent to prevent the Macedonians from making any further mention of the ceremony of proskynesis. But after the discussion silence ensued; and then the most honorable of the Persians arose in due order and prostrated their bodies before him. But when one of the Persians seemed to have performed the ceremony in an awkward way, Leonnatus, a Companion, laughed at his posture as mean. Alexander at the time was angry with him for this, but was afterwards reconciled to him."⁸⁴

At this point in his account Arrian passes to another source. So far as we can tell from his method of work,⁸⁵ the account up to this point has been based on Ptolemy and Aristobulus, hence on Callisthenes and the Royal Journal, and therefore this is all we know for certain of the banquet. Arrian's next words are: "The following account has also been given." We know from his Preface that such words are his signal that he is no longer following Ptolemy and Aristobulus. And, indeed, we can check him here, for "the following account" also appears in Plutarch, who gives as *his* source the court chamberlain, Chares, a well-known liar. The "following account" has to do with the guests drinking from a goblet, performing the act of proskynesis, and then receiving a kiss from Alexander. It ends with Callisthenes approaching Alexander for the kiss, without having first prostrated himself. Alexander, accordingly, would not permit himself to kiss him; whereupon the philosopher said, "Well, then, I'll go away the poorer by a kiss."

If we cannot agree that modern scholarship has established a reasonably sound way of occasionally checking the sources back of Arrian and the other Alexander-historians, then we must admit Chares' story, the variant accounts of the visit to the oracle of Ammon, and, indeed, a mass of floating gossip. I accept as evidence solely that part of Arrian's account which is based on Ptolemy and Aristobulus.

We have, then, a picture of a banquet, at which it was proposed, with Alexander's approval, that people should prostrate themselves before him

⁸⁴ Arrian IV, 12, 1-2.

⁸⁵ See fn. 8, above, and p. 13 of my study mentioned in fn. 11, above.

and regard him as a god. This is dramatic enough in itself, and we must now try to discover Alexander's motive. Wilcken says that

Alexander certainly knew from his Persian courtiers that the Persians regarded the *proskynesis* simply as an expression of the deepest reverence for their lord. But as he was naturally familiar with the Greek conception, it was a dangerous undertaking to promote the levelling of his subjects by an attempt to establish among Macedonians and Greeks a custom which the Persians followed in his case as a matter of course. . . . His purpose . . . was to express the equal position of the Persians with the Macedonians and Greeks by means of this common court ceremonial.⁸⁶

According to Wilcken, then, Alexander's motive was to raise the position of the Persians by introducing a ceremony which meant, however, something entirely different—divinity—to Greeks and Macedonians.

Tarn explains the matter as follows:

Alexander knew perfectly how Greeks must interpret prostration, and must therefore have intended to become a god, and as Greeks, Macedonians, and Persians were all involved, it can only mean that he intended to become, officially, the god of his empire; he was doing rather more than feeling his way. His reasons were entirely political; the thing was to him merely a pretence which might form a useful instrument of statecraft and become, he thought, a considerable help to his policy of fusion; also, among other things, he had to settle how the autocrat of Asia, without playing the autocrat, could get a juridical standing in those free Greek cities in whose hands lay his empire's access to the Aegean. What put the idea of becoming a god into his head seems clear enough. It had been put there, long before he crossed to Asia, by the two chief political thinkers of his youth, his tutor Aristotle and Isocrates; for Isocrates had said to Philip that, if he conquered Persia, nothing would be left him but to become a god, and Aristotle, not content with telling Alexander that he had no peer, had said, with Alexander in mind, that the supreme ruler when he came would be as a god among men.⁸⁷

Our problem, obviously, is to discover what brought the idea of deification out of Alexander's head at Bactra. Does it seem likely, as Wilcken suggests, that Alexander had the Persians so much on his mind at this time that he was ready to offend the Greeks and Macedonians? Is Tarn's explanation any more satisfying, that western affairs were so much on Alexander's mind at this time that he was willing to risk trouble with his generals in order to obtain "a juridical standing" in far-away Greece? He was having trouble enough with his generals, as it was.

Alexander's motive, whatever it was, must be sought in the immediate background of the days in Bactria-Sogdiana; and it seems equally sensible to suggest that the motivation must have been a strong one. These were days, of course, of extraordinary ideas; but it had also been a period of continuous

⁸⁶ Wilcken, pp. 168-69.

⁸⁷ Tarn, I, pp. 79-80.

guerrilla warfare. Moreover, it was a time of continuing opposition to Alexander: the tragedies of Philotas, Parmenio, and Cleitus;⁸⁸ the mutiny of the Thessalian cavalry; the resistance of the seer Aristander and Callisthenes to the crossing of the Jaxartes, which barely survives in Arrian and must have been but a part of wider hostility to Alexander.⁸⁹ All this lay in the background. Nor, incidentally, would it be downed; for the Macedonian opposition at the banquet was soon followed by the conspiracy of the Pages, who said, so Arrian quotes Ptolemy and Aristobulus, that "Callisthenes had instigated them to make the daring attempt" against Alexander.⁹⁰ Sheer military necessity—the business of getting on with one's generals and immediate circle surely amounts to that—was as present here as at the time of the Thessalian mutiny; and it required as drastic treatment. Mutinous cavalry could be replaced with local cavalry—but what to do with an uncertain officer corps? We have no ancient evidence for this or any other explanation, obviously; but it seems clear that Alexander decided to abandon the comradely relationship with his officers, which had long characterized the Macedonian monarchy, and to put an end to wavering support and possible plots by becoming an autocrat. Or better, to put it in Greek terms, he decided, in this century of religious indifference which had already raised living men to divine status, to become a god.

The idea fell through at Bactra, but in the year before his death Alexander was in fact deified by the Greeks,⁹¹ on whose initiative it is not known.⁹² If

⁸⁸ Cleitus' murder is described in Arrian IV, 8.

⁸⁹ This is discussed on p. 292, fn. 20, of my paper mentioned in fn. 82, above.

⁹⁰ Arrian IV, 14, 1. Truesdell S. Brown does not advance the study of Alexander when he says that the Pages "steadily refused to implicate Callisthenes" in "Callisthenes and Alexander," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LXX (1949), 225-48.

⁹¹ Tarn (II, p. 370) says that Alexander "issued to the cities of the League a decree ordering them to receive back their exiles (which he had no constitutional power to issue) and *also* [my italics] a request for his own deification (which probably came first)." At the word "League" Tarn gives a reference to Diodorus XVIII, 8, 4. Tarn's sentence makes it appear that Diodorus is also evidence for Alexander's request for deification, whereas the passage deals exclusively with his decree ordering the return to their cities of the exiles who swarmed over Greece.

⁹² Tarn, I, p. 114: "Alexander's request for deification was seemingly brought before the League States by his partisans in the several cities, but certainly the initiative came from him and not from the Greeks; Hypereides' evidence seems conclusive, and in any case Athens (for instance), irreconcilably opposed to the exiles decree, would not of her own motion have conferred on Alexander the means whereby he could carry that decree into effect without a formal breach of the Covenant" of the Corinthian League. In his fn. to this, Tarn again says that the Hypereides passage "is evidence that the request came from Alexander." Since there is not a shred of evidence for this, I give the entire passage, so far as it has survived: "But when the Areopagus postponed its statement on the grounds that it had not yet discovered the truth, you [Demosthenes] conceded in the Assembly that Alexander might be the son of Zeus and Poseidon too if he wished . . . wished . . . to set up a statue of Alexander, the king and god invincible . . . Olympias . . . announced to the people . . ." (Hypereides *Against Demosthenes*, Frag. VII [VIII], cols. 31, 32, Loeb edition, Burt's translation). Not an ancient source—though lacunae exist in Arrian and elsewhere—says that Alexander himself ordered his deification; indeed, the references to his deification either represent heated party oratory or are late and poor. For example, Deinarchus *Against Demosthenes*, 94 (Loeb edition, Burt's translation): "At another time Demosthenes said that the people must not question the grant of divine honors to Alexander"; for what Demosthenes in fact

the Greeks themselves thought it up, Alexander is excluded and we have no problem; we must inquire, however, whether it is likely that Alexander sent the request. Wilcken and Tarn say that he did. In explaining it, Wilcken drops the Persian political motive and indeed shifts his whole ground to a psychological analysis:

This consciousness of a divine sonship had always remained in his mind. Possessed by it, elevated by his fabulous successes and in expectation of his plans for world-sovereignty, he now took the decisive step of going further than these special revelations, and of requiring divine honours from the Greeks of the Corinthian League. It is a mistaken view of Alexander's character to bar out this inner religious experience and to assume that the demand was a purely political move, the only object of which was to lift him as a god above the stipulations of the Corinthian League and to subject the autonomous Greek cities and their lands to his divine will.⁹³

Tarn sticks to the Greek political motive, but now circumscribes it:⁹⁴ "Deification showed that he meant to stand above parties and factions. . . . His deification, therefore, in 324 B.C., like his preliminary attempt at Bactra, was entirely a political matter, but this time limited to the cities of the League of Corinth."⁹⁵

Since the idea of deification occurred to Alexander at Bactra, it is difficult not to ascribe to him his actual deification in 324 B.C. On the other hand, why

said (even though Deinarchus proves nothing as it is), see Hypereides above. Athenaeus VI, 251B (Loeb edition, Gulick's translation), in speaking of an Athenian envoy who had been bribed by the Persian king: "I wonder, for my part, how the Athenians could have let him go without bringing him to trial, seeing that they fined Demades ten talents for proposing a decree naming Alexander a god." Aelian *Varia Historia*, V, 12 says substantially the same.

⁹³ Wilcken, p. 212.

⁹⁴ Tarn *has* to circumscribe it, because he wishes to show that Alexander sought deification in order to legalize his exiles decree; that is to say, since the exiles decree was addressed to the cities of the Corinthian League, the request for deification would be limited to them. As already mentioned, Tarn says that at Bactra Alexander planned to become the god of his empire; he does not explain why the Conqueror of India should suddenly become so much more modest. See fn. 95, below.

⁹⁵ Tarn, II, p. 371. Ferguson, on p. 32 of his article mentioned in fn. 29, above, states: "When the Greek cities had placed Alexander in their circles of deities he was at once free from all the treaty obligations accepted by him at the Congress of Corinth, and his first effort in his new capacity was to rid his realm of all its homeless and lawless men by requiring every city to receive back its exiles. What a gain to the world that this problem could be finally attacked vigorously yet legally!" Alexander, then, deified himself in order that he might legally recall the exiles, a step forbidden him by the Covenant of the Corinthian League. As Tarn expresses it (I, pp. 112-13): the recall of the exiles was "a breach of the Covenant of the League of Corinth, which forbade interference with the internal affairs of the constituent states. . . . The Covenant bound Alexander of Macedon; it would not bind Alexander the god; the way therefore to exercise authority in the cities was to become a god." Since no ancient evidence connects the exiles decree and Alexander's deification—and since, moreover, there is no ancient evidence that Alexander initiated the request for his deification (see fn. 92, above)—we are merely setting up a straw man when we say that Alexander *must* have requested his deification in a limited area in order to make legal an action in that area. There is no connection whatever between deification and the exiles decree, except in point of time; and accordingly the decree does not bear on the subject of this paper. My conclusion—admittedly an assumption where only assumptions are possible—is that Alexander, faced with the problem of 20,000 exiles, simply cut the Gordian knot and decreed their return to their cities.

should the attempt at Bactra be described so fully by the Alexander-historians and the actual deification in 324 B.C. be omitted entirely? The banquet of reconciliation at Opis,⁹⁶ following the mutiny of the entire army,⁹⁷ gave the Alexander-historians an excellent opportunity to allude to Alexander's action and even to embellish it. It is also tempting, making an analogy with Bactra, to say that differences with his men once again led Alexander to demand deification; but in that event we would have been informed about its effect on the army rather than on Greece, and this would hold for any theory advanced. Since there is no evidence that Alexander requested his deification in 324 B.C., we must conclude that the initiative originated in the land where it was debated, Greece, a land not unknown for its flattery. This ties in with Arrian's statement that on Alexander's return to Babylon there "arrived embassies from Greece, the members of which, with crowns upon their own heads, approached Alexander and crowned him with golden crowns, as if forsooth they had come to him as special envoys deputed to pay him divine honors."⁹⁸ It is pure assumption, without a shred of evidence, that Alexander asked the Greeks—and even more specifically, his allies of the Corinthian League—to deify him. Greeks did not have to be told how to hail the Conqueror of India.

At any rate, the genesis of every one of Alexander's extraordinary ideas is to be discovered by the time he left Bactria. This is important, on account of our sources. Callisthenes was not arrested until just before the departure, at which time, of course, his *History* came to an end; and if one thing is certain about the Alexander-history, it is that Callisthenes' *History*, based on the Royal Journal, was the ultimate source for two other primary historians, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, whom Arrian names as his chief sources. On the return to Mesopotamia, to be sure, some of Alexander's ideas were expounded more fully—sudden death ended any real development—but by Susa and Babylon our sources have become confused and often contain statements that are projections backward from Stoicism and other later thought.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ See Tarn, II, Appendix 25 ("Brotherhood and Unity") and his earlier paper, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIX (1933), 123-66. Alexander's prayer at the banquet for partnership in the empire and for unity and concord in a joint commonwealth, where all peoples were to be partners rather than subjects, marks a revolution in human thought, as Tarn brilliantly shows.

⁹⁷ Arrian's account of the mutiny (VII, 8, 1-3) does not make sense, for he suggests that the old and maimed soldiers so resented honorable discharge that they led the others in revolt. Justin (XII, 11, 5) not only makes sense but shows the seriousness of Alexander's predicament: the temper of the soldiers was such that the younger ones insisted that they be allowed to return home with their elders. Almost the entire account that Justin gives of Alexander's expedition is worthless, though he occasionally touches a good source; see my paper, "Justin," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LIII (1932), 357-59.

⁹⁸ Arrian VII, 23, 2.

⁹⁹ This was once vigorously debated by M. H. Fisch, "Alexander and the Stoics," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LVIII (1937), 59-82, 129-51; and Tarn, "Alexander, Cynics and Stoics," *Am. Jour.*

To understand Alexander, then, we need not go beyond Bactria. Each of his extraordinary ideas—on world conquest and his own relation to the state, the use of barbarians in administration and army, the foundation of cities, a common culture, the fusion of races, personal deification—is rooted, moreover, in Arrian. If these ideas add up to a new attitude toward the world—to a dream of universalism, as we might describe it—it contributes little to our understanding of Alexander to brush them off on the ground that not even in our day can they be attained “except by submission to the unchallenged rule of a world conqueror.”¹⁰⁰ Equally out of place in this connection is an undue emphasis on Alexander as one who was not “a comfortable or attractive character with whom to spend a quiet evening. He was actually a person of ‘kriegerische Kraft und Brutalität.’ ”¹⁰¹ As for Alexander’s crimes, we may add, John H. Kent once referred to Macaulay’s verdict on Clive and men who are raised above the ordinary: “Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed.”¹⁰²

The real question we have to ask is, how did Alexander himself think that he was to bring his ideas into being? Schachermeyr must surely be right when he answers, “autocratically,” for there is no evidence that Alexander ever intended to abdicate in favor of a democratic federation, for example. Ideas, however, have a way of growing. In fact, Alexander’s idea of cooperation between peoples became the basis of the Euthydemid kingdom in Bactria and India¹⁰³ and, on the philosophical side, was picked up by Zeno and St. Paul to constitute a standing challenge to all posterity.

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Philol., LX (1939), 41–70. Fisch was also disturbed that Tarn, during years of study, had changed his mind concerning Alexander on various points—a charge to which I am eager to plead guilty!

¹⁰⁰ Paul MacKendrick, in his review of my *Alexander* in *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, LIII (1949), 88–89.

¹⁰¹ Welles, see fn. 1, above.

¹⁰² In his review of my *Alexander* in *Classical Journal*, XLIII (1948), 498–500.

¹⁰³ William W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938), chaps. IV–VI and Conclusion.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Far Eastern Policy of the United States
in the Period of the Russo-Japanese War:
A Russian View*

ERNEST R. MAY

HISTORIANS may not love their enemies, but they certainly study them. In a counterpart to America's current zest for Russian studies, the U.S.S.R. has lately seen a surge in research and writing about the history of the United States. One product of this boom is Aleksandr Solomonovich Dobrov's study of United States Far Eastern policy during the early twentieth century. Far from being a journalist's yarn, Dobrov's book appears to be a result of ten years' scholarly labor. Such an interval, at any rate, elapsed after his earlier publications on Baltic politics and geography, and the studious research displayed in his new book might easily have occupied it all. Dobrov not only examined all the major western sources and studies but also combed the manuscript archives of the Russian Foreign Office. His claim to explode American "falsifications of history" thus merits a hearing by American scholars, and his book also deserves at least a glance as a well-developed specimen of the Soviet Union's increasing brood of American studies.

Despite his prodigious industry, Dobrov does not in fact overturn the conclusions of western scholars. His new evidence generally proves, under scrutiny, to be less conclusive than he predicts. Some of it, nevertheless, is highly suggestive; no less for Russian history than for American. Justifying Henry Adams' suspicion about Count Cassini, the Tsar's ambassador in Washington ("One was led to suspect," Adams murmured in *The Education*, "that Cassini never heard from his government"), Dobrov cites few instructions from the Russian Foreign Office. But much of Dobrov's new evidence does consist of quotations from Cassini's dispatches to St. Petersburg, and some of these quotations verge on being important.

The ambassador's comment on John Hay's protest against the Russo-Chinese banking agreement may, for example, exhibit part of the basis for a

* Aleksandr Solomonovich Dobrov, *Dal'nevostochnaya Politika S.Sh.A. v Period Russko-Yaponskoi Voiny* (Moscow, 1952), pp. 3-396.

persistent Russian suspicion. Cassini called attention to "the singularity of the coincidence in the time of Secretary of State Hay's protest . . . and the time of the publication of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, proclaiming in its first part almost identical views and arguments." It appeared to be, he concluded, "*the result of a preliminary agreement on that subject between the U.S.A., Great Britain and Japan.*" Later he observed: "There is no need to doubt that between the cabinets in Washington and St. James occurs a lively exchange of opinions on all questions rising out of our conflict with Japan, and that, if there is not an actual agreement between the U.S.A. and Great Britain, they at least maintain a certain coordination in their actions."¹

Such reports from the embassy in Washington no doubt fertilized St. Petersburg's fears and encouraged Russian press suspicion of an Anglo-Japanese-American alliance. So often was this suspicion published in Russia that one American ambassador offered to protest the laxity of tsarist censorship.²

Cassini's dispatch on the coincidence of the American protest note and the Anglo-Japanese alliance may also help to explain a far more important and more immediate inclination in Russian opinion. It probably accounts for the instructions that Cassini received late in February, 1902. Dobrov does not cite these instructions, nor do other writers who have had access to Russian archives. But Cassini, "extremely disturbed," told his French colleague that he had been ordered "to watch very closely the tendencies of the government in Washington with regard to the Chinese question, since the Cabinet in London seeks to draw the United States more and more into its game in the Far East."³ The Russian government, of course, had also been warned by the Germans that America "would eventually throw her weight into the balance for English and Japanese interests,"⁴ and France had declined to support her Russian ally in the Far East; so Cassini's dispatch was not the only prompter received in St. Petersburg. Knowledge of that dispatch may add, nevertheless, to our understanding of the reasons for Russia's reckless promise in March, 1902, to withdraw entirely from Manchuria.

A subsequent passage in Dobrov's book raises the further possibility that Cassini's dispatches might have influenced Russia's fateful decision not to carry out this pledge of withdrawal. Dealing with the years 1902 and 1903, Dobrov writes: "The government of the United States did not conceal that,

¹ Cassini to Lamsdorf, Feb. 13, 1902, Dobrov, p. 119, fn. 1 (the italics appear to be Dobrov's); Cassini to Lamsdorf, Aug. 23, 1904, *ibid.*, p. 237, fn. 2. Dobrov rarely indicates whether dates are Old Style or New.

² Edward H. Zabriskie, *American-Russian Rivalry in the Far East: A Study in Diplomacy and Power Politics, 1895-1914* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 78.

³ J. Cambon to Delcassé, Mar. 3, 1902, *Documents diplomatiques français, 1871-1914* (2° sér. 1901-1911; Paris, 1929-), II, no. 118.

⁴ Von Bülow to Alvensleben, Feb. 22, 1902, *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette* (Berlin, 1922-1926), XVII, no. 5050.

with a guarantee of the 'Open Door,' according to its own broad interpretation of that term, it would not object to prolonged occupation of Manchuria by the Tsarist army, for 'then,' as Hay declared to Cassini, 'into that country good administration could at least be introduced, which would ensure security for all' " (pp. 119-20). Had such a report from Cassini arrived after the spring of 1902, it might have aroused in Russia a hope of detaching one Pacific naval power from the other two, thus calming Japan and Britain and freeing Russia from their restraint. Such a dispatch from the Russian ambassador in Washington would have lent force to the urgings of A. M. Bezobrazov and other imperialists, for they were talking anyway of financing Russian imperialism with American capital.⁵ And Hay, we know, did feel at this time that Russia might be no more unsatisfactory than China as the tenant of Manchuria.⁶ But American archives preserve no record of Hay's disclosing this opinion to Cassini, and Dobrov neglects on this one occasion to supply the date of the document he cites. His statement thus forms a shaky foundation for a hypothesis.

Even more disappointing, after the first glance, is a passage that seems to contain a revelation about the Korean policy of Theodore Roosevelt. From American sources, we have known that Roosevelt once believed in Japan's right to Korea, but we had thought that his policy decision was not reached until early in 1905.⁷ Dobrov now tells us that Roosevelt's decision was made in 1903, before the Russo-Japanese war broke out. Cassini wrote on April 23 of "the private view of President Roosevelt on the relation of Japan with Korea, which must necessarily, in his opinion, fall to Japan for the establishment of a political equilibrium between us (Russia) [*sic*] and Japan in the Far East" (p. 167). If Roosevelt were confiding this view to the Russian ambassador, he was presumably confiding it also to the representatives of Japan. If so, then Japan had Roosevelt's tacit backing when she proclaimed her paramount position in Korea and asked Russia to recognize her "preponderating interests." But it is probably not true that Roosevelt disclosed his mind at this early date, for Cassini's dispatch coincides with a presidential bear hunt.⁸ Since Roosevelt

⁵ [V. M. Vonlyarlyarskii], "Why Russia Went to War with Japan: The Story of the Yalu Concession," *Fortnightly Review*, XCIII (1910), 823, 1033; Bezobrazov to the Tsar, June 21, 1903 (O.S.), Mikhail N. Pokrovskii, ed., *Russko-Yaponskaya Voina* (Leningrad, 1925), p. 150; Boris B. Glinkskii, "Prolog Russko-Yaponskoi Voiny," *Istoricheskii Vestnik*, CXXXVII (1914), 620, 624-25. In the collection of Glinkskii's articles, *Prolog Russko-Yaponskoi Voiny* (St. Petersburg, 1916), pp. 278, 289, these passages were shortened, and they were omitted altogether from the French version by Pierre Marc, *Quelques années de politique internationale* (Leipzig, 1914).

⁶ Hay to Roosevelt, May 1, 1902, Tyler Dennett, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War* (New York, 1925), pp. 135-36. Hay had expressed his disillusionment to Cassini in 1901, according to Cassini to Lamsdorf, Mar. 15, 1901, Boris A. Romanov, *Russia in Manchuria, 1892-1906* (Leningrad, 1928; [trans. by Susan W. Jones], Ann Arbor, Mich., 1952), pp. 215-16.

⁷ Roosevelt to von Sternburg, Aug. 28, 1900, Elting E. Morison et al., eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951-1954), II, 1394; Roosevelt to Hay, Jan. 28, 1905, *ibid.*, IV, 1112.

⁸ See the chronology *ibid.*, IV, 1358-59.

was away from Washington from April 1 until June 5, the ambassador's report cannot have resulted from a face to face interview with the President. His opinion about Roosevelt's private view must have been obtained at second hand, probably from the German ambassador, whose government had an interest in stimulating Russian suspicion of the United States.⁹ The most striking new evidence in Dobrov's book thus loses much of its apparent consequence.

Cassini's reports on the war period, as cited by Dobrov, accurately portray American sympathy for Japan. They show Cassini's distrust of Roosevelt and his hope that Roosevelt would not be re-elected in 1904, as well as his impression that this hope was shared throughout Latin America.¹⁰ Mingled with these criticisms, however, were assurances that the United States was not dangerous to Russia. Cassini's home government was probably disturbed by dispatches from Peking, reported by Dobrov, characterizing American consular agents as Japanese spies and telling of American efforts to stir China's war lords against Russia. Shortly before the war, we know, the Tsar had told his advisers of the Kaiser's fears about the United States, adding, "America alarms me too."¹¹ Cassini soothed such feelings by reporting, "in spite of agitation hostile to us in the largest part of the periodical press here, letters have come to me almost daily, containing an expression of sympathy with Russia and an offer of service, in one form or another, in case of conflict with Japan." He later advised his government "to retain no illusions whatever about the possibilities of the country's serious-minded and numerically strong elements being drawn into support of an adventurous Japanophile policy."¹²

Recognizing American sympathy for Japan, Cassini opposed American mediation. Roosevelt's talk of peace, he declared, was meant "to show public opinion that the rumors spread by his political opponents concerning his adventurous and warlike inclinations were without foundation." Later Cassini wrote: "In all the to-do of the peace campaign here, especially strange appears the role of Mr. Roosevelt, on whom is thrust and *who thrusts upon himself* the role of an apostle of peace, one hardly suiting his character and tempera-

⁹ See Memorandum by von Bülow, Feb. 25, 1902, *Grosse Politik*, XVII, no. 5051. Cassini to Lamsdorf, Jan. 6, 1902, Dobrov, p. 166, reported seeing Roosevelt's earlier letter to von Sternburg, and it seems doubtful that anyone except a German diplomat could have possessed it.

¹⁰ Writing of his South and Central American colleagues, Cassini declared, "*With his election they have lost all hope of a change in the present attitude of the U.S.A. toward them.* . . . As the representative of one Spanish-American republic put it, it is not so much the predominance of a strong northern republic among the American republics, as it is the *relation of a suzerain to his vassals*" (Cassini to Lamsdorf, Nov. 3, 1904, Dobrov, p. 21). Cassini's impression of Latin American opinion was thus exactly the reverse of that obtained by American diplomats in the Latin American capitals. See John Patterson, "Latin American Reactions to the Panama Revolution of 1903," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIV (1944), 342-51.

¹¹ Entry for Dec. 8, 1903, Aleksii N. Kuropatkin, "Dnevnik," *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, II (1920), 93.

¹² Cassini to Lamsdorf, Jan. 27, 1904 (N.S.), Apr. 6, 1904, Dobrov, pp. 314, 141.

ment . . . arising from an ambitious itch to be first in line with a peace plan and not, of course, from any true and sincere love of peace." And he declared to Hay that any mediation offer would be "totally inadmissible."¹³

Sometime after the fall of Port Arthur, however, Cassini changed his mind. He may even have given Roosevelt the "definite impression" that "the Russians would have interest in negotiating as soon as possible." The French ambassador reported that the President had such an impression late in February, 1905.¹⁴ By mid-March, certainly, Cassini was steering his government toward peace. He wrote of Roosevelt: "He finds himself under the influence of Japanese successes, which he considers dangerous for other interested nations. If a request for 'good offices' appeared at the same time from both belligerent sides, I think that the President would agree to it with haste. I think that it is useful not quite to discourage these active tendencies of the United States, of which, when opportunity offers, we might wish to avail ourselves." A few days later, talking with Roosevelt, Cassini even made a left-handed declaration of Russian peace terms. Speaking of mediation, he reported, he had emphasized that "Russia cannot even think about it, if it requires her to pay an indemnity or to give Japan some province, that Russia could never agree to humiliating terms and never would pledge away her future in the Far East."¹⁵ Roosevelt thus had official information of Russian terms some time before he received Japan's request for his good offices.

Cassini had little to do with the actual arrangements for mediation, and Dobrov supplies no new information either on these arrangements or on the discussions at Portsmouth. Sharing the view of General Kuropatkin, Dobrov disapproves of the peacemaking. He feels that Russian victory would have resulted from continued war, and he laments the acceptance of mediation as "indisputably a great mistake in Tsarist diplomacy" (p. 277). For that reason he scampers with distaste across the Portsmouth meetings, and, after a few quotations from Lenin and Stalin, he brings his book to a close.

Although Dobrov has rendered some service to scholarship by printing documents from the sealed archives of the Russian Foreign Office, his interpretations seem less those of a scholar than those of a propagandist. His thesis is that Roosevelt and Hay, as puppets of American monopolistic capital,

¹³ Cassini to Lamsdorf, Oct. 5, 1904 (N.S.), Oct. 19, 1904 (N.S.), Dobrov, pp. 217-19. American archives do not record Cassini's declaration to Hay; but Cassini also told von Sternburg of saying to Hay "that Russia was resolved to carry on the war to the bitter end and most determinedly to reject all mediation proposals," in Sternburg to *Ausw. Amt*, Oct. 18, 1904, Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik* (London, 1935), II, 1198.

¹⁴ Jusserand to Delcassé, Feb. 11, 1905, *Doc. dipl. français* (2^e sér.), VI, no. 90.

¹⁵ Cassini to Lamsdorf, Mar. 21, 1905 (N.S.), Mar. 31, 1905, Dobrov, pp. 251-53. For the Japanese proposals of April 18 and after, see Dennett, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*, pp. 176 ff.

plotted the conflict between Russia and Japan. By a teasing method, he contends, American imperialists led Russia into adventures in Asia while, at the same time, using the Open Door to prevent Russia from consolidating her control. Simultaneously egging Japan into resistance, the American plotters thus brought about the war; and they ended it when the desired result had been achieved. Such is Dobrov's view of what, from American sources, we have regarded, and still regard, as Hay's nervous vacillation about the Open Door and Roosevelt's half-formed notion of balanced antagonisms. He sees in the customary gropings of diplomacy a deep-laid design, and he attributes to Roosevelt and Hay the same incredible cunning that we have sometimes attributed to the Politburo.

Dobrov's view depends, of course, not only on superstitions about plotters but also on the assumption of robot characteristics in the plotted-against. If Hay's contradictory statements to Cassini actually lured Russian expansion one day and discouraged it the next, then Cassini acted not as an interpreter but simply as a conduit, and his government responded in turn like a rotor receiving a measured current. Such is, in fact, Dobrov's view; for his thesis rests almost entirely on Cassini's statements. From them he reads the intentions of Roosevelt and Hay, ignoring evidence of their actual purposes; and from Cassini's dispatches he also seems to infer the responses of the Russian government.

It is odd that such a view of Russia should underlie this exceedingly patriotic book. For Dobrov is not primarily a materialist; economic facts appear to bore him. Nor is he primarily a Communist; his citations of the Marxist-Leninist classics seem formulae, like the invocations in renaissance epics. He is a chauvinist, with a faith in the righteousness of Russian expansionism equal to any counterpart in the history of American manifest destiny. Implicitly he defends the tsarist imperialism that was recognized to be unnecessary by some of its own advocates.¹⁶ Unlike Bolshevik historians of the 1920's, Dobrov waves the flag for tsarist Russia.

Nationalism like Dobrov's has, of course, been conquering Soviet scholarship since the early 1930's. A. L. Galperin's study of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, published in 1947, offered hope that Soviet presses might again print worthwhile studies, Marxist in bias, but nevertheless thoughtful and critical in interpretation. Dobrov's book offers the results of long research, it is true, but offers them within the covers of a political tract. Cautious references to China and France are coupled with a characterization of the United States as the historic archconspirator against Russia. His whole book plods the party

¹⁶ See William L. Langer, "Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg," *Europäische Gespräche*, IV (1926), 307-308.

line. So does a similar volume on *The Struggle of the Russian People for an Outlet on the Pacific*, in which the United States appears as the chief obstacle to the people's will. And an article in a 1952 issue of *Voprosy Istorii* transcended the Russo-centricity of Dobrov by describing the Lansing-Ishii agreement as an alliance against Russia.¹⁷ While Dobrov's research has yielded useful material, his volume encourages neither respect for Stalin's American experts nor confidence in the training of their successors.

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¹⁷ E. L. Shteinberg, *Bor'ba Russkogo Naroda za Vykhod v Tikhii Okean* (Moscow, 1949); E. I. Popova, "Sgovor amerikanskogo imperializma s yaponskim v 1917 godu (Soglashenie Lansinga-Ishii)," *Voprosy Istorii* (1952), no. 9, 63-86.

The History of American Philanthropy as a Field of Research

MERLE CURTI

IN the literature of American social history, one finds certain large themes or areas receiving special attention. These include the social structure and social relations of the family, of work groups, and of social classes, as well as the characteristics and interactions with the rest of the population of the various ethnic and nationality groups. The historian has also described the social aspects of such institutions as religion, education, technology and the arts, politics and, especially of late, business, which has of course come more and more to affect all other occupations.

The time has come to ask whether there are less obvious but possibly almost as important segments of our culture which have received less attention at the hands of social historians than their importance warrants. To be specific, is philanthropy, in all its ramifications, one of these major culture segments? In other words, how important has relatively disinterested benevolence been in giving expression to, and in promoting at home and abroad, a major American value—human welfare? All one can say at the present time, I think, is that the literature of the subject warrants the hypothetical statement, to be tested by investigation, that philanthropy has been one of the major aspects of and keys to American social and cultural development.

In recognition of the need for advancing our knowledge in this field, Russell Sage Foundation, which from its inception has concerned itself with the nature and impact of giving, sponsored a research planning conference, held at Princeton, February 3-4, 1956.

The conference participants¹ take this way of sharing with others some of the suggestions that were developed in the course of their discussions. It is hoped that the suggestions made here may stimulate historians to direct the

¹ The conference was organized by F. Emerson Andrews of Russell Sage Foundation, who, with Donald Young, represented the Foundation at the meeting. Participants included Thomas C. Cochran, Henry Edward Guerlac, W. Stull Holt, Kenneth Scott Latourette, Richard B. Morris, Richard H. Shryock, David B. Truman, Merle Curti (chairman), and two representatives of the Ford Foundation, Carl B. Spaeth, Stanford University, and Mrs. Jackson Chance. There is available a report of the discussions, including a list of topics needing investigation, a topical outline of American philanthropy, and a selected bibliography of the literature of philanthropy by Margaret W. Otto, Chief Librarian of the New York School of Social Work (*Report of the Princeton Conference on the History of Philanthropy in the United States*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N. Y., 1956, pp. 84, \$1.00).

attention of their graduate students to this field as a promising and important one. It is also hoped that young historians who have finished their formal training may find inviting topics for investigation in our suggestions. It will be apparent that some of the problems mentioned may be best pursued by individual effort. Some, however, invite a cooperative and interdisciplinary approach. If, for example, one were to study the urges that have been satisfied by giving and try to find how these have been related to forms of giving and to manifest explanations of such giving, helpful clues would be found in the writings of anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists.

In the interest of promoting perspective on the history of American philanthropy, historians can profitably consider the role of charity and philanthropy in other cultures and at other times. Certainly the history of philanthropy in America cannot be understood without taking into account its relationship to the development of philanthropy in western civilization. But it might also be profitable to broaden the comparative approach by taking into account the role of philanthropy in non-Christian cultures—such as those in which Buddhism or Mohammedanism is the prevailing religion.

Perspective may also be broadened, and necessary relationships discovered, by a careful consideration of the role of charity in ancient Israel, in pre-Christian and in post-Christian Greece and Rome, and in the various branches of Christianity, including the eastern orthodox churches, the medieval western church, the Protestant Reformation churches, and the pietistic and evangelical movements in the post-Reformation era. That much of the work in these areas has been done is apparent to any scholar acquainted with such standard works as Ernst Troeltsch's *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*. But quite possibly scholars in these fields of history may still be able to give us new insights and information about charity and philanthropy in earlier times and in other places. In any case, we need to know more than we do about the ways in which the heritage represented in many of these forms of Christianity was transmitted to this country.

Religion in its American forms contributed to philanthropic habits and institutions through direct gifts to church organizations and, indirectly, by motivating contributions to secular causes and institutions. We need further explorations of the relationship to philanthropy of such more or less distinctively American religious movements as the "federal theology" of Puritan New England, the later "New England theology" of the followers of Jonathan Edwards, the revivalist doctrines and impulses, the Social Gospel, American Quakerism, Mormonism, and the Pentecostal sects. All these contributed in one way or another to the development of an American philanthropy. But precisely in what ways? The story of Jewish charities and of Catholic chari-

ties and missionary activities offers another field for study. Kenneth Scott Latourette, in his monumental work on missionary activities, has documented many aspects of the interrelationships between the older program of emphasis on conversion and the newer supplementary activities in education, health, and welfare. But the latest developments still need to be studied, as well as the efforts to develop self-supporting, independent churches in the countries in which missionary efforts have long been made.

Materials for these and related studies are available in many depositories, including libraries at Yale University, the University of Chicago, and Union Theological Seminary. Scholars will also find materials in the collections of the several departments, divisional units, and commissions of the National Council of Churches. Scholars interested in these and related materials would find a helpful response on the part of those who have given special attention to this area; Kenneth Latourette, R. Pierce Baker, M. S. Bates, Frank W. Price, Charles Forman, Robert Bilkeimer, and Father John J. Considine come to mind.

Closely related to religion as a dynamic factor in the history of American philanthropy is humanitarianism. We have, of course, many competent studies of organizations and movements devoted to humanitarian enterprises—world peace, the abolition of slavery, temperance, prison reform, aid for the handicapped, and the rehabilitation of social deviants. But we still need studies exploring some of the aspects of these movements that bear on the larger story of philanthropy. We need studies of motivation, conscious and, so far as it can be sensed, unconscious, in founders and workers. Historians can study changes in fund-raising activities, the development of pressure-group techniques, the stimulus given to government to assume a greater measure of responsibility in a given area, and the impacts of humanitarian crusades on institutions, legislation, and social habits.

But the values associated with religion and humanitarianism did not exist in a vacuum. No study of any aspect of philanthropy can safely ignore economic institutions and values; nor should it ignore other complex economic considerations, including the changes in business policy toward mobile assets, investment, public relations, and the tax structure. It is also important to keep in mind the fact that there is nothing really static in the economic universe. In agrarian economies, giving took the form of giving land. What were the effects of this? In a commercial-industrial economy giving usually takes the form of giving stocks and bonds. Has there been adequate study of the relationship between mobile capital, business policy, and giving, or between the various forms of wealth and giving practices? To come to our recent history, what needs to be learned about the relationship between giving and business

expansion and contraction, or between philanthropy and the passage, modification, and repeal of bankruptcy laws, as in the depression of 1837? What is known and what can be learned about giving habits at different income levels, in different periods? Have there been significant changes or trends? What similarities and differences can be detected in a given period between economically stable and economically unstable communities?

The historian might also investigate the effects on philanthropy of changing concepts of the ceiling of welfare. That is, he might show how the pattern of philanthropy has been affected from one period to another by what are considered necessities and what are considered luxuries. We clearly need to know a great deal more than we do about the ways in which our changing world economic relationships have influenced private philanthropy in less developed areas. To what extent, for example, did the development of philanthropic habits on the part of business leaders and corporations at home influence the welfare policies abroad of Firestone, United Fruit, and other corporations?

Let us be more specific. We could try to find out, from existing histories of business firms and corporations, how decisions about giving were made. We can ask when corporations began to feel it was important, in the interest of good business, to have the good will of the community in which operations centered. Has the last word been said on the motives, nature, and effects of the philanthropic activities of the early New England textile manufacturers? What were the implications of Jay Cooke's shift in the focus of giving from the East to the Northwest after he became involved in promoting the Northern Pacific? We know something about the role of the railroads in promoting the Y.M.C.A., but possibly the whole story has not yet been told. Thanks to the studies of Henrietta Larson, Thomas Cochran, and C. Howard Hopkins, a high standard for further inquiries into this area has been set. Surely something can also yet be learned about the origin, nature, course, and effects of philanthropic activities in company towns. We know from the studies of F. Emerson Andrews and of Williams and Croxton, as well as from the reports of the National Bureau of Economic Research, something about the more recent aspects of corporation giving. What would a re-examination of the archives of business firms whose histories have been written reveal, if the investigator approached the materials holding firmly in mind some of the questions we have asked? It would be interesting to know what lies within corporation archives that has not been made available to historical study. Would these tell us more than we know about the reasons why some corporations decided *not* to give? We can ask what role was played by pressure groups, how much responsiveness there has been to community opinion, how

much consideration there has been of stockholders and of the labor force, what have been the functions of public relations counsels.

Nor is corporation giving the only type of philanthropy which a consideration of functional economic groups suggests. It is known that many trade unions have engaged in philanthropic activities. We need to know which ones set the pace and why they did. It would also be important to know more than we do about the directions in which labor philanthropies have pointed. What have been the results?

Legal history has, of course, been necessarily concerned with many matters closely related to philanthropy. Such monumental works as Holdsworth's *History of English Law* and Austin Scott's study of trusts have opened new vistas. The studies of English philanthropy by W. K. Jordan and David Owen promise to illuminate certain dark corners of legal relations; but the American field is still largely open.

A study of the explanation of American resistance to certain legal concepts relating to philanthropy, both in common law and in the Statute of Charitable Uses, could be of great interest. What light on this and other points would more exhaustive, perhaps quantitative, study of wills and bequests reveal? What needs to be considered in studying "manifest reason" and "real" motives? We need explorations pointing out how these can be studied. Again, the outlines of our knowledge of the ways in which religious organizations came to be tax exempt after separation of church and state need to be filled in. What were the antecedents of "dead hand?" Someone ought to study further the story of the early exemption of charitable trusts from strict legal restrictions. We need comparisons of this story with recent tax exemption practices. We also need to know more about perpetuities, obsolescent laws, and cy-pres doctrine. What, legally speaking, constituted philanthropy at different periods?

With some exceptions, legal historians have chiefly concerned themselves with the history of a special legal doctrine. Often they have done this because a current problem suggested an ad hoc study. While some of the best of the legal history studies relate legal doctrines involving philanthropy to the economic, social, and cultural context, this is all too infrequently the case. We need more legal historians who are aware of the interdisciplinary approach. We also need historians of philanthropy, especially in some of its aspects, who are acquainted with the more relevant points of law in its technical sense.

Attention has been called to the need for considering the economic basis of philanthropy in any effort to explain its legal relationships and implications. So, too, is it desirable to take the social context into account in legal studies of philanthropy. In fact, every phase of philanthropy needs to be studied in terms of its social context. The historian should, for example, con-

sider the implications of shifts in the role of the family in looking out for its needy members. Another aspect of the history of philanthropy which needs to be explored is its relation to social status and to the social roles of those who receive and those who give, organize, and dispense benefactions.

Of all the social changes in America which have basically affected the course of philanthropy, none seems to be as important as the movement commonly referred to as urbanization. Since Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., first called our attention to this basic theme in American history, we have learned much about it and about how to study it. We know, for example, that one may be misled by assuming the adequacy for all purposes of the census definition of a city; for it is clear that many urban centers in the technical sense retained rural values and rural types of conduct for varying periods of time. With this in mind, one may find in the growth of cities, metropolitan areas, and suburban decentralization, important keys to an understanding of many of the most significant developments in philanthropy.

We now have some very competent urban histories, such, for example, as those of Rochester, Milwaukee, and Chicago. In these, the student of the history of philanthropy will find answers to some of the questions he is curious about. He will, for instance, learn a good deal about the establishment, support, and role of particular philanthropic agencies. But there is still much unbroken ground.

It would be worth while to make a comparative study of philanthropy in cities of different sizes and rates of growth, in different sections of the United States, and of differing ethnic composition. What similarities and what differences would be found between Rochester and Milwaukee, Cleveland and San Francisco, Boston and Baltimore? What changes in giving habits did the example of philanthropy such as that of Eastman have on Rochester? It is perhaps not too soon to begin to ask why philanthropic efforts have succeeded in making striking changes in a short period in Pittsburgh, why similar efforts in other places have succeeded less well, and why they have not even been undertaken in still others.

Other aspects of the relations between urban growth and philanthropy could also be further explored with profit—notably the rise and fortunes of the organized charity associations, which initiated the social settlement houses and the substitution of “scientific philanthropy” for traditional face-to-face giving. In his recent suggestive and competent studies, Robert H. Bremner has shown the indebtedness to British patterns of both the charity organization movement and the establishment of social settlement houses and has broadly outlined some of the factors in the Americanization of these agencies. But much remains to be done. While such books as Robert A. Wood’s *The*

Settlement Horizon (1922) are informative, we have no studies which set this movement in its historical perspective and adequately evaluate it. The autobiographical accounts of settlement residents, often polemical and almost always interesting, have in general not been supplemented with scholarly biographies. A composite portrait of the persons drawn into this movement, illuminating their backgrounds, motives, values, and philosophies, would be welcome. We need to have histories of particular settlement houses which trace their changing functions and analyze their role as spearheads of urban reform, as interpreters between the less advantaged and the favored urban residents, and as agencies for acquainting Americans with the causes of poverty, social dislocation, cultural differences, and "immigrant gifts."

The literature of social work is extensive, but for the most part it has been written by practitioners in the field. The few studies which give some attention to historical perspective only suggest the amount of work yet to be done. We know something about the bearings of the early charity organization movement on social work and the transition from private charity to public relief. But F. D. Watson's *Charity Organization Movement in the United States* (1922) and J. C. Brown's *Public Relief, 1929-1939* (1940) stand practically alone as pioneer works of a systematic sort. The insights of such a thoughtful interpretation as *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Bread* (1940), by Carlisle and Carol Shafer, open many vistas which invite exploration. We need further study of the antecedents of social work, of its development as a profession, of cooperative financing, and of the impacts of prosperity, depression, and war. Biographies of social workers are wanted—the recently completed study of Mary Richmond by Muriel Pumphrey gives promise that this need is now being recognized. We should also have studies of the influence of sociology, psychology, and psychiatry on the philosophy and techniques of social work. Yet to be thoroughly explored are the contributions of social work to the methods of social investigation and to public welfare policy in rural as well as in urban settings. The role of the federal government in the area of social welfare and its impact on social work particularly require attention.

Urban growth also involved changes in fund-raising practices which need to be explored. How did growing specialization, functional to city living, affect patterns of philanthropy, particularly the increasing concern with problems of health, recreation, and delinquency? The story of community chests and federated giving has been told only in small part. How did American urban conditions affect Old World patterns of philanthropy, such as, for example, the charitable traditions which Jewish communities brought from Europe? One can think of many possibilities for the study of the role of urban philanthropy in creating new emphases on the artistic values. How has the

trend toward suburban living affected philanthropy? How has philanthropy, before and after the marked growth of cities, been directed to rural areas and rural problems?

Social mobility in America, especially in city life, must have certain relationships to philanthropy. In colonial America, and in certain nineteenth-century communities, men gave to gain standing in the eyes of God; as the nineteenth century moved forward, many gave to gain standing in the eyes of men. Freeman Hunt's *Lives of American Merchants* (1858) clearly indicates that the desire for social approval and status figured in a good deal of philanthropy. We need to know more about the relationship of social mobility and social status to philanthropy. Light might be thrown on this relationship by an examination of the historical development of the practice, during fund-raising campaigns, of carefully selecting solicitors from the elite.

Related to all of the problems and issues thus far mentioned is the extremely important question of the interrelations between voluntary giving, by individuals or groups, and the responsibility of government for welfare. Contrary to a fairly widely-held view, the interrelations cannot be described merely in terms of the steady retreat of the one and the corresponding advance of the other. During most of the colonial period, for example, when mercantilistic philosophy was uppermost, government assumed a principal responsibility for poor relief. Thus in some degree the colonial period foreshadowed the modern welfare state.

Historians might well study the relations between this older pattern and such developments as the separation of church and state, the westward movement, the humanitarian reform movements of the nineteenth century, the depressions and the relief agencies they occasioned, the establishment of income taxes, and social security legislation. To what extent did voluntary philanthropic organizations call attention to new problems, arouse public opinion, serve as pressure groups, and lead the way to a larger assumption of responsibility by government agencies? How was this trend illustrated in the matter of the emancipation of the slave, the guaranteeing of civil rights to the Negro, and the care of the immigrant, the Indian, and the handicapped? What about work for peace, temperance, and the care of the aged; the work to curb delinquency and alcoholic drinking? What was back of the shift to a larger measure of government responsibility in areas earlier dominated by voluntary philanthropy? When did the shift take place in the fields of education, health, and recreation? Finally we may ask how our major wars have affected these changes.

We might consider the implications of the fact that many of the consequences of political democracy were not felt until the twentieth century.

Until a half century ago, wealth in general was not particularly sensitive to political movements. When it became so in the Populist and Progressive periods, and in a more marked degree perhaps in the depression of the 1930's, philanthropies of the rich may have slowed down some of the trends toward greater government responsibility in many areas; but the question remains an open one. On the other hand, the growth of wealth was associated with new types of taxation which enabled government to perform functions hitherto chiefly performed by private philanthropy, at least since the colonial period.

Another large problem involves the extremely difficult task of evaluating the influences of philanthropy. Here there are many variables. It is hard indeed to separate philanthropy from the many other factors in our country that have been pushing us toward the conception of a widely-based and constantly-advancing standard of welfare. One hardly need mention some of the more important of these factors: an endowment of natural resources in relation to population and available technology which gave a relatively high degree of reality to the concept of abundance, a widely-held conviction that it is possible for man to transform his environment for the better, a high degree of social mobility, and a marked expectation of achievement. We need to know as much as we can about the ways in which philanthropy has interacted with this larger concept.

A major problem in this field of research, then, is to effect some control over certain variables. For example, taking two otherwise comparable cities, we might compare the level of welfare of one in which there was a good deal of philanthropic activity with that of the city in which there was little or no such activity. We might compare a state having a considerable body of social legislation with one which more largely pursued a policy of depending on voluntary giving and philanthropy. A study could be made of two otherwise comparable educational institutions, of which one received consistently large philanthropic benefactions and the other did not, with an effort to assess their relative levels of scholarship and contributions to the wider community. Other, and better, methods of controlling variables will occur to those giving some thought to the problem.

Another matter to be considered is that of the most useful periodizations in the study of the history of philanthropy. The span to the mid-eighteenth century might provide an initial period, one in which there was a transfer from England of the laws of charity and benefactions and in which government assumed a large measure of responsibility for welfare and improvement. Succeeding periods could be (1) the age of Franklin, that is, the period of the growth of commerce and of towns, with rising secular conceptions of worth

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Related to all of the problems and issues thus far mentioned is the extremely important question of the interrelations between voluntary giving, by individuals or groups, and the responsibility of government for welfare. Contrary to a fairly widely-held view, the interrelations cannot be described merely in terms of the steady retreat of the one and the corresponding advance of the other. During most of the colonial period, for example, when mercantilistic philosophy was uppermost, government assumed a principal responsibility for poor relief. Thus in some degree the colonial period foreshadowed the modern welfare state.

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A major problem in this field of research, then, is to effect some control over certain variables. For example, taking two otherwise comparable cities, we might compare the level of welfare of one in which there was a good deal of philanthropic activity with that of the city in which there was little or no such activity. We might compare a state having a considerable body of social legislation with one which more largely pursued a policy of depending on voluntary giving and philanthropy. A study could be made of two otherwise comparable educational institutions, of which one received consistently large philanthropic benefactions and the other did not, with an effort to assess their relative levels of scholarship and contributions to the wider community. Other, and better, methods of controlling variables will occur to those giving some thought to the problem.

Another matter to be considered is that of the most useful periodizations in the study of the history of philanthropy. The span to the mid-eighteenth century might provide an initial period, one in which there was a transfer from England of the laws of charity and benefactions and in which government assumed a large measure of responsibility for welfare and improvement. Succeeding periods could be (1) the age of Franklin, that is, the period of the growth of commerce and of towns, with rising secular conceptions of worth

and of service; (2) the period from, roughly, 1815 to 1860, in which church and state were separated in Massachusetts and Connecticut, in which a new evangelical fervor inspired many efforts at moral reform, and in which social dislocations associated with the westward movement and the advance of the industrial revolution stimulated new types of voluntary philanthropy; and (3) the continuation of these impulses in the period after 1860, with the further industrial expansion and new westward movements. Then we could consider (4) the period from the late 1880's to the Great Depression, when new sources of mobile capital were available, when titans of wealth used philanthropy for various reasons, and when Carnegie was preaching and practicing the doctrine of the stewardship of great riches.² Finally, (5) we could deal with the period since the depression, in which we have a shift of control from owners to managers, with the growing importance of public relations, and significant changes in the tax structure.

Of course, there were no sharp breaks between any of these so-called periods; but we can define certain watersheds or turning points. None of these seems to be related alone to economics, social structure, movements of thought, or emphases within the frame of philanthropy itself. All the watersheds seem rather to be defined by a cluster of factors interpenetrating every segment of American life.

It might be well to begin by taking one of these periods and working out a "model" for its careful analysis in terms of philanthropy. This would involve, as must be apparent from the foregoing discussion, consideration of factors such as the economy and changes in it, the shifting nature of the social structure and of social roles, changes in the nature and configuration of the population, and developments in communication and techniques of fund-raising. All these would be related, no doubt, to general movements in thought and to systems of value. No one model would in itself serve for studies of other periods, but it would nevertheless be highly suggestive.

The importance of periodization is clear, but the precise boundaries of any one period need to be held tentatively until a good deal of empirical data are available and until considerable thought has gone into the meaning of the data. The period approach seems well suited to cooperative or team work.

In addition to period studies, we obviously need careful, objective, well-documented studies of particular organizations which run through two or more periods, studies which relate the history of the organization to preceding

² We might also point out that Carnegie emphasized the idea that help to others should enable them to help themselves—as in the case of the public library. Also, in this period philanthropy was increasingly emphasizing prevention, cure, and rehabilitation, rather than mere alleviation of social evils and individual misfortunes. This was also the period of considerable opposition to the use of "tainted money" for philanthropic purposes.

and contemporary social, economic, cultural, and political developments. A few examples may illustrate: a college or church school, the Interchurch World Movement, the International Christian University Foundation, the Near East Relief and the Near East Foundation, American Friends Service Committee, CARE, the Layman's Inquiry on Foreign Missions, the United Jewish Charities, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, a philanthropically-supported, low-rent housing project. We also need institutional studies of such organizations as the American Cancer Foundation, the American Foundation for the Blind, the American Heart Association, the Mental Hygiene Association. The many cultural centers, such as privately-supported museums, the MacDowell Colony, and Yaddo, warrant study. Other institutional studies might include histories of such fund-raising organizations as the John Price Jones Company, Marts and Lundy, associations of colleges and universities for fund-raising and fund-pooling, and joint chest funds—to cite only a few examples. Careful studies of "charity rackets" might prove illuminating. We also need histories of the philanthropic activities of corporations, trade unions, and small foundations, as well as many of the larger foundations that have not thus far been adequately studied.

What would mark a first-rate institutional study? We have some models, and others are about to appear, including Shryock's history of the American Tuberculosis Association. Any scholarly institutional study should, of course, be based on unrestricted access to all available material. It should not, in general, be written by anyone who has been closely concerned with the institution. It must avoid being a mere glory story; it must examine failures as well as successes. It should include such topics as origin, sources of support, patterns of fund-raising, relation to tax structure, nature of decision-making, reputation, and impact on the community, the nation, or an overseas area.

In addition to period histories and institutional studies, there is room for a series of biographies of philanthropists whose stories in relation to philanthropy have been inadequately written or not written at all. It is important to make an immediate and concerted effort to save pertinent papers and to broaden the base of materials when possible, through oral interview with the subject or his associates.

Topical studies, already mentioned, are also obviously needed. At the risk of some repetition, one may call attention to the need for a study of laws regulating philanthropy; of the economic aspects of philanthropy; of religion and philanthropy, education and philanthropy, the arts and philanthropy, science and health and philanthropy; and of philanthropic activities abroad. Topical studies of fund-raising and of the interrelations of philanthropy and government are also needed. Ultimately, it is to be hoped that,

when the necessary spade work is done, we may have a systematic history of American philanthropy.

No doubt much of the work here suggested will in time be done even without the aid of special planning and encouragement. But more work, and better work, may be done through the planning and cooperative efforts of scholars. The individual scholar, once started on a project, must be free to work it out as he thinks best; but he will need to know how his study is related to others and where he may find related materials. No single question or topic suggested here can really be understood without reference to every other one. The scholar, as he pursues his investigations, will need time and opportunities for travel. This means that he will need financial aid. In view of the difficulties many competent historians have faced in their efforts to secure publication of non-profit scholarly contributions, some plan assuring the publication of superior studies would doubtless encourage many serious and able scholars to undertake such studies as those outlined in this essay.³

Quite apart from any bearing a larger knowledge of the history of philanthropy may have on a clearer understanding of various problems currently associated with it, who can doubt that the character and dimensions of American civilization may be illuminated by sustained inquiries into American experience in giving?

University of Wisconsin

³ There is evidence of growing interest on the part of many agencies in making possible deeper knowledge of the role of philanthropy in American development. It seems clear that further support for well-designed projects in this field can be anticipated.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

THE STATE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Papers Presented at the 25th Anniversary of the Social Science Research Building, the University of Chicago, November 10-12, 1955. Edited by *Leonard D. White*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 504.)

IN the 1920's, American social scientists were strongly of the opinion that if they were ever to understand man in society, they would have to study as a team his total experiences and their manifold interrelationships. In order to make such cooperation possible, it was evident that each of the workers in the vineyard would have to know a great deal about his colleagues' disciplines. "Cross fertilization in the social sciences" became the watchword of the new faith—a faith that inspired the Social Science Research Council, the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, and the Social Science Research Building at the University of Chicago. It was for the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the dedication of the Chicago temple that a group of distinguished American social scientists presented the papers in this volume.

The historian who wants to know in what state the social sciences are or to find guidance for his investigations regarding human behavior will get little help here. For such purposes, he would do better to turn to Bulletin 64 of the Social Science Research Council, *The Social Sciences in Historical Study* (New York, 1954), or the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, in spite of the crying need to bring that useful work up to date.

What the reader will find in *The State of the Social Sciences* is a collection of essays, of widely-varying merit, either on the special research which the author is presently conducting or, in one or two cases, on developments in entire disciplines. Of the former, I found particularly enlightening Murray Horwitz's "Psychological Needs as a Function of Social Environment," a discussion of such needs based upon deficiencies in the environment, and Robert E. Cushman's "Guilt by Association: The Game of Presumptions," an exceedingly lucid statement of those practices in our latest witch-hunting that are contrary to fundamental principles of American law. Of the articles pertaining to entire fields, I liked especially Bernard Berelson's "The Study of Public Opinion," which is a good piece of historical writing, pregnant with ideas for the historical craft.

In a category of its own, so far as this book concerns the historian, is Louis Gottschalk's "The Historian's Use of Generalization." Here is a plea for the

historian to make analyses of man's past which will be useful in his eternal struggle toward a better and a braver world.

Columbia University

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

THE STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY. By *A. D. Alderson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 187. \$12.80.)

MR. Alderson is investigating principally the genealogy of the Ottoman sultans, their marriage alliances, and the succession to the throne. His care for detail is reflected in the sixty-three tables and the footnotes, some of which make important points. The study is not, however, simply a bit of genealogical antiquarianism but a unique synthesis of information about the family which for six centuries ruled a great empire and played a vital role in Europe and the Near East. While this is not an Ottoman history, it is a study of the backbone of that history; much depended on the strengths and weaknesses of the sultanate and the sultans.

The author acknowledges that he has not been engaged primarily in original research. He has not attempted to comb the works of Osmanli chroniclers and official historians or the archives of Istanbul; but he has made available in convenient and usable form the results of rather wide-ranging investigation in works of modern Turkish scholarship based on the Osmanli sources, as well as in western accounts of various kinds. Careful collation of such materials has enabled him to make reasonable judgments, to correct some previous misconceptions, and to elucidate a number of little known or doubtful points.

About 100 pages of text pull together his evidence and conclusions. The material on the succession is the most significant—showing how the Ottoman dynasty at its start adopted not the principle of “eldest male” but succession of son to father (although not primogeniture); then how fortuitous circumstances at the start of the seventeenth century altered the practice to succession of the eldest male member of the family; and what the democratic or “elective” element in the changes of sultans consisted of. This study is buttressed by chapters on the provincial governorates held by sultans' sons to 1595, on the *kafes* or debilitating palace confinement of princes after 1603, and on fratricide. There are brief chapters on accessions, abdications, depositions, rebellions and pretenders, births, deaths, and related subjects. Two of the more important chapters discuss the harem of the sultans and their marriages. An incidental conclusion here is a flat denial that Mahmud II had a French mother, Aimée Dubuc de Rivéry, who was responsible for his westernizing tendencies.

There are a few slips which might mislead the student of Ottoman history: the Janissaries were dissolved in 1826, not 1828 (p. 43); the grand vizier in 1867 was Mehmed Emin Âli Paşa, not Ali Mehmed (p. 48); the Russian-sponsored proposition that Cemal Paşa set himself up as a rival sultan in 1915 has more substance than Alderson indicates (p. 53) and is documented in Adamov's *Evropeiskie derzhavy i Turtsiya*; Abdülhamid II dissolved the chamber only in 1878, not three

months after the constitution of December, 1876 (p. 70); it is very dubious that Selim I acquired the title or office of caliph in 1517 from the last Abbasid in Egypt (pp. 115, 125).

Further research will undoubtedly convict Alderson of error here and there in his tables—a hope which he voices in his preface. But they constitute a most informative compilation, supplying data not only on the family of each sultan and the marriages of the Osmanli dynasty with other leading Christian and Muslim houses but also on such matters as fratricides, internees in the *kafes*, mothers of sultans, depositions, and even twins born to the dynasty! An elaborate index refers to both text and tables, with a uniform numbering system for identification of each individual. The bibliography, which includes many articles, will be most useful to those who know Turkish, since titles are not translated.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

DIPLOMACY IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST. Volume I, A DOCUMENTARY RECORD: 1535-1914; Volume II, A DOCUMENTARY RECORD: 1914-1956. By J. C. Hurewitz. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1956. Pp. xvii, 291; xviii, 427. \$5.00; \$6.50.)

THESE two volumes are designed to provide a selection of diplomatic and other important documents bearing on the Near and Middle East from 1535 to 1956. On the whole, the selection has been carefully made, and each document has been prefaced with a succinct explanatory note including essential bibliographical references. Unfortunately, most of these references lack the date and place of publication, which in some instances may be important for proper evaluation.

The author has restricted himself rigidly to the areas of Asia and Africa presently occupied by the Turks, Arabs, and Iranians. This leads him in his preface to speak of this region as diplomatically almost virgin soil, which is something of an exaggeration in view of such excellent works as the late Ettore Rossi's *Documenti sull'Origine e gli Sviluppi della Questione Araba 1875-1944* (Rome, 1944). As a practical matter, however, the crucial fact is that for centuries this area was part of the Ottoman Empire, that this empire was as much European as Asian-African, and that diplomatically the fate of the so-called Middle East depended for the most part on considerations of European politics. The clear-cut separation of the modern Middle East from its historical context is to be regretted. It does not, to be sure, affect Volume II, which is devoted largely to burning present-day issues such as the interrelationships of the Arab States, the Palestine problem, the development of petroleum interests, etc. But it does mean the exclusion from the first volume of a number of key documents, on the ground that they deal with the European part of the Ottoman Empire, and the omission from some treaty texts of those articles touching European territories. It is hard to understand, however, why the Treaty of San Stefano was excluded; and it is astonishing that neither the Turkish Con-

stitution of 1876 nor any of the records of the Young Turk movement, not even the proceedings of the Congress of Ottoman Liberals (1902) or the Congress of Opposition Parties (1907), are printed, though the resolutions of the much less important Arab-Syrian Congress of 1913 are reproduced. It is equally strange that, while thirty pages are devoted to Curzon's analysis of British interests in Persia (1899), there is not a single paper reflecting American missionary or educational interests in the Middle East prior to 1914.

These comments bear largely on matters of judgment and are not intended as serious adverse criticism. Professor Hurewitz's collection makes readily available many documents otherwise difficult to come by and should therefore prove an important aid to all students of the Middle East.

Harvard University

W. L. LANGER

SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1917-1920. Volume I, RUSSIA LEAVES THE WAR. By *George F. Kennan*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 544. \$7.50.)

IN this book Mr. Kennan undertakes for the first time a piece of highly intensive scholarship. There are losses as well as gains in his transition from perceptive and stimulating essays (whether one agrees with them or not) to a meticulous study of a brief period, in this case the period between the Bolshevik revolution of the fall of 1917 and the ratification of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The extraordinary grace of style which gives distinction to Kennan's earlier books can hardly be displayed on the same scale in a work of this detailed type, and the philosophic grasp which also characterizes him is less evident here. And in the effort to be thorough and to model himself on the "scientific" historians, the author has at times allowed himself to become unduly involved in the minutiae of the period.

But, on the other hand, as a careful and thoughtful examination of a fateful period in human history and of the reaction of the United States to an overwhelming social phenomenon, this book has a substantial and a lasting value. The pictures of individuals are interesting and compelling—the President, far too insulated from those from whom he might have learned, hopeful (as we now know, unjustifiably hopeful) that out of the Russian revolution would come a new and better order for Russia; Secretary of State Lansing, clearer in vision but never master of policy; the somewhat bumbling American ambassador, David R. Francis, often confused but rather gallant in his way; Raymond Robins of the Red Cross mission, misled by his enthusiasms and romantically believing in the Bolsheviks and his own ability to do business with them; Edgar Sisson, swindled into believing (as was easy to believe at the time) that Lenin and Trotsky were tools of German imperialism; and numerous others. One gets, too, from Kennan, a revealing view of the complexities, the irrationalities, and the administrative tangles that are so often

present in the formation of policy and make life difficult for those who have to make the decisions. This book is a good antidote to those who have quick and easy answers to difficult questions.

There is another way to look at the matter. As the story unfolds, one becomes more and more aware of the magnitude of the events of the winter of 1917-18, and one asks whether the wisest and most coherent policy could really have altered the course of events. To use a phrase Owen Lattimore applied to the Far East, Russia in this fateful period was "out of control"; and no statesmanship could alter this fundamental fact.

Perhaps the most interesting single question with which Mr. Kennan deals is that of possible United States aid to the Bolsheviks, contingent on the continuation of the war against the Germans. The celebrated overture of Robins to Trotsky, it appears, was not known in Washington until after the ratification of the treaty; but the author believes that Lenin never wished to continue the war and that the whole episode deserves to be rated down, rather than up. He points out, too, that one object of the flirtation with the United States, and indeed with other powers, was to forestall Japanese intervention in Siberia. He underlines the consistent and venomous hatred of Western capitalism that at all times actuated the Soviet leaders. Of the practicability of military aid, he has little to say; but it is clear that Washington saw no way to accomplish anything very important and that such an enterprise as the Stevens engineering mission to Siberia was hardly of world-shaking influence. To the reviewer, it seems that there could have been no greater folly than to put men and materiel into Russia at a time when the Germans were withdrawing their troops from the eastern front and preparing for the great western offensive which broke on March 21, 1919.

It is to be hoped that this study will be followed by others from Mr. Kennan. And it should be heartily welcomed as coming from one whose insights into the Russian scene are unrivaled.

Cornell University

DEXTER PERKINS

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1953. By *Peter Calvocoressi*, assisted by *Coral Bell*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 400. \$7.70.)

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1953. Selected and edited by *Denise Folliot*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 515. \$9.20.)

WITH the passage of time, the suspicion that 1953 was a turning point in the history of post-war international affairs gains credence. These two volumes, continuing the high standards established by their predecessors, offer a good deal of evidence to support this contention. Writing with his usual detachment and ob-

jectivity, Mr. Calvocoressi brings to his final contribution to the series the experience and understanding derived from authorship of the *Survey* since 1947. Despite the customary absence of judgments or theses, he succeeds again in making his account remarkably readable. He has been joined by R. C. Jones, who is responsible for the section on the Far East, and by George Pendle, who covers events in Latin America since 1948, when that area was last included in the *Survey*. In the companion volume, Miss Folliot has selected, annotated, and arranged the supporting documents with commendable discrimination and care. As usual, the close collaboration between author and editor enhances the value of the set.

The central event of 1953 was, of course, the death of Marshal Stalin. It is difficult to determine the precise relationship between his exit and the subsequent changes in Soviet and satellite policies. One school of thought maintains that the essentials of the new line were laid down by Stalin at the Nineteenth Party Congress of 1952. But whatever their genesis, it is probable that the tactical shifts have been implemented with more vigor and success by the new leadership than would have been possible under Stalin in the face of accumulated hatred and suspicion. The hypotheses of 1953 that Russia desired to reduce the most acute tensions at home and abroad by adopting less provocative though no less effective methods of power and influence have been strengthened by the acts and pronouncements of succeeding years.

Then as now, western and particularly American reactions to the turn of events in Moscow reflected a noticeable lack of imagination. A new administration in Washington, another French cabinet crisis, and the inopportune illness of Sir Winston Churchill contributed to the lack of initiative and unity. In addition, the long-standing but usually veiled differences of opinion among the allies concerning the nature and timing of western diplomacy were aggravated by the new circumstances. The clarification by documents and balanced discussion of the factors which influenced these divergencies is one of the most valuable contributions of the two volumes.

Elsewhere in the world in 1953, the Korean War came to its controversial end, and conflicts among France, the Associated States, and Viet Minh foreshadowed new difficulties and new settlements in the Far East. The Middle East continued to live up to its growing reputation as a trouble spot. Arab-Israeli tension persisted, and Persia broke into the headlines with the hysterical rise and fall of Dr. Musaddiq. In Egypt, negotiations by the Nagib government and the United Kingdom on the status of the Sudan and the Suez Canal zone led to an understanding on the first issue, but no agreement on the second, a portent of the crisis which has recently developed.

These volumes deserve careful reading and frequent use in reference.

ESSAYS PRESENTED TO SIR LEWIS NAMIER. Edited by *Richard Pares* and *A. J. P. Taylor*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 542. \$10.00.)

SIXTEEN of his colleagues and admirers combined to produce this volume in honor of Sir Lewis Namier, who was knighted in 1952 and is now a member of the editorial board of the *History of Parliament*. The Preface indicates the wide influence he has had, especially in the revaluation of eighteenth-century British political history. His historical interests, however, were not narrowed to the structure of politics in 1760, but included eastern Europe—his father was a Galician land-owner—and the background of the recent World Wars. A quarter of a century ago, he was political secretary of the Jewish agency for Palestine. The sixteen essays correspond roughly to the interests of Sir Lewis: ten have British subjects, three treat of Russia and eastern Europe, and three are concerned with the First World War.

Richard Pares, associate editor of the *English Historical Review*, has written interestingly of a West Indian merchant house of early eighteenth-century London; the account is based on materials examined before the building and its contents went up in flames during the 1940 bombings.

Romney Sedgwick's "Letters from William Pitt to Lord Bute" is a collection of documents that might well have been published elsewhere. Wilmarth Lewis contributes a delightful essay on Horace Walpole as antiquary. Walpole, we learn, conceded that "King's Chapel is more beautiful than Strawberry Hill." H. R. Trevor-Roper has brilliantly discussed the relation of Oliver Cromwell and his parliaments. Oliver's perennial troubles are laid to his ignorance of the subtleties of politics. Unlike Elizabeth, he left his parliaments on their own: "His ideal was an Elizabethan parliament, but his methods were such as would lead to a Polish Diet."

The last four essays of the British group concern parliamentary procedure. Betty Kemp's "Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds" is a very satisfying examination of this "barbarous fiction." A. E. Aspinall contributes an excellent account of the reporting and publishing of the debates from 1771 to 1834. Norman Gash discounts the influence of the French Revolution of 1830 on the British general election of that year. Edward Hughes, using the Gladstone Papers and unpublished Chamberlain letters, assesses the responsibility for the introduction of cloture in the 1880's as a means of curbing "boundless and predetermined loquacity." Chamberlain seems to have had less responsibility than Hartington for the drastic step.

The essays on eastern Europe are broad surveys by G. H. Bolsover, E. H. Carr, and Hugh Seton-Watson. They are valuable summaries by experts in the field and include the use of Russian materials. In the three essays on the First World War, Stanley Morison studies Anglo-American relations in 1917, especially the Northcliffe mission; A. J. P. Taylor, the war aims of the Allies; and Wheeler-Bennett, the parallel careers of Ludendorff and Groener.

One misses in a volume presented to Sir Lewis Namier any treatment, even indirectly, of the troubled course of Jewish national aspirations. The essays are a disparate collection, too much so to be appraised adequately by one reviewer. He has, however, read the volume with pleasure and profit. The essays are worthy of the historian to whom they are presented; the editors and contributors are to be commended for an important publication.

Oberlin College

HOWARD ROBINSON

Ancient and Medieval History

ESSAYS IN ROMAN COINAGE PRESENTED TO HAROLD MATTINGLY.

Edited by *R. A. G. Carson* and *C. H. V. Sutherland*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 291. \$9.60.)

THIS handsome book of "essays covering essential aspects of the Roman coinage from the early Republic to the fall of the Western Empire" is a tribute from fifteen contributors and many subscribers to the most inspired and productive scholar in the field of Roman coin studies during the first half of the twentieth century. The list of Harold Mattingly's published works and the fourteen articles which make up the volume—the leading one by a historian, the others by classical scholars who work chiefly in numismatics or emphasize the evidence of coins—will give the reader a good notion of what is being done in this phase of Roman studies.

The keynoter, A. H. M. Jones, writing on "Numismatics and History," makes clear at once that the true interpreter of coins must play the dual role of historian and numismatist, as has Mattingly. Professor Jones tells what has been and can be learned from coins and brings together a great deal of useful information about many coinages of the ancient Mediterranean world. Though some of his views will be disputed, he gives the numismatists some good and prodding advice, particularly warning them against reading too much meaning into coin types. Yet Jones may have gone a little farther than necessary in cautioning against too free use of precisely that evidence of the coins which is most tangible and sometimes more reliable than literary evidence—the pictures and words (or letters) on the coins. The historian may at the same time have exaggerated somewhat the possibilities of the economic side of numismatic studies if he intended to recommend a major role as economic researcher to all numismatists, some of whom are better suited by nature and training for emphasizing fields of coin study other than the economic. Jones himself warns against reading modern economic theory and principle into ancient practices (p. 26). His section on the names of coins and related points (pp. 27 ff.) will come as an enlightening shock to those who take the traditional nomenclature for granted.

It is interesting to see what the contributors of the other articles have made of their opportunity: some recapitulate, redefine, or add to earlier studies; others

provide a needed general treatment on, for example, the coinage of Diocletian, the mint of Rome, late Roman gold, and the various classes of coins struck in the East. All articles are very much on the specialist's level and outside the *orbis numismaticorum* will be most useful to specialists in ancient and early medieval history. There are three articles on the period of the Roman Republic: one on Punic coins of Spain and their bearing on the republican issues (a catalogue of all the Barcid coinage known to the author is appended, pp. 46-53); two on the republican series, one emphasizing special, as contrasted with regular, coinages of the Republic, the other attempting to bring to light political propaganda latent in this difficult but exceptionally fascinating series. The remaining articles deal wholly or almost wholly with the imperial period, covering general subjects, such as administration and art, and the specialized subjects of countermarking and the law of counterfeiting. Miss Anne Robertson, in the course of her broad, useful treatment of Romano-British hoards, contributes valuable words of caution concerning the interpretation of hoard evidence.

The compiler of the bibliography of Mattingly's works is H. S. A. Copinger; the contributing writers, besides Professor Jones and Miss Robertson, are E. S. G. Robinson, K. Pink, A. Alföldi, Michael Grant, C. M. Kraay, Alfred R. Bellinger, A. M. Woodward, C. H. V. Sutherland, J. P. C. Kent, J. M. C. Toynbee, R. A. G. Carson, and Philip Grierson.

The American Numismatic Society

ALINE ABACHERLI BOYCE

rites OF THE STATE RELIGION IN ROMAN ART. By *Inez Scott Ryberg*, Professor of Classics, Vassar College. [Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XXII.] (Rome: the Academy. 1955. Pp. xvi, 227, 67 plates.)

THE term "Roman State Religion" is commonly used but rarely defined. At its broadest, it might be said to include all those cults and practices authorized or approved by the Roman government at any period. In its most restricted sense, it might consist of those rites carried out by the "public priests" or by magistrates, including in both groups the emperor. The latter definition would appear to be the one used by Mrs. Ryberg in her new book. These rites are depicted in art most commonly on the sculptured reliefs which decorated public monuments erected to commemorate particular events, such as triumphal arches, or to emphasize particular aspects of official policy, such as the Altar of Peace. Thus the author's discussion is for the most part limited to these reliefs, although there is some reference to parallels in other art forms, and two chapters are devoted to the influence of the reliefs on privately dedicated monuments and on coin-types.

The material presented shows clearly that in the Republic the rites depicted were those associated with the celebration of achievements in the public lives of prominent men, such as triumphs. The sacrifice in which a rite culminated and the preliminary procession to the altar were the favorite themes. During the Empire, when the emperor overshadowed all lesser men, the reliefs concentrate

upon his achievements and especially his cult. In this period the sacrificial scene and the procession, one suited to a panel and the other to a frieze, follow separate but parallel lines of artistic development. A special type of sacrifice, the *Suovetaurilia*, has a history of its own, as do the triumphal procession and the payment of vows for the emperor, all of which Mrs. Ryberg discusses in detail.

In the field of religion the author's most important contribution is her analysis of the official interpretation of the ruler cult. In the first century of the Empire, the cult concentrates on the worship of the emperor's genius and depicts the emperor himself as a human being; but by the end of the second century it portrays the emperor as the recipient of divine honors in his lifetime. One must admit to some disappointment that in these official reliefs the Roman government confined its interest to so small an area of the complex religious life of the Empire.

A major part of the author's attention is devoted to analyses of the artistic developments exemplified by the reliefs. The interrelations of the allegorical and descriptive modes of portraying an event and the illusionistic and narrative styles are treated in full and interesting detail. In this field, as in her discussion of religion, the author assumes that the reader will be familiar not only with the general outlines of the subject but also with many technical details. The excellent plates, however, will be a great help to the non-specialist, as well as a delight to the specialist.

The great value of the book is, as the author points out, that by observing the repetition of a number of topics over several centuries, one can trace a clear development both of thought and of artistic style and can observe the relations between them. Mrs. Ryberg's book is a solid achievement which will undoubtedly provide the stimulus and material for further work in both of the fields with which it deals.

Bryn Mawr College

AGNES KIRSOPP MICHELS

LES ORIGINES DE L'ECONOMIE OCCIDENTALE (IV^e-XI^e SIÈCLE). By
Robert Latouche. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, 2^e Section, Volume XLIII.]
(Paris: Albin Michel. 1956. Pp. xxvi, 404. 1,250 fr.)

AN eminent medievalist has again entered the lists of a scholarly tournament where some historians have lost their reputations and others, like Henri Pirenne, Ferdinand Lot, and Alfons Dopsch, have furbished theirs. The problem which concerns Robert Latouche is the western European economy between the fourth and eleventh century, a problem which forces him to come to grips with that classic historical riddle—the end of the ancient world and the beginning of the medieval. He frankly tells us that his book is no survey of economic history but a discussion of the fundamental economic concerns of the early Middle Ages. The issues are many and thorny: What was the nature of late Roman imperial and early German agrarian organization and were there any cross influences; what was the economic doctrine of the Christian church and did it operate in practice;

did Roman civilization continue in the Merovingian age; did towns disappear, commerce dry up, and circulation of coinage cease; did Charlemagne have an economic policy and, if so, what was the extent of the Carolingian economic revival; do the *polyptyques* warrant generalization on the seignorial system or was it less dominant with a considerable substratum of free farmers cultivating their own land; how did the Vikings invigorate commerce in the tenth century; how and why did towns revive in the tenth and eleventh centuries. For a historian to grapple with but one of these questions would be task enough, but Latouche discusses them all, and with the mastery of one steeped in the sources and literature. The great merit of his work is that, while it presents the problems as a Pirenne or a Dopsch answered them, it goes on to form its own conclusions drawn largely from the research done in the twenty years since these masters dominated the field. Written with a sparkle and organized intelligently, it is a worthy member of the distinguished series in which it appears.

By virtue of the controversial problems it treats, this book will not persuade all medievalists that it always provides reasonable interpretations or right answers. Apparently bent on jettisoning most of Pirenne's theses on the early Middle Ages, Latouche rightly emphasizes the weakness of Pirenne's argument that ancient civilization continued in the Merovingian period and ended only with the Moslem invasions of the seventh century. To Latouche the evidence suggests that the Roman economy rapidly disintegrated in the fourth century and that economic revival came only with the great Charlemagne, the master architect of a plan to stimulate commerce, improve agrarian production, nurture urban growth, and give the Empire a sound coinage. Perhaps the troubles of the ninth century stunted the economic rebirth, but once the Vikings shifted from piracy to peaceful economic pursuits they became the catalyst needed to spark the permanent economic revival of the tenth and eleventh centuries. As for the towns during these seven centuries, they never completely disappeared. Reinforced by the presence of a bishop and his staff or by a monastery in the suburbs, they managed to survive until revived by the merchants and their trade in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Markets, far from being insignificant daily or weekly fora for the bartering of local manorial products, were real exchange centers for goods often fabricated in regions far distant. These instances of revision, but a few from many, show that Latouche would leave to us little of what Pirenne has taught.

It is true that magistral views such as those of Pirenne are indeed vulnerable and often overstated, and in probing at the weak points of the Pirenne thesis Latouche has performed a valuable service. But unfortunately the revision he advocates seldom rests on evidence stronger than that used by Pirenne. Certainly most of us would hesitate to defend Pirenne's conclusion that the Merovingians knew a brisk economic life, but equally indefensible, it seems to me, is Latouche's argument for a marked Carolingian economic renaissance; it is as difficult for him to discover goods and merchants as it was for Pirenne. Although admitting that the tempo of economic life in the town between the fourth and eleventh century did

not equal that of the second century A.D. or of the thirteenth, Latouche nevertheless believes that towns as such existed because ecclesiastical headquarters or monasteries were agglomerated in or around various Roman or non-Roman sites. Now if a concentration of a few nonbourgeois heads or a group of monks makes a town, then Latouche's conclusion is valid; but I doubt that his concept of a town would be acceptable to a Roman, a merchant of the thirteenth century, or modern man. The chapter on Viking economic stimulation is excellent and provides a scholarly evaluation of these bold navigators, but his view that they, and Charlemagne, were key accelerators of economic activity is not wholly convincing. Too often Latouche seems to point to a man or a group of men as cause for change rather than to a broad economic phenomenon. Perhaps, after all, the old-fashioned historians were right when they concluded that the early Middle Ages were relatively dead centuries.

The title of the book is misleading. If Latouche intended, as he states at the outset, to concentrate on France with some reference to Germany and the Low Countries, he ought not to have chosen a title suggesting that the book deals with the whole of western Europe. However controversial this book may be, it is the kind that must be written periodically to keep the scholarly world abreast of research and revision and to stimulate more of it. It is a book of the first order wherein the author has not been loath to put himself on record. Those who would understand the early Middle Ages cannot ignore it, and for anyone, to read it is to profit.

University of Illinois

BRYCE D. LYON

DARK-AGE BRITAIN: STUDIES PRESENTED TO E. T. LEEDS WITH
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WORKS. Edited by D. B. Harden. (London:
Methuen and Company. 1956. Pp. xxii, 270. 63s.)

THIS collection of essays treats of movements and contacts of peoples and cultures in Britain from the fourth to the eleventh century. The general theme, the scholarship of the contributions, and the quality of the printing and of the plates make the dedicatory volume a worthy commemoration of E. T. Leeds, lifelong student of the archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon period, who died in 1955 while the book was in publication, ten years after his retirement from thirty-seven years of service as Assistant Keeper and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

Notable is the careful and imaginative examination of various classes of objects found mostly in British sites and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: coins surveyed by C. H. V. Sutherland ("Coinage in Britain in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries"), pottery by J. N. L. Myres ("Romano-Saxon Pottery"), brooches by H. N. Savory ("Some Sub-Romano-British Brooches from South Wales"), enamels by Françoise Henry ("Irish Enamels of the Dark Ages"), and glassware by D. B. Harden, the editor ("Glass Vessels in Britain and Ireland, A.D. 400-1000"). Two broader articles, those of T. C. Lethbridge ("The Anglo-Saxon Settlement in Eastern Eng-

land") and C. F. C. Hawkes ("The Jutes of Kent"), bring together evidence from written tradition and archaeology to evaluate specific theories favored by Leeds. Lethbridge outlines the case for the survival in large numbers of Romano-British population in eastern England, for instance, in London and in the Cambridge area. His arguments are in line with the interpretations which the above specialists put upon the mixture of Roman, Celtic, and Saxon influences on Anglo-Saxon grave-goods. The interaction is not simply between the Saxons and the Britons of the west but also between conquerors and conquered in the east. Hawkes marshals the evidence for Frankish influence in Kent that Leeds had been the first to point out; his conclusion favors, as the cause of this influence, large-scale Frankish participation in the mid-fifth-century migration of the Jutes under Hengist to assist Vortigern. Though subordinated to Jutish leadership after the conquest, the greater numbers of the Franks, re-enforced by Celtic traditions similar to those by which they had been affected in the Rhineland, made them a dominant factor in the distinctive culture and customs that emerged in Kent during the sixth century. So Hawkes argues, supporting the archaeological case with Jolliffe's institutional evidence.

There is much more of interest in this volume, including reconsideration of other problems dealt with by Leeds, such as the avenue of Anglo-Saxon movement into the Upper Thames area, the Celtic manufacture of the "hanging-bowls," and studies of remains from the later or Christian Saxons. Notable are the detailed analysis of the controversial Fuller brooch and related brooches by R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford and G. C. Dunning's survey of trade relations, chiefly from the evidence of Rhineland pottery. Here, as in the rest of the volume, is proof of the fascination of discovering fragmentary evidence and piecing it together into written history that grows in richness and persuasiveness while it remains tentative, awaiting fresh evidence and insight.

Reed College

R. F. ARRAGON

THE MEDIEVAL ALEXANDER. By *George Cary*, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Edited by *D. J. A. Ross*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 415. \$9.50.)

It is difficult to believe that the author of this fascinating and superb contribution to knowledge died before his twenty-fifth birthday. This is not just another book on the Greek Alexander Romance, where one might expect little that is new. Cary used this material, to be sure, but the chief question he asked himself was, what did people—not only the writers of romances but also the moralists, theologians, preachers, and authors of books of *exempla* and moral tales—really think about Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages? In the first part of his book, Cary gives a brief conspectus of the history of the medieval Alexander tradition in its numerous texts. Then, in the second and much longer part, he tries to establish the underlying conceptions of Alexander in the Middle Ages, their formation, and the influences which played upon them. The changing economic and social conditions

of the last medieval centuries, for example, produced a new public and a demand for simple works of instruction and banal revisions of the old romances. Modern scholarship has so emphasized the conception of Alexander as the ideal courtly prince—which has now become the accepted version of the medieval Alexander portrait—that we tend to forget it was only one among many.

By going outside the field of romance and popular vernacular literature, Cary has been able to summarize all the general conceptions of Alexander current in the Middle Ages. Medieval thought strangely transformed the historical Alexander: he became the Devil, an evil politician, and a bloody conqueror, full of all the vices, as well as the great prototype of the knightly virtues of chivalry, bravery, and liberality. Cary then shows how the awakening in Italy of an interest in personality and of a new aesthetic appreciation of literature assisted the evolution of the renaissance portrait of Alexander. Petrarch, with his renaissance belief in the necessity for a unified personality and drawing on Quintus Curtius, condemned Alexander. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Greek historians of Alexander became known, and thus arose a new moral evaluation of him. Despite the research manifested by hundreds of footnotes and a bibliography with several hundred titles, we get many a judgment—occasionally too brief or dogmatic or questionable—that will need careful examination. Cary, by placing the medieval Alexander on a new plane, will certainly stimulate further study. His book has been expertly edited, beautifully printed, and delightfully illustrated.

Brown University

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

HERRSCHAFTSZEICHEN UND STAATSSYMBOLIK: BEITRÄGE ZU IHRER GESCHICHTE VOM DRITTEN BIS ZUM SECHZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERT. Bd. III. By *Percy Ernst Schramm*. [Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica (Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters), 13/3.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 476. DM 64.)

In this third and final volume of Professor Schramm's monumental work he has continued the plan of the earlier volumes, presenting a series of often unrelated *Beiträge* rather than a coherent treatment of *Herrschaftszeichen* and *Staatsymbolik* as a whole. The present volume is devoted largely to thrones, both spiritual and temporal, royal sceptres, and episcopal staffs; and it continues the study of crowns and other symbolic headdress so fruitfully explored in the earlier volumes. Indeed, a chief adverse criticism of the work as a whole is that too often the *Beiträge* are continuations, not without contradictions and repetitiousness, of similar subjects treated in previous volumes. In at least some instances, syntheses could have been made, eliminating repetition and conflicting conclusions.

A distinguishing feature of these volumes is their emphasis upon *Bild-und Wortzeugnisse* as well as the physical evidence ascertainable from surviving emblems. The effectiveness of this method is well illustrated in the present volume, especially in *Abschnitt 29*, dealing with the *Cathedra S. Petri* and other episcopal symbols which tend always in the direction of an *imitatio imperii*. For in this

period from the ninth to the eleventh century, the spiritual, no less than the temporal, throne became *sedes potentiae* (see Ekkehard, *Casus S. Galli* in *M.G.SS.*, II, p. 141: "in sedem potentiae locatus"). From the second century use of *cathedra*, metaphorically, to describe the bishop's see in general, the progress towards the legendary *Cathedra S. Petri* is traceable through written sources from the *apostolica sedes*, as it came to be called in the time of Pope Damasus (366-384), to a specific *cathedra* believed by the faithful to have a direct association with the Apostle Peter. The author has plausibly established the age and Carolingian origin of this "relic." Of equal interest is the evolution of the long staff, symbolic in the early Middle Ages of both temporal and spiritual authority, on the one hand into the shepherd's crook or crosier (*baculus*), symbolic of the pastoral office, and on the other into the short staff (*sceptrum*), denoting temporal sovereignty.

Other *Abschnitte* of special interest are No. 30, Albert Boeckler's "Stephanskron," and No. 31, dealing with a secondary crown of the Emperor Henry V which was taken to England by the Empress Matilda after the death of her German spouse. This, together with Nos. 45 and 48 treating, respectively, late medieval and feminine crowns, provide a fairly complete history of the English crown from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The wide range of subjects of the remaining *Beiträge* includes Norse emblems, feminine crowns of Sicily, various symbols of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and Castilian and Aragonese crowns and thrones.

In a sense a pioneer undertaking, this work is of major importance in medieval historiography. It not only provides essential points of departure for the emblems of medieval sovereignty but, by virtue of its comprehensive bibliographies, *Abbildungen*, and indexes, is an indispensable guide to all aspects of temporal and spiritual sovereignty in medieval Europe.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

CRUSADING WARFARE (1097-1193). By R. C. Smail, Fellow and Tutor of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume III.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 272. \$5.50.)

THIS well-written book presents a new approach to the military history of the Crusading East in the twelfth century. The author has made a thorough study of the western sources and so much of the eastern as has been translated. He also has done field research in Syria. Convinced that "the study of warfare and that of political and social organization illuminate and complete each other," his approach is analytical and comprehensive, and he undertakes to describe "a feudal society organized for war." His analysis includes appraisal of the military potential of the several social groups native to Syria, racial and religious; the resources of the Latin states, economic and military; the military organization and methods of Latin and Muslim armies, their weapons as well as their tactics; and, finally, the nature and function of the Crusaders' castles.

Smail finds that virtually all previous writers on the subject have erred either

by viewing the subject from the standpoint of modern military science or by indulging in sweeping generalizations, which his own detailed investigation cannot fully support. He is equally critical of social historians of the period.

While recognizing that the Byzantine Empire had made warfare a matter of thought, plan, and organization in contrast to the relatively haphazard procedure of the feudal West, he is loath to admit any Byzantine contribution to Latin military development, excepting only the possibility that Bohemond gained some knowledge from the Greeks in the First Crusade. Similarly, in the matter of castle construction, he leans toward the view of T. E. Lawrence; though many of the castles contain Byzantine and even Muslim elements, he finds that the essential character and workmanship of the castles built by the Crusaders were distinctly western. Such modification of traditional feudal warfare as did occur in the Latin East—the extensive use of mercenaries and the massed ranks of cavalry and infantry—he ascribes to lessons of experience, not always observed. Though foot soldiers played a very important part in the campaigns, he finds that “their formations like their equipment remained unchanged throughout the century.”

It is probable that the full extent of eastern influence upon the Latins at this time must remain a matter of conjecture and occasion for debate. But to maintain that our ancestors learned nothing from their century of contact with the superior devices of the East presupposes a degree of stupidity on their part which seems quite unreasonable. The great improvement in castle building in the West, the growth of mercenary all-year-round service, and the increasing importance of infantry (e.g., Genoese bowmen) in twelfth-century Europe would all indicate some outside stimulating influence.

By concentrating so closely upon the activities in Syria, the author has failed to emphasize the increasing dependence of the Latin States upon Europe during the century. The special privileges accorded the Italian maritime cities and the subtraction of the military orders from royal control diminished both economic and military resources of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The papacy was the only authority that could have commanded all the resources needed for the defense of the Latin States, and it was too far away to function in emergencies, the chronic condition of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

University of Texas

A. C. KREY

THE EASTERN SCHISM: A STUDY OF THE PAPACY AND THE EASTERN CHURCHES DURING THE XITH AND XIITH CENTURIES. By *Steven Runciman*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 189. \$3.40.)

THIS is a study, based on the Waynflete lectures given at Oxford in 1954, by a distinguished student of Byzantine culture and more recently of the crusades, concerning a subject which constantly forces itself on the attention of historians of Mediterranean civilization during the Middle Ages. The deplorable effects of the schism between eastern and western Christendom have long been recognized.

The fact that the causes of the rift were administrative (in the ecclesiastical sense), political, and cultural, as well as theological, has also been understood. What has not been adequately explained, at least in English, is the relation between religious divergencies and contemporary political and cultural developments. Even when the schism has been considered from a historical rather than a theological viewpoint, too much emphasis, Mr. Runciman believes, has been placed on the events of 1054 and the activities of Cardinal Humbert and the Patriarch Cerularius. Formal ecclesiastical schism did not "begin" at that moment. Indeed, he argues, "it is impossible to give a precise date for the schism." Certainly, for more than a century following the events of 1054, there were numerous occasions when neither side apparently admitted the existence of formal schism. As late as 1245, Innocent IV seems to have regarded schism as of recent origin.

If, then, the schism was of gradual origin, what were the factors which eventually produced it? Runciman feels that more important than superficial jealousies and conflicting ecclesiastical traditions was a "mutual dislike between peoples of Eastern and Western Christendom," which was in turn based on a gradual but deeply-rooted cultural divergence. To this was added "an extraordinary coincidence of political events in the eleventh and twelfth centuries." Among these he counts the reformed papacy, the Norman invasion of southern Italy and Sicily, and, as might be expected by anyone familiar with Runciman's previous work, "the whole nobly intentioned and savagely executed movement of the Crusades."

Runciman frankly admits an inclination toward the Byzantine view, and he feels that the Byzantine case has not been fully understood. His book is not, however, an argument. It is a historian's attempt to understand and explain; as such it is an important contribution to a controversial and deeply significant subject. It might be contended that if the Byzantine case has not been clearly presented, the western position, surely, is not adequately understood and is usually oversimplified. As the author indicates, further elucidation on the role of the other eastern patriarchates and of the Slavonic churches is needed. Much has been done in recent years, and the work is proceeding. A notable example which appeared too late for inclusion in Runciman's bibliography is the recent addition to the Collection Irenicon, *L'Eglise et les églises, 1054-1954, études offertes à dom Lambert Beauduin* (Chevetogne, 1955). It is to be hoped that the discussions can continue on the high level of scholarship and fair-mindedness displayed in Runciman's book.

New York University

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

ALEXANDRE III: ETUDE SUR LA CONCEPTION DU POUVOIR PONTIFICAL DANS SA PENSÉE ET DANS SON OEUVRE. By *Marcel Pacaut*. [*L'Eglise et l'Etat au Moyen Age*, Volume XI.] (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin. 1956. Pp. 416.)

OF all the great medieval popes, Alexander III has long been the least well-known, either for his life or for his place in the development of papal power. The

author has attempted to fill this gap in our knowledge, despite the lack of adequate primary materials. He has analyzed very carefully the ideas of Alexander III, particularly on the political side, both in the light of his temperament and training and also in connection with the main currents of thought and action in the Church and in Europe from the days of Gregory VII to those of Innocent III. The result is a considerable expansion of the hitherto standard account of this pontificate by Reuter in 1860 and an appreciable amount of new light on the development of papal power and institutions in the Church and in Europe in the second half of the twelfth century. The Besançon episode and the subsequent conflict with Frederick Barbarossa receive adequate treatment, and there is also a careful discussion of the papal role in connection with other states, notably England (Becket, Ireland), Portugal, and Scandinavia. The Third Lateran Council is convincingly presented as the climax of the pontificate. But the most striking feature of the book is the progressive portrayal of the ideas of Alexander III against the background of twelfth-century political and intellectual history. The author finds the key to Alexander's thinking in his devotion to Gratian (there are four impressive pages of parallel passages from the *Decretum* and from the writings of Alexander) and in his thorough training as a canonist. Pacaut does not omit the theologians in general nor the scholars at Paris, including the still famous Abelard, and their possible influence on the ideas of Alexander, but stress is definitely on the schools at Bologna, of which he was a product.

This is a careful, well-documented, judicious, realistic, and highly intelligent account of a subject too long neglected. There is a good bibliography, comprehensive and substantially up to date. The introductory chapter is excellent, and numerous summary paragraphs aid the reader at strategic points. The later chapters are perhaps too closely reasoned: the author's conclusions, never stated dogmatically, are not entirely convincing (the contrast of *auctoritas* and *administratio*, for example, probably raises as many questions as it answers). Any student of the twelfth century will find this a profitable volume, whether his interest in history is ecclesiastical, secular, intellectual, or institutional.

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

Modern European History

DOCTRINE FOR THE LADY OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *Ruth Kelso*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 475. \$6.50.)

BASED upon original sources, this book is "the result of prolonged search in the realm of ideals for a portrait of the renaissance lady." The theoretical literature studied is more than copious: 891 distinct items in a bibliographical list of 100 pages. The search was warranted and justified; but though much is learned and truth revealed, the reward is disappointing in that the sought-after lady "turns out to be merely a wife." Perhaps study of renaissance history and literature will yet

reveal this ideal lady, full counterpart to the gentleman who *is* adequately drawn in the theoretical books of the times, such as Castiglione's *Courtier*; but Miss Kelso's task, a formidable one indeed, was to search through only the books of theory, books often prolix, repetitive, "ant-heaps of learning."

Her book is a restatement and summarization of original sources finely organized in topics and subtopics relating to six chapter headings: Women in the Scheme of Things, Training, Studies, Vocation, Love and Beauty, The Lady at Court. Hence, there could be in these chapters no enchantment of style, only solid, unadorned, and often dull testimony. Happily, in the introduction, conclusion, and the very valuable twenty-page essay on "The Literature of Gentility," the author's earnest zeal and spirit are displayed. These sections present her distillation of the whole matter, in a writing style of engaging flavor. All students concerned with sixteenth-century society and social thought will be grateful for the comprehensive list of sources treating of "The Lady" and for the thirty-eight pages listing new bibliography for "The Gentleman" (a supplement to the author's previously-published *Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century*).

Clarifying as the study is, there is a misleading conception running through its pages: any writing or publication between the years 1400 and 1600 is regarded as "renaissance thought." It seems justifiable to insist that a more valid description of the ideas on the position of women expressed in most of these sources would be "medieval thought" or "Reformation thought" and that those ideas of St. Paul and the Church Fathers which Miss Kelso says "formed the basis of renaissance thought" formed rather the basis for the views on women characteristic of medieval thought and the thought of reformers, Protestant and Catholic, in the sixteenth century. I do not believe Miss Kelso would claim Savonarola for the Renaissance. She expresses more clearly her sense of values in saying that distrust of human flesh is a "legacy of the middle ages that still warps and clouds our view of the nature of humanity" (p. 198).

The vital contribution of this work can be appreciated only when it is considered in the long-range perspective of the subject of women in society. To this end, I know no better immediate instruction than to study this book in conjunction with Fustel de Coulanges's classic *Ancient City* (1864) and Simone de Beauvoir's remarkable treatise on *The Second Sex* (1949).

Duke University

ERNEST W. NELSON

THE BUBONIC PLAGUE AND ENGLAND: AN ESSAY IN THE HISTORY OF PREVENTIVE MEDICINE. By *Charles F. Mullett*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 401. \$9.00.)

THREE great pandemics of plague have been recorded in the course of human history. The plague of Justinian was the first of these, the second was the Black Death, and the third, the widespread epidemics of our century. Human plague is basically a problem of urban communities, and consequently, it is not surprising to find few accounts of widespread outbreaks during the early medieval period.

While there can be no certainty on the matter, it seems likely that the plague pandemic of the fourteenth century originated somewhere in the hinterland of Central Asia where a reservoir of infection persisted among the wild rodents of the steppes. From its original focus, the disease spread westward until by the spring of 1346 it had reached the shores of the Black Sea, whence it was carried on shipboard to Constantinople, Genoa, Venice, and other European ports. It took about three years for the huge plague wave to sweep over Europe. Successive waves of lesser magnitude followed at varying intervals until about 1388.

The plague continued to smolder throughout Europe, but it was not until the seventeenth century that the disease recurred with the greatest violence since the Black Death. Under the Tudors and Stuarts, the plague visited England at frequent intervals, reaching its climax in the great epidemic of 1665. The Continent was also severely ravaged. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, the outbreaks declined in intensity, and even though bubonic plague still afflicted Europe in the eighteenth century, it was no longer the overwhelming problem of previous centuries.

It is within this context that Dr. Mullett's story of the plague in England must be placed. Beginning with the Black Death and its consequences, he traces the effects of the plague on the political, social, and economic life of England into the early nineteenth century. Based upon a wide reading of primary and secondary sources, the book traces the influence of the plague in several directions; for example, the plague was significantly reflected in the works of such writers as Chaucer, Dekker, and Defoe. The medieval Black Death led to the development of quarantine, and this form of community action was practised in various ways to combat the plague. Furthermore, the national government undertook to develop public health measures, which, however ineffective, adumbrated the idea of health protection on a national scale, an approach which was not to be achieved until the nineteenth century. The author analyzes the various controversies concerning the theories of contagious diseases and the practices derived from them. The interaction of the social, economic, and medical aspects of the plague is clearly demonstrated.

Dr. Mullett has made a solid contribution to social and medical history. His book is not always lively; in fact, at times the going is heavy. Despite this rather minor defect, the volume is a significant contribution to the history of disease in relation to social and political developments.

Columbia University

GEORGE ROSEN, M.D.

THE ROYALISTS DURING THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. By *Paul H. Hardacre*, Associate Professor of History, Vanderbilt University. [International Scholars Forum, Volume VI.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956. Pp. xiv, 185. Guilders 12.50.)

It is strange that while so much has been written about the Puritans, so little attention has been paid to their adversaries, the royalists. Of course, there are good

biographies of the military heroes, and the leading statesman Hyde has been adequately studied. But the treatment of the royalists by their foes, except in broad outline by Gardiner, has been unduly neglected. Sir Charles Firth, in a posthumously printed article (*English Historical Review*, LII [1937], 634-48), pointed the way. Now Professor Hardacre has dug deeply in the sources, chiefly printed, and in the contemporary literature to present a full account of the vicissitudes of the defeated party.

The author begins with a discussion of the composition of the royalist party and takes the orthodox position that the Civil War was fought primarily on principle rather than on class lines. However, economic rivalry and even family quarrels are not excluded. There is, for example, the story of the earl of Somerset who complained bitterly that his son-in-law Bedford coveted the household hangings confiscated by the royalists! As has been pointed out by Brunton and Pennington in *Members of the Long Parliament*, further investigation of "personal and local factors" is needed to account for the choosing of sides in the great conflict.

Scarcely had the war started when the arrests and fines of royalists began, and in March, 1643, the basic sequestration ordinance was passed. The chief objective was to make the "delinquents" pay for the war, and in 1651 and 1652 parliamentary acts were passed to confiscate and sell their lands. There was some benefit to the government by sequestration and composition, but little, if any, by the sales. Surely the hatred of the landed proprietors outweighed the financial gains. There was, besides, considerable play for personal animosity and even corruption in the activities of the county committees, while the royalist tried to circumvent the law by repurchase of his confiscated lands, sometimes through a dummy purchaser. Two groups suffered severely, the Anglican clergy and the Catholics, and many were reduced to penury. There were exceptions, however, a notable example being Archbishop Ussher, who, though deprived of his office and revenues, was permitted to preach in the Temple.

Under the Protectorate there was an improvement in the delinquents' position, for Cromwell sought to conciliate lay royalists, Catholic as well as Anglican. Also, the "triers" who judged the applicants for livings seemed to be more concerned with competence than with political opinions. That Cromwell's policy of conciliation was a failure is proved by the rapid emergence of royalist sentiment after his death. Strangely enough, of the groups considered royalist, only some influential Catholics were lukewarm about welcoming back a Stuart king.

There is a concluding chapter on the well-known treatment of the royalists by Charles II and his government, and a good bibliographical essay completes the monograph. Gardiner and Firth presented the general picture of royalist hardship, and Professor Hardacre has done well to fill in the economic consequences of Puritan anti-royalist legislation and action.

THE DOMESTIC SERVANT CLASS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *J. Jean Hecht*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1956. Pp. xii, 240. 25s.)

HERE is the first detailed account of servant life in the eighteenth century. Because the number of servants was considered a major criterion of social status for landed aristocrats and their rivals, the middle class merchants, they vied with each other in maintaining elaborate households. While the largest of these, the households of the dukes of Bedford, Newcastle, and Norfolk, had seventy to eighty people, a more usual size was between thirty and forty. In London, about 60,000 to 100,000 people were employed as servants. The size of the household brought fine distinctions of duty which led inevitably to the development of rank among servants. The titles of land steward and clerk of the stables were valued among the servants as much as were those of duke and earl in the higher society. These and other titles for the servant carried degrees of prestige in dress, lodging, and dining comforts that made promotion from position to position a most desirable event. This well-developed system, reflecting the customs of the higher society, was regulated by convention, the supply of servants, the relationship of master and servants, and the prestige the aristocratic head of the household commanded from the other gentlemen of his class. Servants moved from post to post and from household to household as they sought advancement, with a surprising amount of social climbing. There were a few who rose into the lower ranks of the gentlemen farmers and died as men of wealth.

Most of the information for this fascinating story has been taken from printed diaries, newspapers and magazines, and contemporary pamphlets. It has been well used, and every contention has been well substantiated—sometimes too fully—by the examples of servant life that Professor Hecht has studiously collected. Besides pioneering this subject for the historian, the author has tried to anticipate questions that economists and sociologists might ask and has succeeded admirably. Good charts on wages and data for the differentiation of the various servant classes are included. Missing from the study is an investigation of relationships among the poorer members of the aristocrat's family and the servant classes and among the lower upper classes and the higher levels of the servant community. With these possible exceptions in the coverage, the book is an excellent piece of research and writing.

Whittier College

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

JOHN STUART MILL AND FRENCH THOUGHT. By *Iris Wessel Mueller*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 275. \$4.00.)

THE past decade of scholarship has witnessed an upsurge of interest in the "Saint of Rationalism." To the recent works of Packe, Hayek, and Anschutz is now added Dr. Mueller's thoughtful and searching study of the impact of major

French theorists of the early and mid-nineteenth century upon the social and philosophical thought of John Stuart Mill. As viewed through his extensive correspondence, Mill's reaction to the French revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and his relations with the Saint-Simonians, the Comtists, De Tocqueville, and the Fourierists are spelled out at length. Minimizing the part of Harriet Taylor Mill (perhaps to the point of disconcerting readers of the *Autobiography* and Hayek's edition of the Mill-Taylor letters), the author concludes that the influence of the French school on Mill was second only to the Benthamite training of his youth.

In a detailed survey of changes in the content and treatment of the *Political Economy*, as it passed through seven editions from 1848 to 1871, the author discloses Mill's progressive acceptance of French socialist concepts. In early agreement with the Saint-Simonians that the distribution of wealth called for social action, Mill was finally to place hope in Fourierist plans for collective control of industry by free associations of workingmen. In the *Autobiography*, Mill described his position as falling within "the general designation of socialism," but it is clear that his was a highly-qualified socialism, untouched by Marxism, and content, in large part, with the promotion of cooperatives and the extension of governmental power only to the point needed to help people to help themselves and to assist the helpless. In theory, Mill recognized no limit to social action, but his preoccupation with individual thought and conscience constrained him to reject proposals for the establishment of intellectual and industrial hierarchies in charge of the total organization of society. It is significant of his aversion to schematism that *On Liberty* was directed against the "liberticide" implications of Comtian statics.

It was De Tocqueville who made the most sobering and lasting impression on Mill. De Tocqueville alerted him to the potential defects of democracy and the need for free institutions on local levels to allow individual participation and education in democratic process and to resist tyranny on the national level. Both feared administrative despotism; both feared concentration of power in bureaucracies. Mueller is on sound ground in holding De Tocqueville's apprehensions of the social and intellectual tyranny that could be exerted by an omnipotent majority as, in effect, the "*leit motif*" of Mill's political writings."

Readers of the *Review* will draw profit from Dr. Mueller's judicious portrayal of a nonconformist whose life was an intellectual odyssey in quest of secular salvation.

Queens College

C. H. VAN DUZER

LA FRANCE ET LES PRINCIPAUTÉS DANUBIENNES (DU XVI^e SIÈCLE A LA CHUTE DE NAPOLEÓN 1^{er}). By *Germaine Lebel*, Administrateur de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Alger. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, Vol. XXVII.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1955. Pp. 460. Fr. 1,500.)

IN Part I of this book, the author describes the relations between France and the

Danubian provinces (Moldavia and Wallachia) from the sixteenth century to the fall of Napoleon I, but shows that these contacts existed as far back as 298-278 B.C. when the Celts invaded that region. In the Middle Ages, especially during the Crusades, French merchants, adventurers, and Crusaders visited these Danubian states. By the sixteenth century, France was definitely interested in them. Henry III, last of the so-called boy kings of France, became head of the Polish monarchy and, supported by France, attempted to bring Moldavia and Wallachia under Polish rule. Later, France tried to aid the princes of the provinces in attempts to free themselves from Turkish control. During the Thirty Years' War and the reign of Louis XIV, she backed the local rulers in their opposition to Austrian expansion.

In the eighteenth century, France recognized the menace of the Russian advance in the Near East. Still opposing Austrian ambitions, she adopted a policy whereby Russia would be contained by maintaining the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire; but the Revolution of 1789 checked France's activities in the Balkans for a few years. Following the partition of Poland in 1793, however, she again became active in the Rumanian states, trying to get aid from the provinces in an attempt to free the Poles. With Napoleon's invasion of Egypt the situation changed. Turkey entered the war against France. After peace was restored in 1802 (Amiens), Napoleon revived activities in the Near East; and Lebel's story of French relations with the Balkans from 1802 to 1814 is similar to accounts found in other works, except that he brings out exceedingly well the role played by the Danubian provinces during this important period.

In Part II the author relates the history of the French consuls in Moldavia and Wallachia. He first shows how French teachers, in the eighteenth century, were employed by the local princes to educate their sons. These intellectuals constituted the only connecting link between France and the provinces. Later, the French ambassador at Constantinople sent scientists, doctors, and merchants into the provinces as his secret agents, but French secretaries employed by the Rumanian princes were able to provide him with the most valuable information. At the close of the eighteenth century, French consuls were dispatched to these Balkan states, and their observations concerning political and social conditions were of great importance to France. In the final chapter the author discusses the impact of the French Revolution on the provinces.

Dr. Lebel has written an interesting, well-organized, and valuable work, which should be read by all scholars interested in French diplomacy or the history of the Balkans. In an appendix, the author has added an account of French commerce in the Danubian provinces during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The volume contains an extensive bibliography, consisting of unpublished manuscripts, printed materials, and books. There is also a map of the Danubian provinces showing the territorial changes brought about by the various treaties from 1718 to 1812 and a helpful index.

THE NEW WORLD OF HENRI SAINT-SIMON. By *Frank E. Manuel*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. 433. \$7.50.)

THERE are, in the history of modern thought, few queerer fish than Henri de Saint-Simon and few whose ideas are more difficult to classify. His life was a thing of shreds and patches. Born of a poor but aristocratic house which claimed descent from Charlemagne, he served in the army both in France and in the American Revolution. Following 1789, he made a fortune in land speculation, then was imprisoned during the Reign of Terror. Next, after squandering his wealth, he had to be supported by a former servant. Already he had begun to publish tracts, and though a dilettante in philosophy and science, he early showed a Napoleonic lust to be heard. When the bankers and the scientists ignored his appeals, he collapsed nervously and had to be put in an insane asylum. He recovered his health and began to importune the industrialists; when they paid little attention, he tried to kill himself. His two gifted secretaries, Augustin Thierry and Auguste Comte, deserted him, but he kept on writing. In his last years, having declared himself a new Messiah, he was worshiped by a group of younger men who, shortly after the master's death, founded the Saint-Simonian school of socialism.

Professor Manuel cuts through Saint-Simon's life and writings to show the basic current of his thinking. Saint-Simon was one of the earliest to sense the implications of the Industrial Revolution. He saw clearly the causes not only of the breakdown of the Ancien Régime but also of the failure, after 1789, of both the traditionalist and the liberal attempts to create a new order. Handicapped by his lack of education and without ability to write effectively—he usually wandered off in “digressions, repetitions, and contradictions”—he nonetheless published voluminously. He was always urging, often “with paranoid petulance,” one reform after another. He first wished to unify all knowledge, next he wanted a society run by the bankers, then one controlled by the scientists, and, finally, one directed by the industrialists. Because he was both a crank and a genius, always “intoxicated with the future,” it is hard to sort out his original ideas. He was most successful “in striking a slogan that ultimately penetrated everywhere.” “Like a child playing with blocks,” he built and defended an interrelated series of utopias, always “preaching a gospel of production harnessed to humanitarian purpose.” He detested violence and believed only in changes to which men were peacefully converted. Marx classed Saint-Simon as a Utopian Socialist; actually this great “inventor of ideas” was really a precursor of “managerial” and “technocratic” theories. Professor Manuel's work is based on long research in the sources and, beyond this, on a profound knowledge of the great currents of modern thought. His magistral study is the definitive work on its subject.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

NIVEAU DE VIE ET PROGRÈS TECHNIQUE EN FRANCE (1860-1939):
CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉCONOMIE FRANÇAISE CON-

TEMPORAINE. POSTFACE (1939-1949). By *Paul Combe*. Preface by *Jean Fourastié*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. 618, xli. Fr. 1,995.)

In this day of Algerian revolution, political instability in Paris, and deteriorating French prestige throughout the world, Dr. Combe's massive study is a welcome addition to the literature on the secular decline of France: welcome, first, because it comes from a Frenchman who loves his country and speaks with the more authority of her strengths and weaknesses; second, because it offers other scholars the widest selection of statistical data thus far assembled on this subject. The result is a book that is not always easy to read and is perhaps too encyclopedic in its scope. Yet it overflows with valuable material and provocative attempts to link the divers variables of economic change—the author even draws music, art, and literature into his wide net. As a result, even when one disagrees with Combe, he is well worth reading.

Despite the title, the book concerns itself more with the relative fall in the French standard of living and the accompanying economic and social dislocations than with the history of technical change. (The author is perhaps too quick to assume that the statistical evidence on this subject does not lend itself to reliable calculation.) These observations lead to a consideration of the causes of France's difficulties, with special stress on national character, geography, and historical experience. In this connection, Combe argues that the development of Cartesianism, with its abstract deduction, has had important consequences for both political organization and the educational system, which in turn have affected the economy adversely. The volume concludes with a program for French economic regeneration, to which is appended a study of the 1940's that confirms the urgency of the problem.

The book will displease some readers, who will feel that it is too gloomy and overlooks the brighter side of recent French development; yet in the light of current events, Combe can hardly be accused of excessive discouragement. Others will be disturbed by the eclecticism of his analysis, by his inclusion of impressionistic imponderables alongside quantifiable variables, by the kaleidoscopic quality of the work. Yet these weaknesses are more than compensated by the richness of the treatment. Dr. Combe has worked for some two decades to procure us a thesaurus of data that belongs in every university library. We all have reason to be grateful.

Columbia University

DAVID S. LANDES

LIBERALISMUS: DIE DEUTSCHLIBERALE BEWEGUNG IN DER HABSBURGISCHEN MONARCHIE. By *Georg Franz*. (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey. 1956. Pp. 531. DM 19.50.)

COMPLETED by the author eight years before it was actually published, this work is a detailed study of Austrian liberalism before the *Ausgleich* of 1867. The seventy-five pages of footnote references to monographic studies and primary

sources bear witness to the large amount of intensive, critical study which went into the writing of the book.

Dr. Franz looks upon Josephenism as the chief forerunner of nineteenth-century Austrian liberalism. Even though the French Revolution frightened Austrian conservatives away from reform (even in an absolutist sense), after 1814 at least part of the Habsburg bureaucracy continued under the spell of a Josephenist spirit. Particularly after Emperor Francis' death did Josephenist bureaucrats and intellectuals take the lead in criticizing the shortcomings of the monarchy. Other pre-1848 opponents of the Habsburg monarchy were the members of the Estates movement, who desired a return to the pre-absolutist freedom of the provincial Estates, and the bourgeois liberals, who wanted a written constitution on the French pattern and who were prepared to sacrifice the unity of the monarchy on the altar of freedom.

With the overthrow of the liberal revolution in 1848, as the author points out, a dynastic centralist state replaced the 1848 constitutional monarchy based on popular sovereignty. It was this neo-absolutist state which, by deliberately encouraging the industrialization of the monarchy, actually made it possible for the German middle classes to become a powerful economic and financial, and later a strong intellectual and political, power in Austria. In the 1850's and 1860's, the growing financial instability of the government made the regime increasingly dependent upon "liberal" financial interests, who, after the military defeat in 1859, brought powerful pressure on the government to grant a constitution on February 26, 1861, thus opening the door for the German middle classes to participate in public political life and to develop a middle class political program. The inability of the German bourgeoisie to get together, the quarrels within their ranks, and the opposition which developed between them and the Schmerling government, however, made it impossible for the German liberals to use their opportunity to dominate Austria politically. With the overthrow of the Schmerling government, followed by the military defeat of 1866 and the *Ausgleich* of 1867, the German liberals permanently lost their dominance over the affairs of the Habsburg monarchy.

University of Texas

R. JOHN RATH

DIE FÜHRUNGSSCHICHTEN IN ÖSTERREICH UND PREUSSEN (1804-1918), MIT EINEM AUSBLICK BIS ZUM JAHRE 1945. By *Nikolaus von Preradovich*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Band 11.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1955. Pp. 240.)

THIS study of the ruling groups of Austria and Prussia in the last 150 years is a welcome contribution to the historical statistics of the two countries. For the purposes of his monograph the author defines the ruling groups in four categories: diplomats, heads of domestic government, generals, and parliamentarians. He proceeds to examine the social origins of members of these groups in nine crucial years between 1804 and 1918, dividing them into descendants of the high nobility, the old nobility (all families belonging to the nobility a century before the name ap-

pears in the statistical list), the new nobility, and the bourgeoisie. These divisions are not always easy to establish. It may be questionable, for example, whether or not sons ofmorganatic marriages of members of the high nobility should be classified under the new nobility. But the author has been aware of most of the pitfalls of his approach and has placed at the disposal of his readers a great wealth of information about individual families and persons which keeps the reader reminded of the dangers of a rigid classification.

The study, which refrains from drawing any far-reaching historical conclusions, has laid a solid foundation for any sociological interpretation of the political leaders of the two monarchies. There are also some interesting side glances at Bavaria and a projection of the findings into the period of the first Austrian and the Weimar republics. The results of the research done by von Preradovich will have to be used with great circumspection. It will probably surprise many people that the Prussian junkers, in mere percentage figures, were not quite as numerous as has often been asserted and that, in addition to the non-Prussian German nobility, members of the bourgeoisie were widely represented in the political ruling class. But the junkers constituted a social group of amazing activity in the political and military field over many generations and demonstrated in addition a very great capacity for adopting new elements. Most of the bourgeois elements came, as the junkers themselves, from "East-Elbia," and I believe that future research could narrow the social groups from which these bourgeois ministers and generals most often came.

In contrast to the homogeneous national character of the Prussian ruling class, the Austrian ruling class was of a composite character. Not many noble families were left in the Austrian territories after the counter-reformation, and the Austrian nobility after 1648 was largely of international extraction. One of the most significant conclusions which can be drawn is the relative unwillingness of the Austrian aristocrats to serve in state positions and, as a consequence, the dependence of the Austrian government on members of the German nobility. In 1859, fifty-two per cent of the Austrian generals were Germans and only fifteen per cent were Austrians. Even among the bourgeois people, the German immigrants formed a large group. After 1871 the influx of Germans declined very considerably, and the Austrian ruling class was driven into a crisis which reflected the problems of the multinational empire.

Yale University

Hajo HOLBORN

GERMANY'S EASTERN NEIGHBOURS: PROBLEMS RELATING TO
THE ODER-NEISSE LINE AND THE CZECH FRONTIER REGIONS.

By *Elizabeth Wiskemann*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 309. \$4.80.)

ANYONE who doubts the complexity of frontier and minority problems in East-Central Europe needs only to read Elizabeth Wiskemann's book to have his doubts

quickly dispelled. Employing a socio-economic approach, yet incorporating sufficient historical background to give the reader proper perspective, Miss Wiskemann analyzes the difficult problems growing out of the changes in Germany's eastern frontiers and the consequent transfer of populations. As the book's subtitle suggests, the author is primarily concerned with Poland's "recovered territories" and Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland; she also deals, however, with the expellees from these territories inside West Germany and includes a chapter on the "oblast Kalinin-grad," that portion of East Prussia annexed by the Soviet Union.

Despite the inhumanity associated with the uprooting of people, this volume makes clear why there was no alternative to the transfer of the German population from the "recovered territories" and the Sudetenland into Germany. Polish and Czech memories of German minority troubles in the prewar period and of German atrocities during the war itself precluded any other solution. Subjected to many hardships, and often to cruelties, the German expellees were given a cold reception by their compatriots in West Germany where economic conditions were scarcely propitious for the absorption of additional millions. According to Miss Wiskemann, however, West Germany has since made tremendous progress toward the integration of the newcomers with its own population. The Polish and Czechoslovak governments hastened to settle their own nationals on the territories vacated by Germans. Although the population of these regions has not yet reached prewar levels, the volume of agricultural and industrial production, states Miss Wiskemann, has in many instances already exceeded that of 1939. The author cites numerous statistics to support her argument. The integration of the expellees in West Germany, the importance of the new boundaries both to Poland and to Czechoslovakia, and Polish determination to retain the Oder-Neisse line lead Miss Wiskemann to the logical and inevitable conclusion that there can be no return to the prewar frontiers.

Much of the data contained in *Germany's Eastern Neighbours* was gathered firsthand in West Germany. Although not permitted to visit either Poland or Czechoslovakia, the author exploited the available source materials in the languages of these countries. The amount of valuable data packed into this single volume is indeed impressive. Its presentation, however, might have been more effective: frequent use of double negatives and of long, cumbersome sentences detracts somewhat from the pleasure of reading a monograph of superior scholarship.

Ohio State University

CHARLES MORLEY

KAPERFART OG SKIPSFART, 1807-1814. By *Joh. N. Tønnessen*. (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlag. 1955. Pp. 618.)

IN maritime history, the second half of the Napoleonic period was one of more than usual activity. Napoleon was trying to cripple England's commerce and credit, while Britain sought to disrupt the aid he might receive from neutrals to support his continental system. Other states caught up in this contest, especially

the secondary ones, soon found themselves adopting courses which often proved tortuous; in this connection, it is enough to recall the vagaries of United States policy under President Madison.

In no area surely were the shifts in maritime policy as circuitous, for neutral and ally alike, as in the North Sea-Baltic region. The Dano-Norwegian monarchy was in the midst of the commotion. Formally aligned with Napoleon, Frederick VI wanted to conform to the continental system; but on several occasions he found it necessary to make exceptions (not always publicized) in his formal policies, especially on behalf of his Norwegian kingdom.

This was true particularly of the privateering activities that were authorized. The Norwegian phase of this privateering is the subject of Tønnessen's large volume, which is a first full-length treatment of the subject, although on two earlier occasions the author has dealt with special phases of the subject. He investigates the extent of the privateering activity (much on Danish privateering is included), the bearing it had on Norway's desperate food needs (its help here is rated low), and the return on capital invested. Also explored are the ways in which general political and economic considerations motivated Copenhagen's privateering policy (American maritime enterprise in the area had a bearing on some decisions) and how that policy fitted into Frederick's over-all foreign policy. There is an evaluation of the part Norwegian privateering policy and activity played in preparing the way for the separation of Norway from Denmark in 1814. On the excesses and irregularities often charged to the privateers of the period, Tønnessen inclines to a temperate judgment. His approach is comprehensive, and his story includes related fields, such as embargo policies, the use of licenses, admiralty jurisdiction, and general aspects of maritime warfare in Northern waters, including the North Cape routes.

With meticulous care, changes in policy are often followed in detail from desk to desk, and seizure cases are followed argument by argument through the intricacies of admiralty and prize court. Part of the author's data is presented, to good advantage, in statistical tabulations. Much appreciated by specialists will be the thirty-five-page list of vessels involved in Norwegian privateering (some 290), giving for each such data as: home port, changes in ownership or control, routes sailed, experiences en route, and, if relevant, adjudication in prize court. The use of unpublished archival materials, first and foremost Norwegian and Danish, is extensive; and on some matters the treatment is exhaustive. With temperate judgment the author evaluates the limitations as well as the potentialities of his sources (e.g., pp. 232 f.). Several assumptions and findings of Worm-Müller's earlier substantial study on part of the period, *Norge gjennom nødsaarene . . . 1807-1810* (1918), are re-evaluated (pp. 458 ff.).

No less than four of the thirty chapters are devoted specifically to American policies and extensive activities in the region. During half a year of "non-intercourse" in 1809 some 126 "North American" merchantmen swarmed into the Tønning (Slesvig) area, which momentarily offered one of the loopholes in Na-

oleon's system. At another period (1810-1813), the number of United States vessels overtaken and haled into port by Norwegian privateers was sixty-six, fully twice the next largest number, those under Swedish flag. The writings of John Quincy Adams, on assignment in St. Petersburg, have been drawn on freely, and some American archival sources have been used (through transcripts made by Halvdan Koht during his wartime stay in the United States). One slip, which may mislead European readers, is the unconventionally wide application given to the term "New England" (pp. 433 f.).

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

FINLAND BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. By *Anatole G. Mazour*, Professor of History, Stanford University. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1956. Pp. xiv, 298. \$6.50.)

Finland between East and West presents an explanatory narrative of that heroic little country's diplomacy during the Second World War. Almost one third of the book is devoted to the historical background of the extremely difficult situation with which Finland was faced in 1939; but this introductory material, attempting to range over all aspects of her history, is necessarily so scant and superficial, especially for the centuries before the establishment of Finnish independence, as to be of little value. Another one third is taken up by the text of treaties and other diplomatic documents related to the period from 1920 to 1948.

The core of the study is a detailed account—with running moralizing commentary—of Finland's efforts to withstand the pressure of the Soviet Union, her inability to maintain her position in the absence of serious aid either from her Scandinavian neighbors or from the Western powers, and her succumbing to the temptation of trying to redress the balance with German aid, which in the end proved disastrous. The inaccessibility of Soviet archives inevitably leaves some points obscure, but the author might profitably have given more precise indication of the sources of his statements about Finnish, Scandinavian, and Western policies. There are also a number of unhappy passages—individually insignificant, but cumulative in their effect—which are perhaps the result of insufficiently careful proofreading. A few examples may be cited: "On January 28, 1918, the Red Guard . . . struck first" (p. 49), although Mannerheim is said to have attacked the Reds "on January 27" (p. 51); "the Social Democratic Party enjoyed a majority though by no means a plurality in the newly elected Diet" (p. 26); a newspaper "considered the enforcement of marital law in Finland politically unwise" (p. 36); "fearful of merciless vindication" (p. 55); or reference to the supply of "Fuel for lubricating oil" (p. 113).

Professor Mazour has brought to the writing of this book the same combination of active sympathy with his subjects and earnest desire to pass fair judgments that characterized his earlier study on the Decembrists.

Brooklyn College

JESSE D. CLARKSON

SOVIET RUSSIAN NATIONALISM. By *Frederick C. Barghoorn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 330. \$7.00.)

PROFESSOR Barghoorn, now teaching political science at Yale, spent several years in Russia after the end of the Second World War. His studies of Soviet life are based not only on careful research in original sources but also upon personal observations. In his latest book, he approaches a much-discussed problem: how far does the present government in Moscow express the traditions of Russian nationalism and how far does it represent the originally international message of the proletarian world revolution? Dr. Barghoorn rightly calls his book *Soviet Russian Nationalism*; for it does not deal primarily with the various nationalisms of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. but concentrates its attention on the dialectic relationship between nationalism and socialism, Russianism and Marxism, which characterizes the Kremlin government. The author's careful and judicious discussion of the intricate problems involved will meet with general approval, although this reader at least would give greater weight to the strength of the nationalist sentiment among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union today than Dr. Barghoorn apparently does. In that respect, his personal observations on Georgia (p. 115) and on racial animosities (pp. 118, 163) are especially valuable.

Like the words "liberty" or "democracy," "peace" or "relaxation of international tensions," the words "federalism" and "national self-determination" mean different things—and often the very opposite—in Lenin's dialectic language and in the accepted Western terminology. In its outward form, the U.S.S.R. is a federation; in reality, it is, as Barghoorn rightly remarks, "the most highly integrated and centralized nation-state that has yet existed in the world." National self-determination has no value in itself for the Soviet rulers; it is a means used by them dialectically for maximum integration at home and maximum disintegration abroad. It is, like any other concept, a means for the realization of the world revolution, which through historical circumstances coincides with the triumph of world-wide Russian leadership. "Lenin and Stalin were primarily Marxist revolutionaries who sought to harness the national sentiments of Russians and non-Russians, both inside and outside the Soviet Union, in the interests of communist power" (p. 89). But on the subconscious level, Russian traditions, often intensified by the totalitarian character of the regime, survived and became more potent.

With great flexibility, the Communist dictatorship in Russia applied nationalism and internationalism in varying doses. Up to 1930, the Soviet government stressed to a certain extent the autonomy of the non-Russian nationalities. The cultural life in the non-Russian parts of the empire was promoted, and patriotic scholars like the great Ukrainian historian Hrushevsky returned hopefully from czarist emigration to the newly-established fatherlands. In the 1930's, however, a new and unexpected emphasis was put on the Russian national traditions, on Great Russian chauvinism; and this new emphasis reached its climax in World War II. From then on, until Stalin's death, the U.S.S.R. offered the ludicrous spectacle of the

great Russian people admiring the great Russian people; and all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and of the satellite countries had to sing the praise of the Great Russian brother and benefactor. Today this Great Russian chauvinism seems to be reduced to more human proportions. Recent articles in *Voprosy filosofii* and *Voprosy istorii* reveal the greater attention now being paid to the susceptibility and cultural interests of the non-Russian nationalities. At the Twentieth Communist Party Congress, Nikolai A. Bulganin declared that the component republics of the Soviet Union would receive more autonomy in economic and cultural activities. All such relaxation will, however, remain subordinate to the one paramount goal, the strengthening of the fatherland of the socialist world revolution. The reason for the relaxation of totalitarian over-centralization and over-russification may be found in the recognition that these arouse increased resistance among the subject nationalities in the Soviet empire. "A good case can be made," Barghoorn writes, "for the proposition that cultural assimilation would have been much more successful if the peoples now under Soviet rule had been living during the last forty years under a regime less harsh and autocratic than the monopoly state capitalism imposed by the Kremlin."

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

Far Eastern History

THE STORY OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN STATES. By V. P. Menon. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. 511. \$7.00.)

THIS is a personal narrative rather than history. The author, Secretary to the Ministry of States created in 1947 for the purpose of integration, admits this in his Preface: "I have deliberately called this book, not the history, but 'The Story.'"

After five introductory and historical chapters briefly describing the background, Menon devotes the next sixteen chapters to the integration of specific states and collections of states, showing the variation and multiplicity of the problems encountered. The last five chapters describe the merging of administration, armies and finances, some constitutional problems, and the cost to the central government. Appendix I lists the "Principal Appointments in India Connected with Indian States before the Transfer of Power." Appendix II gives the text of the "Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy presented by the Cabinet Mission to His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes on 12 May 1946." There is a brief list of "Books and Publications Consulted" and sixteen and one half columns of index, of which the longest entry (over one column) is *Menon, V. P.*

The first person pronoun and the name of Sardar Patel appear everywhere in the text. However, the author gives credit where it is due, and the figure of Mountbatten in particular receives full share. There is a fine restraint throughout the book, which is only occasionally pierced by the author's use of adjectives such

as "amazing" and the particle "even." For example, the attitude of Sir Walter Monckton in the Hyderabad drama is never openly criticized, but one sentence betrays the author's estimate: "Even Sir Walter Monckton considered the new amendments utterly unjustifiable. . . ." (p. 365).

It is impossible to estimate the correctness of much of the documentation which is incorporated in the text, since locations of sources are usually not identified or long verbal statements of the actors in the drama are set down as if copied from a diary or pieced together from the author's memory. A tantalizing example is his quotation, without mention of where the document may be found, of a note signed by the three British Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Air Force, and Navy as a "clear refutation" of the charge of a preplanned airlift to Srinagar in the Kashmir Crisis of October, 1947.

There is a persistent vein of self-justification after the event, flavored with dramatic statements like: "A United States of Saurashtra thus came into being after centuries of political fragmentation, no longer a number of separate stagnant pools, but one vast expanse of fresh and limpid water."

On the credit side is the almost "racy" style which makes reading of the account as exciting as a fast-moving melodrama. The book is indispensable for the period, since it is the first extensive account by a major participant. It will be the task of historians, political scientists, economists, and sociologists to pull together original documents and articles on single events and states, such as "Hyderabad: Muslim Tragedy" by Wilfred Cantwell Smith in the January, 1950, *Middle East Journal*, and to relate them to the contents of this study.

Library of Congress

HORACE I. POLEMAN

A MILITARY HISTORY OF MODERN CHINA, 1924-1949. By F. F. Liu.
(Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 312. \$6.00.)

WHILE acknowledging the important role played by armed conflict in China over the past half century, most writers have preferred to analyze the history of modern China in terms of great social, economic, and ideological forces and have frequently ignored the fact that the course of history has indeed been determined on the battlefield. Liu's volume should do much to redress the balance in favor of an appreciation of the role of the military in deciding the fate of China. It forms an admirable companion piece for Ralph L. Powell's *The Rise of Chinese Military Power*. Although the study is by no means exhaustive, it is the result of magnificent research in many hitherto untapped source materials and, within the limits set, constitutes a major contribution to understanding events in China from the time when the Soviets helped organize Nationalist political and military power in 1924 until the final collapse of the Kuomintang on the China mainland in 1949. There are two main limits, and in turn limitations, to Liu's work: (1) The book deals almost exclusively with the military history of the Nationalists. There is little attempt to chart the course of the military development of the Communists. (2)

The major emphasis is on organization, command and supply problems, training, and foreign influences. Actual battles and the life and problems of the troops are mentioned but not discussed in detail.

Liu concentrates first on the nature and scope of Soviet influence (1924-1927); then, following Chiang Kai-shek's consolidation of power, the role of German military advisers (1927-1937); and finally, the impact of American military aid and advice beginning in 1942. He points out Chiang's role in balancing such foreign influences against traditional Chinese military concepts, warlord localism, the Whampoa clique, and the enormous problems which faced China in her eight years of struggle against Japan. The decisive influence of military matters in determining the fate of China is highlighted by Liu's convincing discussion of what he believes to have been major Nationalist blunders. These included the "Do or Die" strategy which decimated the best Kuomintang forces in the early part of the war against Japan while the Communists grew in power, the demobilization and reorganization of the army in 1946 which disrupted whatever semblance of command performance had been achieved during the war against Japan, and the subsequent inept strategy in Manchuria where the tide turned against the Nationalists. Within the framework chosen there is one major omission. The author does not treat the campaigns against the Communists in southeast China (1931-1934) and the part which their Long March played in consolidating Nationalist military control in southwest and west China (1934-1935).

Although Liu is obviously sympathetic to Li Tsung-jen, his book nevertheless shows judicious restraint and objectivity—especially to be admired considering that he is dealing with a very tragic era in his own country's history. The result is a work which no student of modern Chinese history can ignore.

Yale University

RICHARD L. WALKER

NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTION IN MONGOLIA. With a translation from the Mongol of Sh. Nachukdorji's *LIFE OF SUKEBATUR* by Owen Lattimore and Urgunge Onon. By *Owen Lattimore*. [Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 186. \$4.75.)

THE first half of this book is devoted to a series of finely-written essays on nationalism and revolution in Outer Mongolia. They are intended to present a well-rounded background for the biography of Sukebatur, the Mongolian revolutionary leader, which follows. The essays, however, extremely important in themselves, will be for many readers the most interesting and most rewarding portion of the book. They deal not only with recent historical developments in one country but also with the roots of basic trends, over a much wider area, in the more distant past. Thus they provide valuable material for students of three main regions—Eastern Asia (China and Japan), Central Asia, and the Soviet Union—as well as for those particularly interested in the economic, political, or cultural history of Mongolia.

The first essay, on the Mongols under Manchu rule, emphasizes the lack of cohesion among the Mongol peoples until recent times and their lateness in developing a sense of nationalism. Professor Lattimore points out that even under Chingis Khan the Mongols formed a collection of tribal groups rather than a unified people and in subsequent periods had fought each other more than they had fought the Chinese. His description of the three phases of the extension of Manchu control over the Mongols and the gradual breakdown of that control toward the end of their dynasty is a concise and masterly presentation of significant historical developments.

Inner Mongolia is then treated in two essays, covering the period between the Revolution of 1911 and the end of World War II. These furnish a basis of comparison with an essay on Outer Mongolia and its rather different problems. In the latter, Professor Lattimore shows very clearly that the feudal society was still so strong in Outer Mongolia that the nobles and high lamas and even the leaders who emerged from the common people could only conceive of independence from China in feudal terms. The overlord they eventually chose was Russia; and Outer Mongolia was a satellite of tsarist Russia from 1911 to 1917, before becoming the first of the satellites in the orbit of Soviet Russia. Hence, in Lattimore's words, Outer Mongolia is the pilot model for the contemporary Soviet satellite state.

This circumstance inspired essays on the problem of satellite politics, the Russian mode of expansion, and, specifically, the orbit of Outer Mongolia in satellite politics. Lattimore points out that satellite politics is a relatively new development in the relations between states (in fact, he believes that he was the first person to use the word "satellite" in this modern connotation, in 1936), and because of the relative newness of the concept, he takes pains to compare the satellite relationship with other political relations between states. His further attempts to reduce the satellite relationship to a definite formula which might be applied to *all* the satellites of Soviet Russia strike the reviewer as being a little too pat and not particularly convincing as regards the European satellites or North Korea.

The remaining essays have a more direct bearing on the biography which follows, discussing other personalities of Outer Mongolia in the revolutionary period and their careers in relation to that of Sukebatur.

After these introductory essays, in which even the footnotes sparkle with new information and fresh insights, the actual life of the Mongol hero seems unduly flat and sterile. The fault does not lie in the translation, nor in the way it has been presented, but rather in the character of the original material. The myth-making element in this "official" life of a popular revolutionary leader, published by the party which he helped to found, is all too obvious; and the account so abounds in naïve clichés—Marxian and local—that it makes dull reading. Lattimore, however, stresses the fact that this is an important document, not only because it is the sole contemporary Mongol work to be translated into a Western language but also because it shows the way in which the regime in the Mongolian People's Republic, toward the end of World War II, wanted the Mongols to think of their country and its recent past.

The exact period of its publication is important, Lattimore explains, because values change with time in satellite politics, just as they do in Soviet politics. It was suddenly considered expedient to present Sukebatur as "father" of the Outer Mongolian People's Republic and its principal hero; since then, there has been a progressive tendency to enhance the figure of Choibalsang, who succeeded him as premier.

It is indeed a difficult task to delineate the careers of such revolutionary heroes in the context of the times in which they lived; but with his excellent introduction and illuminating notes, Professor Lattimore, aided by his Mongol assistants at Johns Hopkins, has eminently succeeded.

University of Pennsylvania

SCHUYLER CAMMANN

American History

HISTORY OF AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY. By *John W. Oliver*, Professor Emeritus in History, University of Pittsburgh. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1956. Pp. viii, 676. \$6.50.)

IN the first general history of American technology, Professor Oliver takes the story from its beginnings in the transplanting of European technology to these shores to the 1950's. It is an ambitious and praiseworthy undertaking. The comprehensive coverage of the material is arranged in four chronological periods, with 1789, 1865, and 1900 as the division points. Nine chapters deal with transportation and communication; four with the interrelations of science and technology; four more with technology in each of our four major wars; two chapters each are devoted to building and to clothing; three to agriculture; seven deal with the metal, petroleum, electrical, food, and nonmetallic materials industries; and nine fall into the category of general, summary, or transition chapters.

The treatment of these subjects is, on the whole, descriptive and episodic rather than analytical and developmental. In many of the chapters, attention is fixed chiefly upon inventions, briefly described. A typical chapter of fourteen pages, "The Communications Revolution to 1860," begins with a brief description of early newspapers and reviews the development of printing presses, the making of paper, the introduction of typecasting and typesetting machines, news gathering methods, the "new postal system" (use of railroads for handling mail), and the introduction and early use of telegraphy. A chapter on the "Role of Science in Early American Technology" touches briefly on such topics as old world scientific societies, early American scientists and contributions to science, the American Philosophical Society and the activities of its members in various fields from astronomy and agriculture to engineering and medicine, the expansion of scientific groups, and the utilitarian character of American science.

Despite, perhaps because of, the comprehensiveness of coverage, the treatment

is very uneven. The development of the patent system is given barely five scattered pages while motion picture technology is accorded a separate chapter and twelve pages. The treatment of metals is limited almost wholly to iron and steel and to the basic processes of manufacture. So vital an area as metalworking in its various aspects is almost entirely ignored, except for scattered and incidental references to machine tools. "Wood" is not found in the index, and the technology of woodworking virtually ends with an early tribute to the American axe. Woodworking machinery, to which Americans made such important contributions and which played almost as large a role in nineteenth-century industry as machine tools, is ignored, except for a reference to the "Woodbury," i.e. Woodworth, planer. The techniques of mining receive virtually no attention. Prime movers are given quite inadequate attention prior to 1900. In numerous instances, matters of technology—some large, some small—are not clearly understood, and there are frequent inaccuracies of detail and looseness of expression that are confusing when not misleading. Many will be surprised to learn that during the Civil War: "Improved breechloading rifles for the infantry, and accurate artillery guns and rifled cannon came into general use. . . . Both sides pioneered in introducing machine guns, armored cars, surface torpedo boats, and submarines."

Professor Oliver has presented here a great wealth of detailed information on many aspects of technology and related aspects of science, at different periods in American history, within a framework of economic, especially industrial, history. There is no detailed discussion of the character of technology, and no concept of technological change is offered; nor has any attempt been made to organize the details of technological innovation into an integrated development. There is only occasional documentation, and bibliographic references are relatively few. Yet within the limits of the subject as he sees it, Professor Oliver has written with zeal and enthusiasm on a subject to which he has devoted his principal attention for many years. He has made a useful and pioneering contribution to the history of technology.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

LOUIS C. HUNTER

AMERICAN CATHOLICISM. By *John Tracy Ellis*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 207. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$1.75.)

THIS attractive little volume, by one of America's outstanding Catholic historians, provides, in the form of four lectures, a brief survey of Catholicism in America from colonial times to the present. The unifying thread is the significance of immigration in the history of the Church, its challenge to a hierarchy unprepared for the sudden flood from Europe, and the record of the Church in assimilating the new arrivals. Immigration gave the Church its "foreign coloring" and posed the problem of Americanizing a congerie of nationalities, often at odds among themselves despite their common faith. The priesthood, schools, charitable

institutions, and the Catholic press undertook the task and carried it forward with notable success.

Dr. Ellis touches upon many phases of Catholicism in America—the early missionaries; the Catholic minority subject to the penal statutes of the English colonies; the ugly nativism at various times in our history and its effect in developing a feeling of inferiority; the backwardness of American Catholics in intellectual and cultural matters, a theme to which the author called attention in earlier publications; the role of Catholic Americans in various national crises, especially during the slavery struggle; the internal controversies over trusteeism and “Americanism”; the impact of the industrial revolution, which made the Church predominantly an urban institution; the “Bishops’ Program of Social Reconstruction”; the effect of recent immigration legislation; “leakage” in membership; the increasing importance of Americans in the counsels of the international Church; and the recent increase in the number of contemplatives and the renewed interest in the liturgy, part of the present trend to seek refuge from the world’s alarms in the comforts of religion.

No matter what his subject, a scholar must select and interpret his factual material if he would produce a meaningful narrative. It is not surprising, therefore, that the author’s account of the Church he serves with distinction should show “some of the emphases that come from commitment.” But the account is straightforward, well-documented, calm, and reasonable even where controversy exists. Dr. Ellis favors separation of church and state and frankly admits that some public questions involve dogmas of the Church, which make it impossible for Catholics to “conform to the national religious ethos” (p. 153). Church history remains an area of sharp disagreements, for what one regards as divine truth another considers error and superstition.

It is easy to raise questions about selection, omission, and emphasis in a study of this kind. For example, the author states as a principle that the Catholic clergy do not mix in political affairs; but when he adds “with no more than four or five exceptions” (p. 73), many readers will wonder why he did not discuss these exceptions in some detail. Others will look in vain for a discussion of such interesting topics as the differences among the forty-five bishops from the United States who took part in the decision on papal infallibility and will regret that the author did not point out that the Catholic press, founded largely to counteract the vile misrepresentations of the nativists, sometimes was as viciously intolerant as the bigots it condemned.

Inevitably, the last two lectures touch upon matters of theology and dogma, for they consider the attitude of the Church on such issues as divorce, birth control, education, censorship, liberalism, and communism. Dr. Ellis explains the Church’s position, with a minimum of argument and a sincere effort to be objective. His major task is to discuss the history of his Church in the United States, in terms of what the facts mean to him. He crowds much into four lectures, and he adds a

table of dates, twenty pages of footnotes, and ten pages of bibliographical comment and suggested readings.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITTKÉ

THE ROANOKE VOYAGES, 1584-1590: DOCUMENTS TO ILLUSTRATE THE ENGLISH VOYAGES TO NORTH AMERICA UNDER THE PATENT GRANTED TO WALTER RALEIGH IN 1584. Two volumes. Edited by *David Beers Quinn*, Professor of History in the University College of Swansea, University of Wales. [Second Series, No. CIV.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society. 1955. Pp. xxxiv, 496; 497-1004. \$22.50.)

In this collection Professor Quinn provides a very useful supplement to the two volumes on *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* edited by him for the Hakluyt Society in 1940. Students of American history will note with satisfaction that he plans to add still another collection on the English voyages for the period extending from 1590 to 1606. When this task has been completed, a record of great importance to the study of English settlement in North America will be available in a most convenient form and with sure editorial guidance.

This is not to suggest that the presently-published volumes add substantially to the sources on which students of the period and the subject have long depended. The record of Raleigh's Roanoke Island ventures remains very largely the same as that printed by Richard Hakluyt in 1589 and 1600, as the editor readily acknowledges. There are new documents which add helpful fragments. For example, one finds here a set of notes "For Master Rauleys Viage" in which professional advice was given on the military defenses of the intended colony. Another find reveals that Bernard Drake was supposed to follow Grenville to Carolina in 1585 but was diverted to Newfoundland in a change of plans. The editor includes a number of Spanish documents which supplement those previously published by Irene Wright. Spanish and admiralty records combine to add a good deal of detail on John White's last voyage of 1590, pertaining mostly to the West Indian phase of the voyage. There are a few omissions, chiefly of documents that may be readily consulted in Mrs. E. G. R. Taylor's *Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (Hakluyt Society, 1935).

The collection gains its value chiefly from the editing, which is detailed and meticulous. After a lengthy introductory essay presenting a critical discussion of the entire record, Professor Quinn divides the material into twelve chapters, each prefaced by a narrative or other foreword. The arrangement of the material is basically chronological; the last two chapters are devoted to the question of Spain and Virginia from 1584 to 1600. Especially interesting is the catalogue (in Chapter VI) of John White's drawings, which the editor has included for the purpose of

seeing "what historical evidence they can be made to yield on the Virginia ventures."

The first of four appendixes presents a map of "Raleigh's Virginia, 1584-90" that undertakes, with the aid of John White's contemporary maps, to sketch the Carolina coastline in the sixteenth century in relation to its modern alignment and to locate the place names appearing in contemporary narratives of the explorations conducted by Raleigh's agents. The second appendix is a documented list of Indian words found in the narratives, a contribution by the Rev. James A. Geary, Professor of Celtic Languages and Comparative Philology in the Catholic University of America. The third is an essay by the editor on the incomplete archaeological studies that have been made of the Roanoke settlements. The fourth is bibliographical, with conventional and seemingly exhaustive attention both to primary and secondary sources. In sum, anyone who plans to comment on Raleigh's voyages, or on any of the documents and personalities identified with them, should look first to Quinn.

Professor Quinn's interpretation of the documents he has so painstakingly edited places Raleigh's ventures primarily in the context of England's struggle with Spain. He argues that the chief purpose of Raleigh and his associates was to establish a base in North America from which English privateers might prey upon Spanish territories and trade. It could be contended that the editor discounts too much the evidence that Hakluyt, at least, took a larger and longer view of the opportunities offered by North America. But it must be admitted that Professor Quinn has much solid evidence to support his conclusion and that it provides a helpful corrective to views that have been traditional among American scholars.

Princeton University

WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN

THE PURSUIT OF SCIENCE IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA, 1735-1789. By *Brooke Hindle*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1956. Pp. xi, 410. \$7.50.)

THE present book developed from Professor Hindle's doctoral dissertation on the origins of the American Philosophical Society. The coverage has been greatly increased, both in time span and subject matter, but the core of the book remains a history of scientific and related societies. In brief, it belongs in the same general category as Martha Ornstein's *The Role of Scientific Societies in the 17th Century* and Harcourt Brown's *Scientific Organizations in 17th Century France*.

Virtually all major scientific or medical figures in the colonies and early Republic make an appearance in Hindle's book, but the technical content of their work is passed over with brief resumés, often drawn from secondary sources. In the opinion of the reviewer, the achievements of James Logan, John Mitchell, and Thomas Cadwalader are misstated; and what precisely the observation of a transit of Venus consisted in is nowhere brought out. These and similar criticisms will naturally occur to historians of science. Neither they nor others should turn to this

book for an understanding of what the early American scientists accomplished. The fact is that, despite gestures in this direction, Hindle is not writing the history of science or even the history of ideas, but *political* history. In this sense, the specific content of scientific ideas is irrelevant for his purpose. He is concerned rather with the social arrangements by which scientific ideas, any ideas, make themselves felt and with accompanying speculations about the proper role of science in society. Regarded in this light, Hindle's book is part of the current revival of institutional history by scholars who have seen that there is nothing wrong with the long-despised political history except too narrow conceptions of politics. This, then, is a book about the politics of science. If the ultimate issues are left out, that often happens in political discussions.

In discussing the emergence of scientific organs and institutions, what does Professor Hindle show? Despite the title, he does not, of course, claim that America was "Revolutionary" before 1764. The fact that more than half of his chosen period comes before this date demonstrates at once that he does not regard scientific interests as having been called into being by the Revolutionary crisis. He does claim, persuasively, that once the crisis began, the accompanying impulses toward nationalism strengthened the scientific commitment of the colonists. His statement, however, that the Stamp Act controversy led to the revival of the "young Junto" of Philadelphia does not seem on his own evidence to have any foundation. The first clear political stimulus seems to have been the reaction against the Townshend duties, and even this, as Hindle brings out, was by no means the whole story of the revival. But some degree of correlation between awakening nationalism and desire for adequate scientific organizations is certainly demonstrated by this book. Perhaps of equal importance, Hindle shows that the Revolutionary crisis brought a deepening of the utilitarian note in discussions of science. He does not in any sense represent this as a breach with the past. Indeed, readers will find in his book the most persuasive statement of the general view that the practicality allegedly demanded of science in Tocqueville's America goes back to the very beginning. For the examination of this and other questions in the light cast by the early history of scientific academies in America, Professor Hindle's book will be of great and continuing value.

Brown University

DONALD FLEMING

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume XI, 1 JANUARY TO 6 AUGUST 1787 and Volume XII, AUGUST 1787 TO 31 MARCH 1788. Edited by *Julian P. Boyd*. *Mina R. Bryan* and *Fredrick Aandahl*, Associate Editors. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xxxiii, 701; xxxviii, 701. \$10.00 each.)

THE present two volumes of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* carry us forward in the story of Jefferson's mission as Minister to France. They testify to the continuing miracle of Mr. Boyd's editorial powers in bringing together a rich cargo

of new documents and invaluable editorial commentary. We may feel confident that, by means of the accurate and exhaustive materials assembled in these spectacular papers, the personal, intellectual, and social history of Jefferson is becoming available for reformulation and reinterpretation as never before.

A double focus of interest characterizes these particular volumes. We savor the quality of a now seasoned American diplomat and of a mature philosopher-statesman. We see the predicament of a man who must counter malicious attacks upon his country and whose rebuttal sometimes leads him to an idealized representation of the fact, and of a man who is spurred on by what he encounters of human degradation and popular oppression in Europe to a new determination to safeguard the American experiment.

In the first role, Jefferson is a source of firsthand information about America for European diplomats, merchants, and bankers and for the intellectual or cultivated habitués of the best salons in Paris. In this connection, his most substantial diplomatic achievements were the promotion of a series of commercial agreements and the negotiation, with the help of John Adams, of a new loan in Amsterdam, which considerably improved the fiscal and monetary position of America. In effect, he became a one-man public relations office to demonstrate American integrity. In this campaign he permitted his secretary, William Short, to direct the following observation to a carefully selected correspondent in Congress, Edward Carrington: "We want in America Sir, but open arrangements taken for the establishment of federal credit, to become the most envied nation on earth. . . . Were the foreign debts once paid public credit would be re-established immediately on a footing to give the lie to all these suppositions, for where there is public credit, it is difficult to be persuaded that there is public discontent, disorder and distress." This and other letters, first published in this series, go far to correct the impression that Jefferson's democratic faith was weak because divorced from concern for the economic and financial means to secure it. In his diplomatic role as an advocate of American interests and amity with France, Jefferson gives expression to a political realism that cautions our government against placing too great trust in our dealings with France. (These impressions are important to keep in mind when appraising the respective roles of Hamilton and Jefferson in the organization of the new government.)

Jefferson's second role, as a philosopher-statesman, is amply documented in these volumes with respect to the outstanding political issue of the Federal Convention and constitutional theory. It was during this period that Jefferson, Paine, and Lafayette were debating the issues of a constitution, in Lafayette's terms, "in a convention of our own as earnestly as if we were to decide upon it." In the correspondence between Jefferson and Madison on the Constitution, one can already discern the fortifying and complementary relationship between these two men, great in their different ways and strong in their mutual capacity for benefiting by discussion and intelligent difference of point of view. I cite the debate on the value of a Bill of Rights, with Jefferson as the ardent contender and Madison as the

skeptical realist. In this debate, as in many others, Jefferson's philosophical liberalism and grasp of legal history prove to be more cogent than short-run realism; and Madison's advocacy of a Bill of Rights in the First Congress leaves nothing to be desired by way of championship.

While we may turn to these volumes, then, for proof of Jefferson's astuteness as a diplomat and his wisdom as a political philosopher, it is at times hard to resist the impression that the man steals the show. This is demonstrated on one level by the letter that opens Volume XI, a note in Italian from the lovely Maria Cosway, written with her usual passionate rush of exaggerated metaphor and copious literary allusions, in a personal tone not to be found elsewhere in Jefferson's vast correspondence. One of the distinctive merits of these two volumes is their presentation of the considerable correspondence between Jefferson and his enchanting friend. These letters were not available for inclusion in previous editions of Jefferson's writings, and while the majority of them have in recent years been printed before they are now supplied with superior translations, where translation is necessary. While it is clear that Maria Cosway is the one lady to whom Jefferson is so attached (in all the years of his widowhood) that he permits himself to write to a mutual friend, "My love to Mrs. Cosway," the beautiful Angelica Church is also the recipient of fond and tender communications.

On another level, the volumes furnish testimony of Jefferson's rare amalgam of personal qualities—marked by an unusual capacity for sympathy and loyalty and associated with boundless devotion to all human values, whether embodied in the person, the idea, or the fine and practical arts. This accounts for the lengthy and meaty letters from James Madison, George Washington, and Edward Carrington, among others in America, and from John and Abigail Adams in London. This is what makes him sought after by the leading representatives of the French Enlightenment, by the savants of all Europe, and by the great salon hostesses of the day. A sidelight on the quality of Jefferson's participation in official life is provided by a letter, here printed for the first time, by young Thomas Lee Shippen. He concludes a fascinating account of a day spent with Jefferson at Versailles with these words: "I observed that although Mr. Jefferson was the plainest man in the room, and the most destitute of ribbands crosses and other insignia of rank that he was most courted and attended to (even by the Courtiers themselves) of the whole Diplomatic corps." What they sought was a man whose internal resources were rich. These resources Jefferson cultivated in the light of his humanistic conception of the free man.

He was free enough to withdraw temporarily from the exacting artificialities of the court and salon and travel incognito to southern France and northern Italy. In Volume XI, his "Notes of a Tour . . ." report the conditions of life of the people, agriculture, architecture, the manner of making wine and cheese, and the culture of fig, olive, and caper. They also contain notes on innumerable small mechanical details, including drawings of everything from rice beaters to ploughs, yokes, gates, and even the cantonal shape of womens' hats. But these data are deepened by

scientific speculations on certain geological hypotheses and put side by side with personal entries like: "I heard a nightingale to-day at Chanteloup. . . ." The never-to-be-subdued longing for a life of private retirement and enjoyment can be detected in Jefferson's entry headed "Albenga," where he is moved to write: "If any person wished to retire from their acquaintance, to live absolutely unknown, and yet in the midst of physical enjoiments, it should be in some of the little villages of this coast, where air, earth and water concur to offer what each has most precious."

We reluctantly leave Jefferson in March of 1788, a year and a half before his return to America. Already he has seen in the character of the French economic crisis that precipitated the calling of the Assembly of Notables the telling signs of fundamental change that will become a shattering revolution. At this period, he hopes the change can be directed toward a gradual development of constitutional monarchy on the British pattern, and he so advises Lafayette, as leader of what had come to be called "the American party." It would be another month or two before he would describe the atmosphere of Paris as a "furnace of politics."

University of California, Berkeley

ADRIENNE KOCH

DAVID CROCKETT: THE MAN AND THE LEGEND. By *James Atkins Shackford*. Edited by *John B. Shackford*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 338. \$6.00.)

OUT of America's frontier past has come a galaxy of folk heroes as diverse in character and reality as David Crockett, Abraham Lincoln, and Paul Bunyon. They have come to symbolize aspects of our past to which we choose to cling. One is never certain where the historical figure ends and the legendary one begins. From this romantization of history, the legend often becomes the reality.

In this book, the author seeks to separate the legendary from the historical Crockett, to correct the "time-honored fictional versions of his life," and to counteract the influence of one or more scholars who assume there is no way to separate the real from the unreal. There will be little argument with the author when he says that Crockett has become so shrouded in fiction and myth that "only the most careful and painstaking research into all available sources can hope to capture the man himself. . . ."

Thirteen of the fifteen chapters in this volume are devoted to documenting the activities of Crockett as a Tennessee politician on the way to a national reputation. The publication in 1830 of a play entitled *Lion of the West* which used him as a thinly-disguised leading character, his triumphant tour of the East five years later, and the attention which the press lavished upon him suggest that he had "arrived" before achieving national martyrdom when he died in the Alamo.

The last two chapters deal with the Texas aspects of Crockett's life and seek to explain him as a legend and a symbol. The four appendixes analyze and explain the publications upon which the reputation of Crockett has rested. The author has refused to deal with the post-Alamo Crockett materials except in the manner

of a reporter. He lets his case on the re-establishment of the historical Crockett rest on better grounds.

Much of the material in this book is in the nature of a running argument with those who say that the real Crockett is unknowable. Producing evidence mined from the records of county courts, the Creek War, the proceedings of the Tennessee legislature and the national congress, and a few letters and newspapers, the author corrects the famous Crockett *Autobiography* here and there and adds items to it at other places. This reader emerged with the belief that Shackford has separated the chaff from the grain and has left standing a figure of historical soundness—even if it does not possess the flesh and blood of the Crockett of song and story. As a Tennessee politician, Crockett did battle for the little men of the frontier. He exploited his crudeness for political purpose. But he did fit into the national temper of the times when the East wanted to romanticize the West, and though fiction writers have played havoc with him, he still stands as a real person to symbolize a period in our frontier history.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

WALKER D. WYMAN

THE AMERICAN LYCEUM: TOWN MEETING OF THE MIND. By *Carl Bode*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 275. \$5.00.)

The flowering of the American lyceum came spectacularly in the Age of Jackson, with its emphasis on manhood suffrage and mass education. Despite its ancestry in the English mechanic's institutes, the lyceum was captured and largely held by the middle classes; farmers lost their early interest in it. As a conservative community enterprise, the lyceum eschewed controversial topics and focused attention upon self-improvement, practical science, and, after the Civil War, upon entertainment. Among the exceptions were the lectures of Frances Wright on women's rights, divorce, birth control, religious rationalism, and the antislavery cause. A major exception—which Professor Bode has omitted—was the debate between Wendell Phillips and George Fitzhugh on free society versus slavery given on two successive days before the New Haven lyceum in the 1850's.

The public school crusade gained from the lyceum's sponsorship of teacher's institutes and training schools, and the public library movement had a loyal ally in the lyceum, whose book collections often marked the beginning of a permanent library. Some communities were hospitable to discussions on phrenology, which, contrary to Dr. Bode's comment, was not rated a "pseudo-science" in this era; as Boring, the historian of psychology, observes, phrenology was still highly plausible and respectable by the scientific knowledge of that time.

Most lyceum communities insisted upon small admission charges, but an extraordinary man like Bayard Taylor earned as much as \$5000 a season for his engrossing travel lectures. Emerson earned \$1700 in fees during 1856 in sharp contrast to the fact that his publications during these decades earned nothing at all. More impressive is the statement that fully three fourths of Emerson's essays were

originally lyceum lectures. In fact, many a major essay began in this way—those of Thoreau, Horace Mann, Bayard Taylor, and many others—thus suggesting the stimulating influence of this institution upon American literature.

Dr. Bode has published the first full treatment of the history of the lyceum movement, although some monographs and dissertations are in circulation. He has written informatively and with a commendable effort to examine the underlying social factors. But his three-page bibliographical essay does not quite compensate for the lack of footnotes, because of its brevity and general character. Apparently, he has used the chief files of the *American Annals of Education*, the local press, and such lyceum minute books and histories as have survived. The book would have been still better had the author not chosen to break up the narrative by dividing it into chronological divisions (1820-46 and 1846-51) which are each partitioned into four geographical sections (New England, the Middle Atlantic States, the Middle West, and the South). This treatment often becomes tedious and fragmentary. Some unity is obtained, however, through separate chapters on the coming of the lyceum, platform personalities, and the economics of the lyceum.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

MARK HOPKINS AND THE LOG: WILLIAMS COLLEGE, 1836-1872. By Frederick Rudolph. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, 63.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. Pp. ix, 267. \$4.75.)

THERE is no authority like the authority of the undocumented cliché. It is a thankless task to submit one of them to scholarly analysis, but it is high time that all of them were submitted to such study. Scholars are indebted to Professor Rudolph for presenting the results of his examination of one of the hoariest of academic clichés, the one anent Mark Hopkins, from Williamstown itself, the very holy of holies of the Mark Hopkins legend. It is not surprising that he has not said that Mark Hopkins was pretty much of an old fraud, but he has provided us with the data from which that conclusion may readily be drawn.

Hopkins and other early leaders of the college originally conceived of Williams as a rural college where poor boys of the Berkshires could be protected, in their innocent and traditional piety, against the dangerous sophistication coming from the cities, while they were obtaining a cheap and painless education. An invasion of boys from New York City hastened the growth of organized sport and secret fraternities and turned the attention of the undergraduates to material ends—physical pleasure and the social graces—while religious emphasis declined, despite the earnest labors of President Hopkins and Professor Albert Hopkins, his brother.

"The ideal college is Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and the student on the other," James A. Garfield is reputed to have said at a Williams alumni dinner at Delmonico's in 1871. This aphorism has long been used to prove that colleges don't need expensive laboratories and libraries; the "log" certainly was not meant

to include these. Nor does such an ideal college need expensive trained specialists; the Mark Hopkins of the saying was considered synonymous with "The Great Mind," or "The Greatest Mind in New England," in a very homespun sense. Hopkins was the great mind who never read books, the self-generated seer, from whose brain wisdom burst without cultivation. Hopkins declared his purpose to be to make Williams a "safe" college, a college which would train "leaders" of "high character." This was to be done by his sermons and his lectures on mental and moral philosophy, and by the indoctrination of the students with a combination of traditional Christian thought and the ethics of "Poor Richard." Mr. Rudolph makes it clear that Hopkins was unusually skilled in instilling in the students' minds this "practical" and acceptable philosophy, this middle-class dogma, by very undogmatic methods. It was a great satisfaction for the students to learn that the outlook which they had acquired in the cornfield and the cowbarn had the blessing of scholarship. It was a great satisfaction for the capitalists of Boston and New York to have college graduates supplied from Williamstown who were not inclined to rock the boat of the American economy, who respected, and were ready to accept, the leadership of self-made men and other persons of wealth and position.

Oberlin College

ROBERT SAMUEL FLETCHER

OLD BULLION BENTON, SENATOR FROM THE NEW WEST:
THOMAS HART BENTON, 1782-1858. By *William Nisbet Chambers*.
Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. xv, 517. \$6.00.)

It is a common feature of many cultures to recognize a galaxy of heroic figures who in time become partly legendary. The United States has produced its share, and they present a variety of difficulties to their biographers because of the folklore which clusters around their names. In the years 1820-1850, five such figures were much in the public eye: Benton, Calhoun, Clay, Jackson, and Webster. Biographically, each of these figures poses many problems, Benton probably the most. He is the most difficult because he had such an inflated ego and because he prepared so meticulously for his biographer by creating his own portrait in two large volumes. Then fate interposed to prevent an easy correction of the likeness through the accidental burning of his papers.

Benton's first three biographers, Roosevelt, Rogers, and Meigs, accepted their subject largely at his own valuation and marked him as a great nationalistic statesman. They could do this because the remaining material which would have supplied the correctives was widely scattered and buried to a depth which only great industry could overcome. His fourth biographer has had the industry, the ingenuity, and the capacity to make the intensive and difficult search and, with these materials at hand, face the real task of correcting the Benton self-portrait. He early realized that he could not accept Benton's memory or the accuracy of the clustering legends, so he determined wherever possible to write from the record.

Thus we have a picture of a young man so insecure that he must steal and fight, fail and flee, kill and then finally accept patronage; at the same time, he was industrious, enterprising, loyal and affectionate to his widowed mother and young brothers and sisters, and conscientious and effective as lawyer and legislator. When success began to crown his efforts in his early years in St. Louis, he became better stabilized as a personality; but his early confusion had had its effect. He continued to build himself up and exhibited a constantly more exaggerated egomania.

He was not sufficiently gifted to reach the stature of his four contemporaries, Jackson, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster; but he strove mightily to equal them. He essayed to be both statesman and politician and, for the first twenty years of his senatorial experience, succeeded reasonably well. He was an honest and courageous Jacksonian with a truly continental vision. Because he was never able to overcome his insecurity and inferiority complexes, he could not concentrate whatever talent he had as a statesman and a politician effectively enough to make him great as either. He ended up by being a bore and a scold, although generally right and ahead of his time, who aroused so many enemies that he asked for the final defeat that he suffered. His life was ponderous, ill-organized, and spectacular, but his permanent positive accomplishment, except to leave a legend, slight. About so many of his pet projects, such as railroads, it was said at the time that he "never did anything for any . . . only talked about" them. However, they were conceived in the spirit of the times, and those who accomplished them were inspired in some degree, no doubt, by his vision.

The author has found the time ripe for the deflation of this pretentious ego; and he has done it effectively. He is the more skillful in his achievement because he says nothing about deflation. He is more subtle. He tells, for the first time, the complete story and lets Old Bullion deflate himself. If he is related to the Chambers who was Benton's opponent in life, he has ably sustained his kinsman's judgment. The chief fault of the book is that its author has ignored the insights which psychiatry might contribute, but to some this will undoubtedly appear to be a virtue. It is a notable biography.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

SO FELL THE ANGELS. By *Thomas Graham* and *Marva Robins Belden*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. 401. \$5.00.)

WHOEVER doubts that truth is stranger than fiction may well read this book. Taking their title from Shakespeare's *King Henry VIII*, in which Wolsey admonishes Cromwell, "I charge thee, fling away ambition: by that sin fell the angels," the authors have written a fascinating account of the ambitions of Salmon P. Chase and his brilliant daughter Kate and of their attempt to use youthful Senator William Sprague and his money to further their plans. This is not a

biography of any of the three main characters but an account of their activities and relationships relevant to the central theme. Consequently, there is but a brief tracing of Chase's career before 1860, so brief indeed that it fails to build him into presidential stature; little attention is given to Chase's administration of the Treasury Department but much to his relations with Jay Cooke; and there is scant consideration of his work as chief justice, except as it can be related to the fall of the angels. But this is as the authors intended it, for this volume is a study in personalities and not an account of issues, problems, and policies. It is the story of the hopes and ambitions, the triumphs and failures, the loves and quarrels, the disappointments and miseries of Chase, Kate, and Sprague.

To Mr. and Mrs. Belden, Chase was two persons—"the ambitious, scheming politician and the stanchly upright New Englander"; he was a crusader who hid his egotism "under a bushel of high-sounding principles"; a religious man who was not always righteous, a man who loved God but worshiped himself, a man who "consecrated himself to absolute principles and served expediency." Kate Chase, they have no doubt, was "the most brilliant woman who had ever entered the American political scene, the most influential political hostess Washington had ever known," "the most powerful woman in the United States," a daughter who had inherited her father's ambition but not his conscience, "who spurred his flagging ambitions . . . who urged him to plot and scheme and compromise. . . ." In Sprague, the Beldens found a wealthy cotton king who dabbled in treasonable trade with the South, a weakling who failed in business, politics, and love. After 1863 the three were "irretrievably bound together," and no one can be understood apart from the other.

Although occasionally careless of chronology—or of chronological impressions, for the book is not heavy with dates—and inclined to overstress and exaggerate the traits of the leading characters, the authors have told this story better than it has ever been told before. They have made use of the best results of recent historical scholarship and have dug deep in manuscript collections. They have uncovered new facts, especially in the area of personal relationships, and they have wrung new significance from others long known. The self-confident authors have penetrated the innermost recesses of Kate's and Chase's minds and, in effective literary style, employing the best of literary techniques, they have given us a book that will arouse the envy of many a novelist and not a few historians.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRAINERD DYER

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT: LAST FULL MEASURE. By J. G. Randall and Richard N. Current. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1955. Pp. xi, 421. \$7.50.)

THIS is the fourth and concluding volume of the late J. G. Randall's *Lincoln the President*. At the time of his untimely death early in 1953, Professor Randall

had finished eight of the book's sixteen chapters and had accumulated material for most of the others, for which he had also jotted down tentative lists of topics. Anticipating the end of his life, he indicated his preferences regarding the selection of an author to complete the work. Fortunately, this task devolved upon one of his former students, Professor Richard N. Current of the University of North Carolina. No happier choice could have been made, for in spirit, scholarly standards, and literary excellence, it is almost impossible to distinguish between master and student.

Within the limits of a brief review, it is not possible to do justice to this final volume of what to date is unquestionably the outstanding Lincoln biography. To say that it measures up to the preceding volumes is not enough, for here one senses an even greater mastery of understanding of men and events than characterized the earlier volumes. The interpretation throughout is crisp and incisive but never unjust.

In the first eight chapters, Professor Randall dealt primarily with Lincoln's plan of reconstruction, the phases through which its application to Louisiana passed, and the beginning of radical opposition to it both in and out of Congress; Unionism in the South; the attitude of the press toward Lincoln and his administration and his efforts for good public relations; and Lincoln's good neighbor policy and our diplomatic relations with Mexico, France, Russia, and other parts of the world. Randall's insight and observations about Lincoln's knowledge of and competence to deal with international problems are of a high order. Chapter VI, entitled "Chase Is Willing," admirably presents the hopes and plans of Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury to replace Lincoln as the Republican nominee for the presidency in 1864. The next two chapters, the last written by Randall, tell the story of Lincoln's renomination, the progress of the war, and the efforts of Horace Greeley and others to terminate the conflict.

The eight chapters by Professor Current trace in considerable detail the part played by Congress in providing ways and means for carrying on the war, the increasing opposition of the Radicals to Lincoln, the resignation of Chase from the Cabinet, the campaign of 1864, and Lincoln's re-election and resulting changes in policy and administrative personnel.

One chapter each is devoted to the Thirteenth Amendment, to the Hampton Roads Conference, and to the end of the war and reconstruction. It was Professor Randall's wish that the biography deal only with "the living Lincoln." He did not intend to deal with the assassination or the events following it. This wish Professor Current has respected. But in a concluding chapter entitled "God's Man" he attempts, and very successfully, to portray certain aspects of the inner or spiritual side of Lincoln which are unknown to many Americans, or if known, sometimes overlooked. One may be sure that this chapter, so fitting as a concluding chapter, would have been greeted by Randall with warmest praise.

The bibliography supplements the more comprehensive bibliography in Volume II. For the most part it lists items published since the earlier volume was pub-

lished. The more than a dozen illustrations represent careful selection; some make their appearance in a recent publication for the first time.

Columbia University

HARRY J. CARMAN

LINCOLN'S FIFTH WHEEL: THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION. By *William Quentin Maxwell*. Preface by *Allan Nevins*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1956. Pp. xii, 372. \$5.00.)

THIS study rounds out, for the Union forces, the social and political aspects of the medical history of the Civil War. Mrs. M. B. Greenbie's *Lincoln's Daughters of Mercy* (1944) covered the story of military nursing, and G. W. Adams' *Doctors in Blue* (1952) provided the history of the Army Medical Corps. Both of these books necessarily touched upon the United States Sanitary Commission, but no work had focused on that body since the appearance of the early and more or less official accounts. Dr. Maxwell has now closed the resulting gap, in a study which is thorough, thoughtful, and readable. His narrative, based on an analysis of many sources, follows a year by year sequence. This has both the advantages and disadvantages of chronological emphasis. Special topics come and go and may be temporarily lost to sight; but, on the other hand, one senses the contemporary unfolding of problems and policies and the intimate byplay between the Commission and government agencies.

The Commission was officially created only as an advisory body, but in practice it moved into a series of vacuums created by the ineptitude of the Army Medical Corps. The Commission inspected field medical units and hospitals, sent them supplies, and provided various forms of relief for enlisted personnel. Funds and supplies were raised by voluntary appeals, undertaken chiefly by devoted women working in local groups. All told, some \$25 million was contributed and expended. Meantime, relations were difficult with those military officials, from Stanton on down, who resented civilian intrusions; but F. L. Olmsted, the able General Secretary, kept up pressures on the Army Medical Corps to mend its ways.

Dr. Maxwell points out that the origins of the Commission should be seen against the background of mid-century sanitary programs—including the then-recent achievements of Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War. Olmsted and his colleagues were inspired by a scientific outlook as well as by benevolence, and this may explain in part the frictions which arose between them and the Christian Commission. Perhaps there were still other elements in the background; for example, the earlier American efforts in disaster relief and the general Anglo-Saxon tendency to turn to voluntary, as distinct from official, organizations in the welfare field.

Whatever its origins, the Sanitary Commission became the prototype of several voluntary societies which functioned in later wars (Red Cross, Salvation Army, YMCA) and also served other functions which were subsequently taken over by

the Army itself. Few recall today that the Commission's leaders influenced the initial deliberations of the International Red Cross and were the first to urge an affiliation of the United States with that body.

Professor Allan Nevins, in an effective Preface, explains the misleading nature of Lincoln's reference to the Sanitary Commission as a "fifth wheel." It was actually a substitute for a fourth wheel which did not turn. Yet, even if the Medical Corps *had* functioned properly, one suspects that Americans would have desired a voluntary body which could maintain contacts with the men who went to war. Hence Dr. Maxwell, in making clear the notable record of the Commission, has made a valuable contribution not only to Civil War literature but also to the larger history of American philanthropy.

Johns Hopkins University

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

THE FRAMING OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. By *Joseph B. James*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXVII.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956. Pp. vii, 220. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.)

DESPITE intensive efforts of multiple counsel and jurists, the recent racial segregation cases evoked no answer to the 1953 Supreme Court appeal for evidence concerning the intention of the Fourteenth Amendment's framers on this heated issue. Historical scholarship has provided the lack.

James has carefully combed, and judiciously used, the sources for the Civil War and reconstruction years. He wisely maintained the general context of that time as the frame for his major interest and was able accurately to conclude that the amendment's genesis lay in intra-Republican disharmony over postwar policy toward freedmen and former rebels. Political expediency dictated that Republicans adopt a moderate disfranchising clause in the amendment for the latter. James fails to realize, however, that the party's needs on this score were well served by the partisan "ironclad test oath," which Republicans had already made the measure of suffrage and officeholding in the federal and Southern state governments.

More significant than this omission is the positive contribution the author offers. His clear conclusion—that the framers of the amendment desired to enfranchise Negroes and to endow them beyond state interference with the gamut of civil rights as understood at that time—is well summed up in a *New York Times* comment which James quotes: that the proposed amendment was "... a bill for every ill that colored flesh is heir to."

As politicians, Republicans were adept at the art of the possible. They desired to keep themselves in office and to obtain moderate Northern support for the amendment in 1868, the year of its ratification. One of the book's best features is the incisive picture it offers of the internecine divisions within the Republican party, which made the wording of the Fourteenth Amendment such a laborious, and sometimes uncertain, process. One result of this uncertainty was the clumsy

circumlocution of the second section, which seeks to avoid a clear assertion of federal power over state suffrage.

Time, the dynamic changes in American society, an unprecedented self-consciousness concerning civil liberties, and the evolution of judicial thinking on the meaning of the amendment have brought this troublesome addition to the Constitution closer to the real desires of the men who wrote it than has ever before been true. Mr. James clearly exposes those real desires, so that uncertainty concerning the intent of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment should no longer exacerbate scholars or others. One can but regret that the highly-respected university series, in which this work is published, has a limited circulation. The book deserves wide attention.

Arizona State College, Tempe

HAROLD M. HYMAN

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES AND AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC STATESMANSHIP. By *Dexter Perkins*. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 200. \$3.50.)

THE career of Charles Evans Hughes is likely to challenge writers who delve into the history of the first half of the twentieth century for many years to come. From 1905 to 1941 his name is linked with many of the most significant trends and events that influenced the American course. Yet he cannot be classified in any neat compartmentalization of either ideas or activities. When he first emerged into the limelight, he was sometimes called a Bolshevnik, and he was generally regarded as a most disturbing element by the politicians and moneyed interests of his day. During his final tour of duty as Chief Justice of the United States, he was denounced by some as a symbol of conservatism and resistance to change. Actually, he had continued a lifelong habit of rendering independent judgments on the facts before him, guided by a profound belief in the American system of government.

Politically, Hughes was a Republican, but the G.O.P. never owned him. His name first came to national attention in the great insurance investigation of 1905 in which he exposed the corruption of many leading Republican politicians of his day. As governor of New York State, he waged an almost constant fight with the party bosses who sought first to control and then to thwart his administration. On the Supreme Court Bench, as an Associate Justice from 1910 to 1916 and as Chief Justice from 1930 to 1941, he knew no allegiance save to his conscience and the principles of constitutional government. He allowed his party to pull him off the bench to run for the presidency in 1916, but this was only because of his conviction that the presidency is an office that no man has a right to decline.

Most of the essentials of the Hughes story are told in Dexter Perkins' book, one of the Library of American Biography series edited by Oscar Handlin. Though Professor Perkins (he is John L. Senior Professor in American Civilization at Cornell University) has occasionally resorted to speculation where facts are avail-

able, his 190-page volume is a remarkable summary of a long career. He looks at Hughes with a sympathetic eye and an understanding heart, without sacrificing independence of judgment. "As a human being," he tells us, "he (Hughes) was among the most extraordinary figures of his epoch. In intellectual power he stood in the first rank." Yet the author does not hesitate to emphasize the mistakes which led to the failure of Hughes' campaign for the presidency in 1916 or to criticize some of the policies he advocated, especially in regard to the League of Nations.

Professor Perkins' version of the Hughes story is valuable not only for its brevity and its seasoned judgments but also for its delineation of Hughes as a unique individual who does not fit into any formula or pattern. History is never simple, and men of imagination, convictions, and courage are perhaps less so. Out of these pages emerges a statesman who wrestled with the problems of his day with sincerity, intelligence, and occasional flashes of inspiration; and this is always a notable contribution to the life of a self-governing people.

Washington, D. C.

MERLO J. PUSEY

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.: A PORTRAIT. By *Raymond B. Fosdick*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1956. Pp. ix, 477. \$6.50.)

THE same proficiency that John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and his associates employed to create the Standard Oil empire and to amass the family fortune, was applied by the son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to sustain an impressive and varied series of philanthropies. After demonstrating successfully his ability as a businessman, though never entirely a happy one, JDR, Jr., retired as a Standard Oil executive in 1910 and devoted the remainder of his life to "the social purposes to which a great fortune could be dedicated." The purpose of Raymond B. Fosdick's book is "to paint a portrait" of the man primarily responsible for the disposition of one of the greatest fortunes of our times.

What emerges most strikingly from these pages is not just a story of "good works," methodically and carefully executed, but the development of a man of broad interests and discriminating tastes. Reared in a narrow, protected, affluent, and God-fearing Baptist environment, JDR, Jr., became a perceptive, responsible, and disciplined individual with a catholicity of interests. Yet he never rejected or revolted against his early training. Indeed, he cherished it and by "squaring his religious views with the facts of life" found comfort and satisfaction. An indefatigable worker, he devoted to his philanthropic enterprises the same study, care, and meticulous regard for detail that he had learned from his father and Frederick T. Gates, the able and close business associate of Rockefeller, Sr.

Under Gates's tutelage at 26 Broadway, young Rockefeller first learned the oil business and then the business of mass philanthropy. Continuing to support the four foundations endowed by his father, JDR, Jr., embarked upon such vast and varied projects as Colonial Williamsburg, the Cloisters, the Museum of Modern Art, the Library of the League of Nations, and the gift of land to the United

Nations; the restorations at Fontainebleau, Versailles, the Cathedral at Rheims, the Athenian Agora, and Philipse Manor; the development of the Shenandoah National Park, Acadia National Park, the Palisades Interstate Park, and other conservation programs; Negro education; and international houses at four universities. His interest in what was to become Rockefeller Center grew out of Otto Kahn's suggestion for a new home for the Metropolitan Opera Company. After Rockefeller, Jr.'s brokers had acquired considerable land, the Metropolitan Opera decided to remain on Broadway. With the major purpose of the project gone and the country in the midst of a depression, JDR, Jr., altered his original plans and went on to build the massive structures of the Center. These are but a few of the many projects detailed in this biography. The range of JDR, Jr.'s benefactions have been so great that Fosdick, in presenting a "systematic survey" of his subject's "life and activities," has written an important chapter in the history of twentieth-century philanthropy as well.

The author, a long-time friend and associate of JDR, Jr., is admittedly a partial and admiring biographer. At the same time, he is also an honest one. Having had access to all of JDR, Jr.'s personal papers and the benefit of talking over any questions which came up with the man himself, Fosdick contributes much that is new and interesting, in spite of the many words already published on his subject's career.

New York University

VINCENT P. CAROSSO

THE DECLINE AND REVIVAL OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIBERALISM IN AMERICAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES, 1920-1940. By *Paul A. Carter*, University of Maryland. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 265. \$3.75.)

Most American religious historians have been either primarily religious or primarily historians. Few have managed to combine solid historical training with imaginative grasp of religious thought. Dr. Carter, who effectively criticizes previous historians of social Christianity for an overly secular viewpoint, comes close to achieving the necessary fusion. His text as well as his Preface indicate the influence of both Richard Hofstadter and Union Theological Seminary—a powerful and interesting combination, to say the least.

The book opens with the Social Gospel of 1920, still full of moral and social optimism despite the war, and traces its decline in the smug, secular-minded twenties. In the thirties, Carter thinks, American social Christianity profited from both domestic economic disaster and European theological criticism. Gradually it emerged from crisis, tougher and more sophisticated, or in a revived vocabulary, more contrite. In describing this cycle from a mildly neo-orthodox viewpoint, Carter looks freshly at several familiar and fascinating subjects such as prohibition and fundamentalism. He also investigates newer topics such as the changing social

status of ministers and the powerful mutual influence of European and American Protestantism in the growing ecumenical movement.

Occasionally one wishes that Dr. Carter's considerable research had gone even deeper in both necessary fields. A single magazine or meeting sometimes represents a denomination a little too confidently, and the social background could be more consistently three-dimensional. Like too many writers on American thought, he stretches the word "liberal" to mean social gospeler, secular New Dealer, and believer in intellectual freedom. This gets a writer with his perspective into particular trouble, since he has to tell us how liberalism was rescued from the liberals. In general, however, Dr. Carter writes very well; and the story he tells is one we need to know and think about.

University of California, Berkeley

HENRY F. MAY

ROOSEVELT: THE LION AND THE FOX. By *James MacGregor Burns*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1956. Pp. xvi, 553. \$5.75.)

IN order to be a successful political leader, President Roosevelt, like Machiavelli's prince, had to be a fox to recognize traps and a lion to frighten wolves. This dual role is the theme of Professor Burns's book, which in its own way is also a *tour de force* in duality. It is both a case study of presidential leadership complete with technical epilogue and a readable, well-rounded, perceptive biography. Much of what he has to say is fresh and challenging.

The focal point of Burns's study is Roosevelt's troublesome second term when all of his political facility and charm failed to spring harmlessly the traps or drive away the wolves. In his emphasis upon this period, Burns, writing from the Keynesian left rather than the constitutionalist right, gives nevertheless an impression of failure of leadership, at some points not unlike that in Edgar E. Robinson's *The Roosevelt Leadership*. Roosevelt, he feels, was too often the fox, too seldom the lion.

Here are some of his main points: When Roosevelt became President in 1933, a frightened Congress, driven left by an almost hysterical nation, was ready to go much further than he in reform and recovery legislation. Roosevelt, holding back, was determined to be President of all the American people. When he finally moved left, he did so less because of pressures from the dispossessed than because of repudiation by the right. The landslide of 1936, in one respect such a remarkable triumph for Roosevelt's leadership, in another was almost a political miscalculation because it created such unmanageable majorities in Congress.

On the basis of the landslide, Roosevelt proclaimed in his 1937 inaugural a reform program to benefit the submerged one third of the nation. Little ever materialized. First, there was the monumental fiasco of the court-packing battle. By the time it was over, a firm anti-Roosevelt coalition had emerged among Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress, which played upon popular

respect for the Constitution and fear of dictators. Next, Roosevelt's continued deflationary moves toward a balanced budget helped bring the recession and, until the rearmament boom, prevented full recovery. He never accepted Keynesian spending policies. Had he done so, the court fight would have been unnecessary, since he would have met no constitutional bar against spending and would have realized the promised economy of abundance for the dispossessed. Finally, in the 1938 primaries, Roosevelt belatedly tried to "purge" conservative Democrats and build New Deal strength in his party. Despite his over-all setback, he demonstrated that he could have enlarged liberal forces in the party had he acted years sooner. The fox during all these years predominated the lion.

In foreign policy similarly, Burns traces Roosevelt's trail, which cut back and forth across itself until finally, in the summer of 1940, with England at bay, the leonine destroyers-for-bases deal was concluded. Roosevelt's victory over Willkie that year was largely a personal one. The war years receive only summary treatment in this book.

"Roosevelt was less a great creative leader than a skillful manipulator and a brilliant interpreter," Burns concludes. "He was always a superb tactician, and sometimes a courageous leader, but he failed to achieve that combination of tactical skill and strategic planning that represents the acme of political leadership."

Burns presents overwhelming and devastating support for his thesis; he proves beyond question that Roosevelt was a New Dealer only part of the time. Nevertheless, there are other scales upon which one might gauge Roosevelt as a political leader. It can be argued that he was above all a realist, skilled in the art of doing what was feasible, given the nature of the Congress and the country. Measured by what his New Deal advisers ideally desired, he fell miserably short; measured by what other possible presidents might have achieved in the 1930's—Baker, Garner, or Smith, for example—he might receive higher marks.

Harvard University

FRANK FREIDEL

THE CRUCIAL DECADE: AMERICA 1945-1955. By *Eric F. Goldman*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. ix, 298, ix. \$4.00.)

ERIC Goldman has written a dramatic, entertaining, and highly useful book. From the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima to the Summit meeting at Geneva, he takes his reader through the hectic, frequently bewildering, and often frustrating events of this decade. It is a fast-paced narrative. Although such long-range trends as the expansion of the economy, the stupendous growth of suburbs, and the great changes in social status are not ignored, the book's stress is on people—their ideas, their aspirations, and their deeds. For instance, Professor Goldman tells about Harry Truman, at first bumbling and then assured; Robert Taft, leading the struggle for the past; Alger Hiss and the New Deal and anti-New Deal symbolism centering around his trials; McCarthy, with his wild, roundhouse

swings, finally meeting up with Joseph Welch; the role of George Kennan in forming the containment policy; the flowering of the conspiracy theory; the story that "reds" in the State Department sold out China; the bitterness and frustration that underlay Republican voting in 1952; the Right Wing Republican attempt to take control; and the moderate Eisenhower, whose patience and sincerity gradually contributed to an ending of the rancor in the land.

Running through the volume are two major themes: whether the half-century of social and economic reform would be continued and whether we would abandon the traditional concept that there are quick, total solutions to foreign problems and instead accept containment and coexistence as continuing situations demanding patience and long-range planning. Goldman believes that by 1955 President Eisenhower had brought the Republican party in line with both domestic reform and containment and coexistence and had thus made these national, not partisan, programs. Although he may overemphasize the degree to which President Eisenhower has shattered the Republican Right Wing and be too generous in dealing with the bellicose pomposities of John Foster Dulles, his main contention as to President Eisenhower's contribution is sound.

Professor Goldman has made thorough use of such published materials as memoirs, official documents, magazines, and newspapers as well as some manuscript collections. He also relied on interviews and correspondence with the men and women who were important in these years. In addition, he sent to most of the people who appear in the book a mimeographed draft of those parts of the manuscript concerning their activities. Their replies are deposited in the Princeton University Library. (His publishing schedule, however, did not allow time to send out the two chapters dealing with the Eisenhower Administration.)

In his pages Goldman has captured the excitement of this crucial decade. The result is a dramatic story told with vividness and insight. When he started working on the book he was depressed by the rancor, the frustration, and the running away from reality that was current; but then he saw balance, reality, and durable values reassert themselves. By 1955, he believes, the American people "could know the pride of a people who, sorely tempted to a frightened petulance, had in the long run reacted with good sense and not without courage and generosity."

University of Chicago

WALTER JOHNSON

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: THE TRIUMPH. By *Frank Freidel*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. 433. \$6.00.)

WITH this volume Freidel continues his exciting review of the Roosevelt story from the first day of January, 1929, when the future president became the governor of New York, to election night, November 8, 1932. Naturally, as new characters and new problems crowd upon the stage, the plot thickens; moreover, Roosevelt himself, faced by the new complexities, becomes more and more complex. Beyond

a doubt this was the hardest of his three Roosevelt volumes for the author to write, and it taxes the attention of its readers far more than its predecessors. But again Freidel has discharged his obligation well; the detail is here in great abundance, but it is skillfully handled and serves to illuminate rather than to eclipse the Roosevelt personality.

The reader inevitably notes Roosevelt's capacity for growth. He genuinely wished to be a liberal, accepted in principle most of the Populist and Progressive traditions, and listened with respect to the ideas of such men as Norris of Nebraska. But at first his knowledge of economics was rudimentary, and his conservative background, a distinct handicap. His thinking on such fundamentals as banking, social security, public works, budget-balancing, and farm relief, for example, started off about as conservative as Herbert Hoover's. What is important is the fact that he could change his views as he observed and came to comprehend the unfolding course of events. The experts with whom he talked, and especially the brain trust he formed in preparation for the campaign of 1932, found him an apt pupil and helped him make himself over into what he wanted to be. Not that he ever lost command of his destiny; the decisions he finally reached were inevitably his own, and sometimes they were sharply at variance with those of his advisers.

Equally apparent is the Roosevelt acceptance of the prevailing rules of political behavior. To the despair of the idealists, he did not hesitate to play the political game as he found it. This pains even the author, among others, whose comments on Roosevelt's "political dexterity" and "pirouetting," his "lengthy masquerade" of not being a candidate when he was nothing else but, and his refusal to state his opinions unless by so doing "he could gain rather than lose support" are tinged with a trace of acerbity. How could a man be "ideologically . . . progressive, in step with the dominant public mood," and at the same time "organizationally . . . regular, in keeping with political realities"? How could he delay so long the showdown with Mayor Walker and the Tammany corruptionists? How could he so cheerfully tolerate the support of such men as Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and Boss Pendergast? But, as Freidel well reveals, the answer is clear enough. A politician out of office is not very powerful, and a politician's first concern is to get himself elected. Roosevelt knew, even if he failed to state the fact in so many words, that the Democratic party, like the Republican, was a coalition of diverse elements; to lead it to victory he must somehow hold it together. And so he made what terms he had to make with those whose views differed from his own. Possibly his hardest decision was to placate Hearst by turning his back on Wilsonian internationalism, but without that decision he might not have won the nomination that made him president.

The competence of Freidel's research leaves little to be desired. He has examined not only the Roosevelt papers but also many other manuscript collections; he has read the memoirs of Roosevelt's numerous associates; he has turned countless newspaper pages; he has talked to people who were in on the know. He shows

a good eye for the apt quotation, and he judges shrewdly as to when he should allow Roosevelt and his contemporaries to speak for themselves. The history guild generally, and many others besides, will look forward eagerly to the volumes yet to come.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN D. HICKS

NAVAL POWER IN THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO. By *C. Harvey Gardiner*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 253. \$4.95.)

THE conquest of Mexico poses a fascinating problem in historical analysis and interpretation: how was a handful of Spaniards able to bring about the downfall of the great Aztec civilization in so short a time? Professor Gardiner sees the employment of naval power as the key to Spanish military victory. His study is essentially the story of how a band of landlubbers was gradually forced to the realization that it would have to take to the water to achieve its objective, the reduction of the island city of Tenochtitlán. Only after the invaders found themselves isolated in the Aztec capital with three narrow causeways as their only routes of withdrawal did they begin to appreciate that mastery of the city would have to be achieved through control of the lake. This concept was impressed indelibly on their minds during the nightmarish retreat from Tenochtitlán via the Tacuba causeway. Thereafter Hernán Cortés regarded naval power as essential for the reconquest of the city, and thirteen brigantines were constructed for the assault.

Gardiner concludes that these vessels were instrumental in the ultimate capture of the Aztec capital. In the first place, by blockading the city, they deprived the defenders of supplies, thus measurably shortening the war. Second, the brigantines undermined native morale and correspondingly increased that of the Spaniards. Third, their close tactical support of the land forces advancing along the causeways expedited the campaign and saved many Spanish lives. In the employment of naval power and in the direction of combined operations, Cortés displayed the same genius that characterized his earlier land campaigns.

Gardiner has made an original and useful contribution to the historiography of the conquest and, in the process, has created a new hero, Martín López, the builder of the ships. The importance of these vessels has always been recognized in a rather general and incidental way; here, however, their conception, construction, employment, and significance are examined in meticulous detail. The result is convincing, scholarly, and readable. By way of constructive criticism, the reviewer feels that the book would have been improved, first, by placing the details of naval architecture and the biographical sketches of the men who manned the ships in an appendix and, second, by a more liberal use of maps or sketches to illustrate the employment of naval power in the assault on Tenochtitlán.

University of Florida

LYLE N. McALISTER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

DIE WIEDERERWECKUNG DES GESCHICHTLICHEN BEWUSSTSEINS. By *Theodor Litt*. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1956. Pp. 243. DM 14.80.) The contents of this volume are new only in part. Two of the three sections were published previously under the titles *Die Darstellung von Herders Geschichtstheorie* (1942) and *Die Untersuchung über den Sinn der Geschichte* (1948). To these a third study, *Der Historismus und seine Widersacher*, has been added by the author, whose *Individuum und Gemeinschaft* went through a number of editions during the years after World War I (1919-1926). This volume is novel in that it is a self-written *Festschrift* to commemorate the author's seventy-fifth birthday. Two historians have added the *Festschrift* touch by writing introductions with appropriate felicitations. The basic theme of the new part is the decline of German interest in the national past, particularly in the more recent past. "It appears," Professor Litt writes, "as if the German wishes to start anew." This he regards as a tragedy. From Herder he appears to have borrowed the idea that each nationality has lived its own life and must serve as its own standard; hence it must not lose contact with its past. Not that the author advocates a return to Nazism with its racism, militarism, and dictatorship; in fact, he finds consideration of the recent decades very painful. As an avowed opponent of the Nazis, he was in 1937 deprived of the professorship of philosophy he held at the University of Leipzig and several years later was forbidden to lecture in public. His warning to his countrymen not to turn their backs on their recent past rests on his philosophy of history. "To turn away from history," he writes, "is tantamount to self-negation." One cannot but speculate as to how Herder would regard the application of his theory to Nazi Germany. The fact that Professor Litt supports his Herderian philosophy of history with abstruse Hegelian logic makes for anything but easy reading. We encounter such chapter headings as "Die Konkurrenz der geschichtsrelevanten Planung" and "Das Allgemeine als Gattung und als Wesen." Herder stated his philosophy of history in a much more lucid fashion. Of the three studies which make up this volume that on Herder the historian is by far the best.

ROBERT ERGANG, *New York, New York*

DAS PROBLEM DER "UNITY" UND "MULTIPLICITY" IN SEINER LITERARISCHEN GESTALTUNG BEI HENRY ADAMS. By *Karl Adalbert Preuschen*. [Frankfurter Arbeiten aus dem Gebiete der Anglistik und der Amerika-Studien, Heft 1.] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1955. Pp. 132. DM 16.) This is the first of a series of German studies in the field of English and American culture. The second, just released, is *Das Menschenbild John Miltons in Paradise Lost*, by Richard Grün. Others in preparation are on Langland, Poe, and Hawthorne. Preuschen's study of Henry Adams' ideas of "Unity" and "Multiplicity" was accepted as a doctoral dissertation by the philosophy faculty of the Goethe-University of Frankfurt. His analysis is based mainly on the autobiography, *The Education of Henry Adams*, and closely follows the diagnosis of William J. F. Gordon, *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* is used very little. The only non-American works used are those of Régis Michaud and Gustav Müller. The book's principal feature is an interpretative, synthesizing reorganization of the contents

of the *Education* under the major headings of environment, personality, basic experiences, and evaluation of Adams' experience world. Under the latter heading appear the analyses of "Unity" and "Multiplicity" (pp. 53-63). Closing this section is an extended differentiation between "Erziehung" as used by Anglo-Saxons and "Bildung" as used by Germans. Within this frame of reference, the third of the four chapters evaluates the literary style of Adams and finds that the *Education* is "a work of narrative art." Viewing the *Education* as an aesthetic-artistic work, as well as one of scientific history and philosophy, Preuschen finds that Adams was ("auch in deutschen Sinne") one of the best-educated Americans of his time (p. 65). The final chapter (pp. 118-30) is on the religiosity of Adams, which is revealed by a detailed analysis of Adams' "Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres," possibly in support of the author's position that the only "Unity" found by Adams when confronted with "Twentieth Century Multiplicity" lay in God alone. This study may be viewed as a part of the effort to make classics of American literature known and available in Germany and Europe, to get American Studies adopted as a regular field of study and research in German universities, and to advance international cultural understanding. To this effort, Preuschen's volume makes a worthy contribution.

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, *Ball State Teachers College*

ATLAS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. By *Frederic Van Der Meer*. English version by *T. A. Birrell*. (London: Cleaver-Hume for Elsevier. 1956. Pp. 242. \$13.50.) This is a big, profusely illustrated book worth consideration for collateral reading and browsing in basic courses in European history. Its maps are helpful but crowded.

INITIA PATRUM GRAECORUM. By *P. Chrysostomus Baur*, O.S.B. In two volumes. [Studi e Testi, 180, 181.] (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 1955. Pp. cxiv, 661; xlv, 720.) Dom Chrysostomus Baur, best known for the leading biography of his namesake, Patriarch John Chrysostom of Constantinople (354-407), has now brought forth two stout volumes containing an alphabetical list of the *incipits* of all Greek patristic texts, dating from the beginning of the apostolic age to 1600. He interprets patristic literature very broadly, so as to include many texts by secular authors as well as many on secular subjects written by clerics. He omits imperial and patriarchal decrees but lists the *incipits* of all theological letters, homilies, and treatises, including letters quoted by medieval historians, letters written to clerics by laymen, and the first and last canons of ecumenical conciliar collections. A special feature of this great monument of learning and industry is the huge general bibliography, over 100 pages long, which tabulates texts to be found in journals, collections, *Festschriften*, and other esoteric hiding places. Dom Baur's intention was to serve the needs of editors and to save them the trouble of re-editing sources that had already been adequately published; but his book has a much wider usefulness and will prove of immense value to all students of Byzantine literature. If one knows the first two or three words of a text but does not remember its source, Baur's book will locate it.

MILTON ANASTOS, *Harvard Divinity School*

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM OF FALL FROM KEPLER TO NEWTON: DE MOTU GRAVIUM NATURALITER CADENTIUM IN HYPOTHESI TERRAE MOTAE. By *Alexandre Koyré*, Professor, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. XLV, part 4.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1955. Pp. 329-95. \$1.50.) In the opinion of many historians of science (including this reviewer), Koyré's *Etudes galiléennes* (Paris, 1939) are among the most searching and profound contributions ever to have

been made to this increasingly important field of study. It is, therefore, most welcome that he should have turned his attention to the development of the problems resolved by Newton. The present monograph concerns the pre-Newtonian discussions, which often became polemics, about the trajectory of a freely falling body on an earth moving according to the Copernican theory. The subject is narrow and deep, for it was through this problem that Newton's mind was drawn into that seminal course of thought which produced the *Principia*. It is "a story that reveals to us some of the psychological and epistemological obstacles that lie in the path of the new science of the seventeenth century; that shows how difficult it was even for such revolutionary minds as Galileo and Newton to free themselves from the conjoint influence of tradition and common sense" (p. 329). In bringing out the difficulties, Koyré here, as in his other works, sets off handsomely the magnitude of the intellectual conquests secured in the creation of modern science. The historical reader may, perhaps, wish to be reassured that he need bring to the appreciation of this monograph no technical qualifications beyond some memory of elementary mechanics from his course in general physics. Apart from the interest of the subject itself, the severe, exacting, and illuminating treatment which it receives may serve as an illustration of the sort of textual scholarship needed to make of the history of science a branch of historiography worthy of the most honorable traditions of the craft. The American Philosophical Society is to be congratulated on opening its *Transactions* to this important study.

CHARLES C. GILLISPIE, *Princeton University*

HABSBURGER IM 17. JAHRHUNDERT: DIE BEZIEHUNGEN DER HÖFE VON WIEN UND MADRID WÄHREND DES DREISSIGJÄHRIGEN KRIEGES. By *Grete Mecenseffy*. [Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, Band 121, Heft 1.] (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer for Historische Kommission, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1955. Pp. 91. Sch. 36.) This is a well-written survey of the complicated diplomatic relations between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, with emphasis on the period of the Thirty Years' War. Wide and excellent use has been made of the available published sources and hitherto unpublished archival materials, mainly from the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna. The author, who already has to her credit such other scholarly works as *Philipp IV von Spanien und seine Heirat mit Maria Anna von Österreich* (1929) and *Im Dienste dreier Habsburger. Leben und Wirken des Joh. Weikh. Auersperg* (1938), herewith adds considerably to her reputation as an authority on Austro-Spanish relations in the seventeenth century. Although there is nothing strikingly new in the volume, Dr. Mecenseffy does analyze with great clarity the religious, economic, and power-political bases of the prolonged Austro-Spanish conflict with France in the 1600's. She convincingly describes the circumstances that involved the Germanies in the Franco-Spanish struggle of the day, not merely because of the marital ties between Vienna and Madrid but because of the determination of Paris to prevent the rise of any strong and potentially dangerous power in central Europe. Vienna, it is shown, was more aware of the ultimate aim of Richelieu's policy than were any of the other German capitals. Hence Austria, in order to respond successfully to this threat, sought outside help; the logical ally was France's traditional enemy, Spain. But even with this aid, Vienna failed—chiefly, according to Mecenseffy, because there never were available *at one and the same time* enough Spanish gold and enough German soldiers. And now, 300 years later, neither Austria nor Spain nor France can claim an international influence comparable to that of any one of them in the seventeenth century! So man proposes and God disposes.

WALTER C. LANGSAM, *University of Cincinnati*

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADITION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS: READINGS FROM THOMAS MORE TO WOODROW WILSON. Edited with an introduction and commentary by *Arnold Wolfers*, Sterling Professor of International Relations, Yale University, and *Laurence W. Martin*, Instructor in Political Science, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1956. Pp. xxvii, 286. \$4.50.) With this volume, two political scientists add their contribution to the recent literature, much of it by historians, on the theoretical and ideological background of diplomacy. Introductory though it is, this book presents lively excerpts from twenty writers on international affairs and organizes these readings in accordance with several stimulating hypotheses. The first of these is that the period from More to Wilson is a unit with definite termini, a power struggle between European nation-states that ended with World War I; a corollary is that we may nevertheless learn something for the present from earlier writers, since contemporary conflicts are essentially national rivalries on a larger, world scale. Some may question one or both parts of this concept, but many of today's problems—preventive war, preparedness, the balance of power, the ingredients of national strength—have been under consideration for centuries, and the opinion of past ages is interesting. A second basic assumption of the authors is that, during the European struggle, there was an Anglo-American attitude toward diplomacy that was, by and large, markedly different from the more cynical position taken by European writers following in the train of Machiavelli. This interesting, although not completely new idea, cannot of course be firmly established by an introduction and a score of excerpts from one side of the fence. It is true, as Wolfers states in the introduction, that such realists as Hobbes and Hamilton "... emphasize the moral aspects of political choice." So too does Mahan, but is he more typical of Anglo-American thinking than Brooks Adams, Theodore Roosevelt, or Homer Lea, omitted here though they wrote at about the same time as Mahan? Nevertheless, the hypothesis is a provocative one, deserving of consideration. The student of diplomacy will be well rewarded by reading this book.

BRADFORD PERKINS, *University of California, Los Angeles*

RUSSLAND UND AMERIKA: AUFBRUCH UND BEGEGNUNG ZWEIER WELT-MÄCHTE. By *Erwin Hölzle*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1953. Pp. 308. DM 19.50) This work, a German essay in global historiography, deals with the relations between Russia and the United States. It begins in the seventeenth century before the formation of the Union and ends with the withdrawal of Russia from the American hemisphere in 1867 (a further volume bringing the story up to date is promised). The book takes a broader view of relations between two countries than is common in such works. It naturally devotes much space to the formal relationships arising out of diplomacy and physical contingency in Alaska and California. Russian policy during the War of Independence and Russian-American relations at the time of the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine and during the Civil War receive much detailed and intelligent treatment. The author also has tried to dig deeper, into the divergent trends of national development and the subtler influences of American political experience upon Russian thought. In that loosely-knit world, where a common anti-English orientation kept both countries in friendly diplomatic intercourse, the consequences of the differences in national organization were astoundingly small. Finally, the author relates, though faintly, Russian and American development to the common European center. If Hölzle, a latecomer to both the American and Russian fields, was somewhat hampered in this ambitious enterprise by his lack of familiarity with his subject, he compensated for this by his familiarity with the relevant literature. As regards both scholarly apparatus and points of analysis, this book can serve as a better guide to the

study of Russian-American relations than Thomas A. Bailey's earlier volume. The only aspect to which an American reader might object is the one which will recommend the book to its German audience—the deliberate, if unconvincing, attempt at historical profundity in the style of, say, Friedrich Meinecke. But everything considered, this book deserves a niche in the literature on American foreign relations.

THEODORE H. VON LAUE, *University of California, Riverside*

DEUTSCHER OSTEN UND SLAWISCHER WESTEN: TÜBINGER VORTRAGE.

Edited by *Hans Rothfels* and *Werner Markert*. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, No. 4.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]. 1955. Pp. 127. DM 12.00.) Thematic collections of essays by several authors often vary in quality and emphasis, and this one is no exception. Editor Rothfels opens with a thoughtful, conciliatory introduction, but in a majority of the essays the Germanic East quite overshadows the Slavic West. Only one author indicates thorough use of German and Slavic sources. Still, several of the contributors raise important questions in a stimulating manner. Rothfels indicates the dilemmas involved in transferring Western ideas of the nation-state to the ethnic mosaic of Middle Europe in 1848-49. Wissemann finds linguistic proof for prior German claims to the area beyond the Oder-Neisse, but it requires another expert philologist to appraise his evidence and method. Moser takes a refreshing sociological view of the German *Sprachinseln* as conservators of older German cultural forms before 1939 and indicates their rapid disintegration as a result of transfer to the Reich as expellees. Markert shows how national-democratic concepts of the earlier twentieth century aroused the peoples of Eastern Europe and were then skillfully manipulated by Stalinist Moscow to further Russian advance and domination under the pretense of Soviet federalism. A penetrating essay by Conze traces the development of *Ostmitteleuropa* from agrarianism to industrialism and from institutions with potentialities of freedom to Communist imprisonment. Stasiewski chronicles the fate of the Christian churches behind the Iron Curtain and finds Protestantism suffering its greatest blow since the Counter Reformation. Lemberg's essay on German historiography and Eastern Europe is the most valuable piece in the collection. He criticizes the exclusive preoccupation with political and diplomatic factors before 1914 and the *Angstpsychose* of the interwar years; today brings new opportunities for assimilating the neglected factors and reveals the new danger of equally blind Soviet-German interpretations. This article merits a review in itself.

HENRY CORD MEYER, *Pomona College*

DIE PROBLEME DES REPALLO-VERTRAGS: EINE STUDIE ÜBER DIE

DEUTSCH-RUSSISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN 1922-1926. By *Theodor Schieder*. [Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, Heft 43.] (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1956. Pp. 98. DM 4.80.) Underlying the wave of interest among German historians in the German-Soviet relations of the twenties is current talk of a new Repallo in German circles. Schieder not only provides an excellent survey of the newest research and interpretations, especially with regard to the Stresemann *Nachlass*; he also attempts to silence the current talk by showing that Repallo was feasible only when the partners were equal—and weak. With every rise in Soviet potentialities, weak Germany became less able to utilize the connection to her advantage. Apparently, however, the author is of two minds. He has the usual German admiration for Rankean ("defensive") *Realpolitik*, for which Americans of 1956 can scarcely blame him. Seeckt, Rathenau, and Stresemann have plenty of admirers over here. Nevertheless, the fallacious belief that the pursuit of justice—and power—can somehow be divorced from questions of social morality haunts

the pages of this workmanlike monograph. Since Schieder admits only to "raising questions" about the Repallo policy, his own *dementi* might well provoke only the conclusion that as Germany regains her strength she will be better prepared to resume her pursuit of justice and power in coldly calculated liaison with Soviet power. We must admit that the author is shrewdly aware of Communist mechanisms; indeed the monograph is as much a study of the Soviet side of the development as of the German. Although the "problems" of German-Soviet relations from 1922 to 1926 are not brought out anywhere in the sharp relief that the title might suggest, the book is a rich weave of many strands of German and Soviet history by a perceptive scholar.

ROBERT KOEHL, *University of Nebraska*

DER EINMARSCH DEUTSCHER TRUPPEN IN DIE ENTMILITARISIERTE ZONE AM RHEIN IM MÄRZ 1936: EIN BEITRAG ZUR VORGESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES. By *Max Braubach*. [Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, Heft 54.] (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1956. Pp. 40. DM 2.40.) It has frequently been asserted that by their failure to oppose by force the entrance of German troops into the demilitarized Rhineland in March, 1936, France and England forfeited the last and best opportunity to stop Hitler without a major war. This short study tends to support that theory. The author investigates the background of the German move, describes the operation, and analyzes both the immediate reactions of France and England and the later repercussions on European diplomacy. For some time to come, Braubach's account of this incident will remain the best one available. The study is based on a careful survey of the extensive memoir material, the published Nuremberg record, and the investigation of the French National Assembly into the period 1933-1945. The largest single group of contemporary documents—*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1936*, Volume I—unfortunately escaped the author's notice.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG, *University of Kentucky*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

THE GREEK TYRANTS. By A. Andrewes, Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. [Hutchinson's University Library.] (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1956. Pp. 167. \$1.50.) This new survey of the Greek tyrants is less dogmatic and also less carefully thought out than its famous predecessor, *The Origin of Tyranny*, by P. N. Ure (1922). Professor Andrewes explains the rise of tyrants in terms of three factors: military (chapter 3), racial (chapter 5), and economic (chapter 7). Militarily, the cause lay in the new hoplite class (the *demos*) which might rise against the old aristocracy. Racially, there came to be an anti-Dorian reaction in certain parts of Greece (p. 65), and that reaction might find expression in an anti-Dorian tyranny (p. 59). Economically, tyranny might appear as a palliative for the distress caused by the introduction of coined money and the emergence of a new wealthy class. All this is well and good, but when the author attempts to document his conclusions, he is embarrassed by the lack of uniformity in Greek political behavior. Cypselus, perhaps the earliest tyrant, seems not to have been a military man (p. 52); Orthagoras, who began the tyranny in Sicyon, seems not to have been a racialist (p. 57); and Peisistratus of Athens owed his position less to citizen hoplites than to mercenary soldiers (p. 107). Wherever we look, we are confronted with exceptions. Professor Andrewes realizes this, and his analysis of local conditions (e.g., the party alignments in Athens, pp. 102-107) is often illuminating. But he also resorts to speculation. This applies particularly to his remarks about that shadowy figure, Pheidon of Argos, who is introduced as the man who first realized the military possibilities of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the hoplite and is referred to as a "precursor of the tyrants" (p. 42). Sparta is also discussed, because she avoided tyranny, but without consideration of unorthodox interpretations which have appeared since Wade-Gery wrote for the *Cambridge Ancient History*. Tyrannies in Asia Minor (chapter 10) and in Sicily (chapter 11) are treated separately and somewhat perfunctorily. The Epilogue includes a sketch of the late period.

TRUESDELL S. BROWN, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE JUNIOR OFFICERS OF THE ROMAN ARMY IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD: A STUDY ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By *Jaako Suolahti*. [Annals of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, Series B, Volume XCVII.] (Helsinki: the Academy, 1955. Pp. 439. Mk. 1,500.) This study had its genesis in the author's reading of his "father's researches in the social structure of Finland's priesthood in the 17th century." Its purpose is to contribute toward an analysis of the social structure of the Roman senatorial class. The book presents an exhaustive study of the relatively meagre and often rather intractable source material, mostly literary, partly inscriptional, on the military tribunate, the *Ilviri Navales*, and the prefects. There is discussion of the origin, functions, privileges, election, etc., of the military tribunes. Their social origin is examined, patrician, plebeian; the *gentes* from which they come, consular, lower senatorial, or equestrian; the status of those *gentes*, whether rising, stable or declining—all with frequent tabulations and arranged according to chronological periods—509 to 218 B.C., to the Gracchi, to Sulla, to the Civil War, to 30 B.C., and to A.D. 14. A comparable examination is made of the tribunes' local origin. So few *Ilviri Navales* are known, and so little has been learned about them, that their study occupies only some ten pages; the prefects receive full treatment, comparable to the tribunes. This discussion forms two thirds of the volume. As might readily be imagined, it makes very heavy, difficult reading. The final third consists of rosters, chronological and alphabetical, of all known tribunes, *duoviri*, and prefects, 509 B.C. to A.D. 14, with cross references to the *Real Encyclopädie* and to Broughton's *Magistrates*. The book includes a fourteen-page bibliography and in seventeen pages, an index of personal and of geographical names and a general index. Suolahti writes in English, which certainly ranks as a most remarkable *tour de force*, even when one must acknowledge that his English exhibits not infrequent lapses in idiom, diction, or felicity. Surprisingly distracting is the printer's lack of the ligature "ffi," which always appears therefore as "ff i."

ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS, *Duke University*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

INALIENABILITY OF SOVEREIGNTY IN MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT.

By Peter N. Rosenberg. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 591.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. Pp. viii, 204. \$3.75.) In recent years there has been a considerable growth of interest in the political theories of the medieval Roman and canon lawyers. Two main themes are being explored: the relations of church and state and the concept of sovereignty within the church and within the state. Dr. Rosenberg's book is a useful contribution to the second field of inquiry. It first discusses the theory of inalienability in relation to the concept of office itself, examining the difficulties posed for medieval jurists by the Donation of Constantine and properly emphasizing that Roman law studies provided materials for a theory of limited monarchy as well as the familiar tags exalting the power of the ruler. In later chapters, the growth

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

of the idea of the crown as a subject of rights separate from the person of the ruler is discussed in more detail, and the ambivalence of the idea when applied in practice is illustrated by examples from the constitutional history of England, France, and Spain. Canonistic theories on inalienability of ecclesiastical property and renunciation of office are considered with special reference to the lawyers' insistence on the primacy of the common good; and there is a full discussion on the implications and repercussions of Innocent III's decretal *Intellecto*, addressed to the king of Hungary. An interesting feature of the study is the detailed illustration of how ideas developed in the sphere of ecclesiastical polity were applied to problems of secular government. The argument is not always presented as lucidly as one would wish, and there are many minor slips, especially in the transcriptions of sources; but the author does bring together and discuss in a reasonable and moderate fashion a substantial body of evidence concerning a major theme of medieval political thought.

BRIAN TIERNEY, *Catholic University of America*

DIE EUROPÄISCHE STADT UND DIE KULTUR DES BÜRGERTUMS IM MITTELALTER. By Fritz Rörig. (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1955. Pp. 134. DM 3.60.) Notwithstanding a certain tendency to national mysticism of a moderate type, the late Professor Fritz Rörig has won durable title to our gratitude through his diligent and penetrating studies on Lübeck, the Hansa, and long-distance trade of medieval Germany. The essay which is here reprinted, with some additions, after appearing in 1932 as a section of the *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte*, can render great service to the reader who is aware of its limitations. In spite of its title, it is not a history of "the European city in the middle ages." True, there are many allusions to Flanders, France, England, and occasionally Italy, but the essay is centered around two German cities which, significantly, are singled out for special attention in a chapter entitled "Lübeck and Nuremberg." Even Henri Pirenne, however, in his memorable *Medieval Cities*, often generalized to all of Europe remarks that applied only to his native Belgium. On the other hand, the longer and newer *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter* (1954), by Hans Planitz, goes no farther than the investiture struggle and stresses the Rhinish and southern towns, whereas Rörig's book emphasizes the later centuries and northern Germany. It is much more readable, too, thanks to its lively account of economic development, social classes, intellectual activities, constitutional and administrative evolution, and relations with the territorial princes—in short, all facets of the gem that was the medieval town. One misses the lovely illustrations of the *Propyläen* edition but welcomes the bibliography, which the editors have brought up to date. Like the book, it is focused on northern Germany and, within that limitation, is a valuable addition.

ROBERT SABATINO LOPEZ, *Yale University*

THE PROBLEM OF THE PICTS. Edited by F. T. Wainwright. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. xi, 187. \$6.00.) This work does not attempt to set forth a theory, nor does it claim to settle the vexed question of the origins of the Picts. It is a work devoted to stating the problem of the historical people known as Picts, as they existed in Scotland down to about the middle of the ninth century when Kenneth Mac Alpine, King of Dalriada, assumed rule over their kingdom. Who were these Picts, where did they live, what was their language, and a good many other such problems are raised. No concrete, dogmatic solutions or explanations are given, for the book is devoted to propounding the questions rather than giving the answers. The editor, F. T. Wainwright, is head of the department of history at University College, Dundee, and with him in this enterprise are associated such scholars as Stuart Piggott, the archaeolo-

gist from Edinburgh University, R. W. Feachem of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, and others, each of whom deals with a specific aspect of the problem. Archaeology is first considered; two chapters follow on fortifications, houses, and graves. The question of Pictish art is discussed by R. B. K. Stevenson, and the whole is concluded by a chapter on language written by K. H. Jackson. Each author has stated the difficulties of solving "the problem of the Picts," but at the same time he has given a very useful conspectus of the present state of our knowledge concerning them and their civilization. Thus, although the book does not claim to be definitive and is not, it has brought considerable new information to light and has laid down the basis for further study and investigation. In so doing it has brought home the fact that the Picts themselves were a people made up of a good many strains, so that one cannot speak of a "Pictish race." The book is well produced with maps and illustrations, but one cannot help wondering why it costs \$6.00 in America and only 21s. in Britain.

W. STANFORD REID, *McGill University*

THE EMERGENCE OF ENGLAND AND WALES. By *A. W. Wade-Evans*. (Wetteren, Belgium: De Meester; distrib. by Coram, London. 1956. Pp. 185. 1 Guinea.) This little book is an unorthodox re-examination of the traditional and literary evidence for the Anglicization of Britain with no use of archaeological data and little reference to recent historians who have sought to combine written sources, place names, and archaeological finds. The author is in line with current trends of opinion in playing down the distinction and conflict between English and Britons in the period of transition from Roman Britain to the "emergence of England and Wales" and in making English settlement and dominance a gradual development not to be summed up in a specific "coming of the Saxons" and a thoroughgoing expulsion and slaughter of the Britons. But he goes further and denies fifth or sixth century occupation and conquest of the territories of Romanized Celts by invading Anglo-Saxons. The Angles and Jutes (the term "Saxon" is to be applied to them only later and without any connection with continental Saxons) were provincial subjects of Rome in the fifth century just as were the Britons. The two groups were therefore *Britanni* with a common problem of defense against Picts and Scots. Internal conflict was not between Anglo-Saxons and Britons but between those who resorted to barbarism against Roman oppression and those who defended *Romanitas*. The success of the latter in the west (thanks to St. Germanus of Auxerre) and not in the east laid the foundation for the later distinction between the Welsh (a Teutonic term for Romans) and the English. Accordingly, the traditional stories of Anglo-Saxon conquest and expansion are revised by the author into movements and struggles of rival peoples and leaders of the *Britanni* from the fifth to the seventh century. So radical an historical revision requires drastic handling of the usually accepted interpretation of the sources. Gildas and his *De excidio Britanniae* are ingeniously transferred from the sixth to the early eighth century, and the narrative is redated and relocated. Bede's "manipulation" of Gildas is severely criticized as is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's* record of defeats of "impossible Britons." Doubt and controversy have long characterized this field, but such bold hypotheses will be likely to meet with as skeptical a reception from cautious scholars as the manuscript evidently did from English publishers.

R. F. ARRAGON, *Reed College*

HARALD HÅRFAGRE OG RIKSSAMLINGA. By *Halvdan Koht*. [Krisseår i Norsk Historie, No. 4.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug. 1955. Pp. 82.) Professor Koht has been a leading figure among Scandinavian historians for almost two generations. His *Harald Hårfagre* (Harold Fairhair) is the fourth volume in a series on "Critical Years in Nor-

wegian History." The sources on the king are scant; the sagas in which they appear are shaky in their chronology and at times contradictory in their facts. The central point in Koht's illuminating study is the battle of Hafrsfjord, where the king was victor over local kings and leaders who had challenged him and thus became the first king of Norway to rule over a consolidated state. Earlier scholars had set the date of the battle in 872 or shortly thereafter. But Koht found evidence to suggest that the year 900, or just before, was closer to the truth. The legends that appeared in the nearly three centuries after Harald Hårfagre's victory stressed the king's cruelty toward his rivals; but these, according to Koht, may be ignored, as he only followed practices of lesser kings whom he dispossessed. He took over the country's military power, kept the peace within its borders, and faced his duty as king in administering law and justice to his people.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, *University of California, Los Angeles*

SANKT BONIFATIUS: GEDENKGABE ZUM ZWÖLFHUNDERTSTEN TODESTAG. Herausgegeben von der Stadt Fulda in Verbindung mit den Diözesen Fulda und Mainz. (2d ed.; Fulda: Parzeller & Co. 1954. Pp. xi, 686.) The twelfth centenary of St. Boniface's martyrdom was celebrated in England (where he was born c. 673) with solemnities at Buckfast Abbey and Plymouth (June 19-20, 1954), in Rome (where he was made a bishop in 722 or 723) with the encyclical *Ecclesiae fastos* (June 5, 1954), and in Fulda (where he now rests) with festivities from May 29 to June 13, as well as with this literary *gedenkgabe*, planned by the city's *Oberbürgermeister* in concert with the prelates of Fulda and Mainz. This is a handsome volume in folio, graced with photographs, sketches, and a folding plan. The essays by thirty-one specialists (all but two writing in German) are grouped under three headings: person and work, milieu, influence. Because of the nature of the case, the differing interests of the authors deprive this important work of the unity which marks Theodor Schieffer's *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg-i.B., 1954). Of the fourteen essays under the first heading, several will appeal to liturgists, e.g., Hohler, Frank, and Dold on the Fulda Sacramentary. Notable among the more general studies are Hilpisch's examination of Boniface as monk and missionary, Flaskamp's detailing of the contacts between the saint and Willibrord of Utrecht, Sante's account of church-state relations in the areas where Boniface lived and worked, and Bigelmair's sketch of the background of the founding of sees at Erfurt, Buraburg, Würzburg, and Eichstätt. The second section, *Umwelt*, numbers eight studies, of which four deal with areas (Bavaria, the Neckar-Main territory, Swabia) and two with churchmen linked with Boniface (St. Pirmin, Milo of Trier). Mayer's "Religions- u. kultgeschichtliche Züge in b. Quellen" treats of the references to paganism in works by or about the martyr, while Hallinger's "Römische Voraussetzungen der b. Wirksamkeit im Frankenreich" depicts the strength of papal influence upon pre-Bonifatian Frankland. Nine essays fill out the concluding section. Two deal with the Bonifatian cult, three with the saint in art, and Lenhart provides an account of the nineteenth-century revival. Lehmann writes of the Fulda Abbot Rhabanus Mauras (d. 856) and Stengel, of the Abbey's medieval privileges. Hahn describes the 1953 excavations in the Fulda *Domplatz*, which nicely balances Heller's "Das Grab des hl. Bonifatius in Fulda" in the first section of the *Festschrift*.

HENRY G. J. BECK, *Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey*

JOHN OF SALISBURY'S MEMOIRS OF THE PAPAL COURT. Translated from the Latin with Introduction and Notes by *Marjorie Chibnall*, Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge. [Medieval Texts.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons; New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. 1, 109. \$3.20.) Dr. Chibnall's edition of the *Historia*

Pontificalis is one of the most distinguished volumes yet to appear in the series of Medieval Texts under the general editorship of V. H. Galbraith and R. A. B. Mynors. The text used is basically that of the late R. L. Poole, but by consulting Berne MS 367, the only surviving manuscript, Dr. Chibnall has been able to correct quite a few of Poole's readings, so that the present edition may be considered to be authoritative. The translation on the facing pages is both accurate and felicitous throughout. Dr. Chibnall was fortunately able to read the typescript of C. N. L. Brooke's Introduction to the *Letters* of John of Salisbury and thus to incorporate the latest findings in her own Introduction. She discusses John and his times, the writing of the *Historia Pontificalis*, John as an historian, the historical value of the *Historia*, and the manuscript and its transmission. Besides an excellent *apparatus criticus*, there are five valuable appendixes: Henry of Blois at the papal curia, Sigebert of Gembloux, John and Gilbert de la Porrée, Stephen's Lombard grandmother, the divorce of Hugh of Molise. We are indebted to Dr. Chibnall for making available to us one of the most informative works of the greatest humanist of the twelfth century and an invaluable source for the history of the papacy for the years 1148-1152.

G. P. CUTTINO, *Emory University*

FROM BECKET TO LANGTON: ENGLISH CHURCH GOVERNMENT, 1170-1213.

By C. R. Cheney, Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Cambridge. The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1955. (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1956. Pp. x, 212. 18s.) Professor Cheney has done pioneer work in the history of the church in England in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. He is thoroughly familiar with and completely in command of the relevant sources; his historical judgment is calm and well balanced, and he writes in a readable lucid style. This combination of qualities has produced a distinguished book. The key to the content of this work lies in the subtitle. Cheney examines in detail the actual operation of ecclesiastical government as it affected England. Recognizing that the episcopate was the basic institution of this government, he devotes his first chapter to the bishops of the period—their character, origin, training, and effectiveness as prelates. He then surveys the effects of the rapidly developing papal power on English church government and the questions at issue between the English church and the Angevin monarchy. Perhaps the most valuable of the chapters is a careful discussion of the bishops' governments within their dioceses. The last chapter deals with the relations of the lay world to ecclesiastical government: it alone is disappointing. One cannot but feel that Professor Cheney's heart was not in it and that he did not have it in mind when he collected his material. He fails to consider thoroughly some of the subjects he discusses; he neglects useful evidence which he must know well, such as Stephen Langton's letter to the English baronage. Even when he uses an obvious source like the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, he fails to exploit it fully. The discussion of the layman's attitude toward the religious orders is particularly unsatisfactory in that it takes no account of economic considerations. This reviewer has only one other criticism—Cheney is at times overcautious. Thus on page 196 he declines to attempt an identification of W. Brueira and W. Gernon even though John's favorite William Brewer is known to have had nephews named Gernon. While this book is rather too detailed and its appreciation requires too much background to make it suitable for a general American audience, every specialist in medieval history should read it. Even though it is primarily concerned with England, the book sheds much light on an important period of church history.

SIDNEY PAINTER, *Johns Hopkins University*

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By W. A. Pantin, Fellow of Oriel College. Based on the Birkbeck Lectures, 1948. (New York: Cambridge

University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 292. \$5.00.) Unlike Moorman's more general treatment of church life in the thirteenth century, Pantin has confined his attention to three aspects of the fourteenth-century English church—its social structure, its intellectual controversies and personalities, and the religious literature which he regards as its "most constructive achievement." To the author, fourteenth-century ecclesiastical history should be viewed not as a prelude to the Renaissance and Reformation but as a legacy of that great thirteenth century age of reform which had preceded it. Part I of his book is a clear and discerning summary of work already done on church administration, the use as well as abuse of the patronage system, and those "lovely disputes" between church and state, crown and papacy, so typical of the period. Here Pantin emphasizes the "dignified checkmates and compromises" in practice which Powicke had noted and which are so apparent in studying the relations between church and state courts. As we might expect from a student of monk-scholars like Uthred of Boldon and Adam Easton, the most valuable parts of the book are those dealing with intellectual life. Especially valuable are the brief sketches of personalities like Fitz Ralph and some of the less familiar controversialists and the chapters describing religious literature, where, it seems to me, Pantin makes the most original contribution. Manuals for the instruction of parish priests, such as that of William of Pagula, religious and moral treatises in the vernacular, as well as the great literature of the fourteenth-century mystics, indicate the profoundly religious character of a period only too well known for its abuses. It is the age of the emergence of the devout layman as well as the age of the pluralist and the pardoner. Pantin's style of writing often reminds us that his book is based on the Birkbeck Lectures which were delivered at Cambridge University in 1948. It is clearly organized, stimulating, and touched with humor. The appendixes and references to the need for further research add to its usefulness.

NORMA ADAMS, *Mt. Holyoke College*

NICOLAI DE CUSA, DE PACE FIDEI, CUM EPISTULA AD IOANNEM DE SEGOBIA. Edited by *Raymond Klibansky* and *Hildebrand Bascour*. [Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, Supplement 3.] (London: University of London, Warburg Institute. 1956. Pp. liii, 135. £2 10s.) Though Nicolas Cusanus was better known to men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than contemporary scholars have generally assumed, his great importance in the history of philosophical thought has not received due recognition in more recent times. The publication of a new and improved scholarly edition of his works, the first since those of Lefèvre d'Étaples in 1514 and Heinrich Petri in 1565, should help greatly to correct this singular neglect. The *De Pace Fidei*, a fifteenth-century essay in ecumenicity, represents the application to the realm of religious thought of the metaphysical system which in the *De Docta Ignorantia* Cusanus employs cosmologically. His emphasis on toleration as a corollary not of indifference but of a genuine concern for Christian apologetic and a speculative demonstration of unity in plurality makes this treatise relevant today. The editors, excellent scholars of long experience, have provided in the Latin preface a useful critical discussion of the *Entstehungsgeschichte*, the manuscripts and editions, style and sources, reception by contemporaries, and Cusanus' relations with John of Segovia, to whom he addressed the letter epitomizing the ideas included in his treatise. The quality of this edition is attested by its inclusion as Volume VII in the *Opera omnia* being published under the auspices of Heidelberg University.

LEWIS SPITZ, *University of Missouri*

LE VIEUX COUSTUMIER DE POICTOU. Edited by *René Filhol*, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Poitiers. [Travaux de la Société d'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions des Pays de l'Ouest de la France, Volume I.] (Bourges: Éditions Tardy. 1956. Pp. xiv, 328.) This volume, the first of a series of texts and studies planned by the

Society, is a fine edition of an important legal text of the first half of the fifteenth century, the "most ancient monument of Poitevin law worthy of that name." In a brief introduction, the editor discusses the date of the *Coutumier*, the manuscripts, and earlier editions. The text is illustrated by seventy-two half-tone plates that reproduce the illustrations of a manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century; they are exceptionally interesting, from more than a legal point of view. The *Coutumier* of Poitou is especially important because it preserves local usages and traces of the influence of the written law and of the earlier Angevin administration on the customs of a region on the borders of the *pays du droit écrit*.

ROBERT S. HOYT, *University of Minnesota*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

CALENDAR OF THE CLOSE ROLLS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. HENRY VII, Volume I, A.D. 1485-1500. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, issued by authority of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1955. Pp. vii, 498. £5 5s.) The paucity of printed records of Henry VII's government makes this Calendar of the Close Rolls especially welcome. Even the routine business of chancery—the enrollment of titles to lands and their transfer by descent, purchase, or forfeiture, of summonses to appear before the king or his chancellor, and of writs to attend parliament—has value for this reign. Appointments to royal offices, high and low, with the incumbents' remuneration, provide a measure of the king's patronage. Payments to Henry's dependents varied: 3d. a day (the same fee Edward III had paid) for the janitor of Windsor Castle gate and £200 a year charged against the customs receipts for Lord Matravers. Other peers received similar annuities to support them in their dignities, and Henry VII confirmed several grants to peers, or their heirs, whom Edward IV or Richard III had created. The king's favor and wages went to craftsmen, too, like his arrow maker at the Tower and his tailor, and to professional men—physicians, chaplains, and the Master of King's Hall (now Trinity), Cambridge. Furthermore, the Close Rolls record payments of annuities on *fiefs-rentes* (one granted in 1341) for which fealty was done and relief paid, which were inheritable and divisible, and which were held of the king "by service of one (or 1/20) knight's fee." In effect, Henry VII was still paying in the 1490's what corresponded to interest on the funded debt his predecessors had incurred. More exciting, but perhaps misleading, is the "increasing number," according to the Deputy Keeper's Preface, "of bonds given by the king for loyalty." A few, like the Yorkist marquis of Dorset's recognizances for £10,000, it is obvious, were to insure Henry VII against security risks. But the purpose of many more of these loyalty bonds seems administrative rather than political. When a man was bonded to procure his appearance before the king in council or in chancery and his "faithful behavior" in the meantime, or to prevent ordinary breaches of the peace, or to ensure the specific performance of a contract, or to prevent acts "in prejudice of the king's prerogative," such as suing in the court of Rome, or to guarantee the execution of a royal official's duties, had not the terms loyalty and allegiance become words of art? If so, these bonds should not be used as evidence of a man's disloyalty.

WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR., *Yale University*

CALENDAR OF INQUISITIONS POST MORTEM AND OTHER ANALOGOUS DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. HENRY VII,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Volume III. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, issued by authority of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1955. Pp. vii, 844. £5 5s.) The third and final volume of the *Calendars for Henry VII's reign* contains the usual abundance of data about places and persons, many of whom flourished before as well as after 1485. The facts recorded at the inquests post mortem will enable the genealogist to work out kinships and pedigrees, the economic geographer to map out manors, tenements, and villages, and the demographer to compile vital statistics. For the economist, there are prices, values, and the accumulation of property, real and personal, by esquires and gentlemen as well as knights and peers. Wills given in full or in part provide evidence of religious and social practices, and the legal historian will find much about tenures, inheritance, and trusts. The political historian may ponder the number of deaths resulting from Henry VII's attainders for treason, and he may trace the disposition of the forfeited lands which often went to the king's bureaucrats and partisans. The moral of this tome is to confirm, once again, the indivisibility of history and the ubiquity of historical evidence. English historians are grateful to the Deputy Keeper and his staff for preparing so much material, in print, for their craft. But one tool, the General Index, might be better. More topical headings of current interest, e.g., Attainder, Charity, Courts, Crown, Forfeiture, the Mass, Parliament, Treason, Uses, would exhibit the range and diversity of the Calendar's contents. They would also obviate the scholar's searches page by page and so increase still further his gratitude.

WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR., *Yale University*

THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE SECRETARIES OF STATE AND THEIR MONOPOLY OF LICENSED NEWS, 1660-1688. By *Peter Fraser*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 177. \$3.75.) During the Restoration period in England the conviction that, as a policy of state, control over opinion was essential to the maintenance of social order went through a declining phase. One aspect of this policy during that time and the evidences of its breakdown before 1688 are analyzed by Fraser. Since the state had to discriminate between news that could safely be released to the public and secret intelligence, Secretarial monopoly of all news, whether in print or in manuscript, was accepted as natural, even though, with the growth of coffee houses and unlicensed news mongers, it was becoming impossible to enforce. From Fraser's last chapter one may conclude that by 1688 freedom of the press was being transformed from a Miltonian ideal to a practical expedient. The earlier chapters describe the various functions of the Secretaries of State and their network of communications, domestic and foreign. The author then demonstrates that English reverses in the second and third Dutch wars were not due to faulty intelligence. He has based his findings throughout on the most diligent research. In two respects Fraser might have improved his book. A more thorough grounding in earlier seventeenth-century incipient English journalism, based on the introduction to *Commons Debates for 1629* by Notestein and Relf and works other than those of the unreliable J. G. Muddiman, would have served him well. For the period with which he is actually concerned his knowledge is ample, but his writing would have benefited from more of the painful thinking and revising which usually accompany the emergence of a good style. Students of Restoration methods of government and news dissemination, however, should be grateful for Mr. Fraser's study of an insufficiently explored field.

WILLSON H. COATES, *University of Rochester*

THE FIRST COPYRIGHT STATUTE: AN ESSAY ON AN ACT FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING, 1710. By *Harry Ransom*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 145. \$3.75.) Professor Ransom has written a useful and

interesting book, in which he traces the "major influences on literary property in England before 1710," and gives a clear, well-written account of the confusion of regulation, legislation, and judicial decision which preceded the first copyright statute. Not until the seventeenth century, he shows, did men begin to "separate the points of justice in property right from points of policy in press control." Not until the eighteenth century did an author legally achieve status as the "source of rights in copy." Much of this material has been covered before, most recently in Siebert's book, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776*. Ransom's focus is different, however, and he contributes at least three new points. He shows that the law of 1710 was passed rapidly, contrary to previous opinion. He rejects the idea that Jonathan Swift assisted in drafting the bill; and he refutes Birrell's contention that the law was a "perfidious measure," undermining the possible evolution of an author's perpetual copyright. "The real obstacle to common-law development of copyright," maintains Dr. Ransom, "was not the statute but the bookseller's single-minded pursuit of trade objectives." He makes his case effectively and succinctly, with a wise use of the available material. This book will be of interest and value to students of English literature, law, and history. The list of references contains useful bibliographical material, though it would have been helpful to include a summary of the critical comments on sources found in the footnotes. "The Short Calendar of English Literary Property, 1476-1710" is convenient. The historian will, perhaps, regret that Ransom has not placed the history of press regulation more clearly in relation to the history of other economic regulation and the rise of free trade. Were the problems of the press and of the Stationers Company unique or were they yet another evidence of the breakdown of economic regulation characteristic of the later Tudor period and of the attack on companies and special interests characteristic of the Stuarts? Ransom suggests these issues but does not resolve them. He is, however, writing an "Essay" and a brief one. He promises us further studies and a history of copyright law, in which, one hopes, he may allow himself a broader canvas.

ELIZABETH R. FOSTER, *Ursinus College*

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE BEHAVIOR OF THE QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY. By *Jonathan Swift*. Edited by *Irvin Ehrenpreis*. [Indiana University Publications Humanities Series No. 36.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1956. Pp. xliii, 109. \$3.50.) When an author asserts that he has written with the "utmost impartiality" one anticipates quite the opposite, yet the *Enquiry* is in truth one of Swift's most penetrating and objective political tracts. Although in it he does justify Tory policies, he is primarily concerned with examining the failure of the Oxford-Bolingbroke ministry with which he was so closely associated. The *Enquiry* illustrates Swift's power of political analysis at its best; he seems to grasp the function of the two-party system, the nature of ministerial leadership, and the influence of the crown. Few of his tracts are of more value to the historian. The *Enquiry* can be found in editions of Swift's collected writings—its most recent appearance is in Volume VIII of the *Prose Works of Jonathan Swift* (Oxford, 1953), edited by Irvin Ehrenpreis with Herbert Davis. The contributions of the present volume, however, are several: it contains an informative introduction discussing other pamphlets on the Tory ministry of 1710-14, it is based on a careful collation of texts, and, probably most valuable of all, it is the only edition with full notes and an adequate index. Certainly the historian will find it by far the most convenient and useful edition.

FRANCIS GODWIN JAMES, *Tulane University*

BEATRICE WEBB'S DIARIES 1924-1932. Edited and with an Introduction by *Margaret Cole*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1956. Pp. xxv, 327, plates.

\$6.00.) This new volume of Beatrice Webb's *Diaries* should be welcomed by historians as well as by general readers interested in the personal impressions of a remarkable woman. Here is an inside story, too, of the first British Labor government when Sidney Webb was President of the Board of Trade and Beatrice acted as political hostess and party adviser. Mrs. Webb vividly describes the General Strike, the prolonged miners' strike, the gathering depression, and the second Labor government (1929-31) when Sidney Webb served as Secretary of State for the Colonies. She never quite understood the enigmatic Ramsey MacDonald whom she thought a "magnificent substitute for a leader." The Webbs were unique. Their *Partnership*, as has few others, epitomizes the marriage of the scholar and the dedicated public servant. Never above hack research, in fact reveling in it, they always arrived at questions of larger economic and political problems. Fundamental to their Fabian philosophy was the belief that the scientific method could be applied to the human relationship. Amazing is the fact that they accomplish much of what, early in their lives, they set out to do. Luck as well as ability and persistence served them. Even in their late seventies, they continued to write, starting new projects such as their full-dress study of Russia. One should not expect a well-rounded picture of England in the 1920's from this journal, but valuable to the historian are the penetrating and analytical portraits, drawn with detached acidity, of a parade of leaders—MacDonald, Snowden, Henderson, Cook, Lloyd George, Laski, the Wolffs, and especially Shaw. Beatrice Webb did not think of herself as an intellectual but as a person of "general capacity" applying herself to certain problems of the intellect. Because of her application, the working man of Great Britain has more security today and the study of social science has been advanced. With Mrs. Cole's editing and helpful introduction, we are now permitted a privileged insight into a full and useful life.

CAROL L. SHAFER, *Bethesda, Maryland*

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COMMONWEALTH, IRELAND, AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

THE NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL, 1842-1844, OF JOHN B. WILLIAMS OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS. Edited with an Account of His Life by *Robert W. Kenny*. (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum; Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 120. \$6.00.) Historians of Yankee whalers or of New Zealand will value this brief life of John B. Williams and his annotated Journal (admirably edited with minimal addition), including a glossary of native plants and animals, two rough maps, and seven plates. These heretofore unpublished memoirs of the third U. S. Consul at the Bay of Islands reflect a familiar combination of consular activity and personal commercial venture, with resultant political complications. Williams' colorful opinions of New Zealand pioneers and the colonial policy of Her Majesty's Government supplement well-known sources. As Kenny states, "... study of the Journal is a fit and pleasant task for scholars. . . ."

J. A. GREENLEE, *Iowa State College*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

GENEVA AND THE COMING OF THE WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE, 1555-1563. By Robert M. Kingdon. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XXII.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1956. Pp. 163. Fr.S. 22.) It is estimated that by 1562 the French Huguenots had some 2,150 churches, with 3,000,000 souls out of a total population of 20,000,000. Kingdon's book attempts to find answers to at least two questions. First, why should the French church and in part the court consider the growth of this minority so subversive as to follow persecution with war? The answer given, that the church polity of Calvin endangered the structure of the French church and would lead to "democratic" decentralization of the state, is not a new answer. It does, however, receive new and interesting illustration, for it is put in the setting of conditions that give rise to the second question, how did the Huguenots become so large and so very important a body. How could this have come about as early as 1562? This is the question of questions in Professor Kingdon's book. The first question is really only a corollary of it, and documentation giving answers to it is sparse compared with that given to answers for the second question. It is somewhat astonishing that until now there has been found no satisfactory clue to the puzzle of how this Huguenot minority had become so large by 1562. The growth of the Huguenot party has largely been taken for granted, but Kingdon has opened a vein which makes his book a contribution to knowledge. He accounts for the size of the minority by the fact that since 1555 the Geneva Company of Pastors conducted a missionary campaign in France, which came to its peak in 1562. A case study is made of eighty-eight missionary pastors sent to France; there were, of course, very many more. While these eighty-eight are often lost sight of in the complexity of events, much illustrative material for the story comes from an examination of archival sources concerning them, particularly their class origins (noble or possibly noble, ten; bourgeois or possibly so, twenty-four; artisans, four; peasant, none; unknown, forty-six), place of origin, former occupation, and year and place of dispatch. The most important character in the book is John Calvin, whether in the spotlight or behind the scenes. The author writes well; but my Protestant soul is shocked when Mary Tudor is called Bloody Mary (p. 89).

QUIRINUS BREEN, *University of Oregon*

UN AGITATEUR AU XVII^e SIÈCLE: LE CARDINAL DE RETZ. By Pierre-Georges Lorris. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1956. Pp. 411. Fr. 980.) No distinguished personage of seventeenth-century France displayed more bizarre contrasts of character than Jean François Paul de Gondî, cardinal de Retz. As a savant, theologian, moralist, and ser-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

monizer, he has been compared to Bossuet. Bountiful to the point of folly, idolized by the poor, and beloved by his friends, he seemed to many to be a worthy prince of the church. But he is best remembered as the prime intriguer of the Fronde, one of the last of those great noblemen in France who retained the feudal concept that treason was a legitimate pastime of his class. The duplicity, inconstancy, and unscrupulousness of his political machinations, the vanity to which he was willing to sacrifice crown and country, his lack of equilibrium or sincerity, his vindictiveness, and his cynicism would seem unbelievable, even in the light of that period, were they not indifferently confessed in his own memoirs. A devious courtier, he was by turns a caustic, bitter, witty, or mocking commentator on the weaknesses of those courted and others; he was seldom kind, even to himself. His importance in the Fronde and his genius in letters perhaps justifies the large bibliography that has grown up around his name. Unfortunately, the biography of Lorris makes no substantial contribution. Heavily interlarded with quotations from the *Memoirs* of de Retz, this work at times gives the reader the impression that he is consulting a source book with editorial comments. As such, it is not a satisfactory substitute for the *Memoirs*, for too much of de Retz is left out. Nor is it satisfactory as a secondary narrative, for too much of de Retz is left in and too much of the author is left out. The curious who wish to recapture the color of the Fronde will do well to return to the *Memoirs*, perhaps the English edition in Everyman's Library. As a critical and readable secondary study, Lorris' work is inferior to the more condensed biography of de Retz by Louis Batiffol.

JAMES EDWARD KING, *University of North Carolina*

UN SIÈCLE D'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE PAR L'ESTAMPE, 1770-1871: COLLECTION DE VINCK, INVENTAIRE ANALYTIQUE. Tome VII, LA REVOLUTION DE 1848 ET LA DEUXIEME REPUBLIQUE. By Nicole Villa, Bibliothécaire au Cabinet des Estampes, Denise Dommel, and Jacques Thirion. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1955. Pp. xvii, 805.) In 1850, Baron Eugene de Vinck, a young Belgian diplomat with an interest in French history, began collecting pictures, cartoons, posters, public proclamations, leaflets, sheet music, and other similar iconographic sources of the history of France. His novel undertaking occupied him throughout his life and was continued by his son Carl; it resulted in the assembling of many thousands of items on the history of France between 1770 and 1871. The younger De Vinck (who died in 1931) presented the collection to the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Cabinet des Estampes undertook the formidable task of cataloguing the huge collection and before the outbreak of war in 1939 had published five volumes of inventories covering the materials on the period 1770-1830. The volume on the Revolution of 1830 and the July Monarchy was scheduled for next appearance, but interest aroused in the centenary of the Revolution of 1848 inspired the decision to give priority to the present volume, on the Revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic. First glance at the volume's title and its 800 large pages listing 2,668 items suggests comparison with the Manhattan telephone directory, but closer examination reveals it to be a fascinating volume. Each item is fully identified—pictures are described, proclamations quoted, leaflets summarized; dates, publishers, dimensions, type of reproduction are all recorded. Anyone who has seen a French historical exhibition, such as that at the Bibliothèque Nationale on the centenary of 1848, will have little difficulty in visualizing the items and sensing their power to bring renewed life to the events of 1848-1851. And to anyone doing research in this period, perusal of the inventory can scarcely fail to inspire the conclusion that few works on the Revolution of 1848 or the Second Republic can be completed without utilization of the De Vinck collection.

DAVID H. PINKNEY, *University of Missouri*

THE FOUNDING OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY (1893-1905). By Aaron Noland. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 233. \$4.00.) In April, 1905, after several decades of internecine strife, contested leadership, and abortive efforts at unification, the divergent factions in French socialism finally came together to form the modern French Socialist party. The record of events leading to the unification congress of 1905 is traced with accurate and painstaking detail in this carefully documented monograph. Close attention is devoted to such phases as the repression and gradual recovery of the Socialist movement after the fall of the Commune, the *rapprochement* among the Socialist parliamentary representatives during the years 1893-1898, the impact of the Dreyfus Affair which initially split and then drew the Socialists more closely together, the divisive effect of the Millerand Case and the issue of ministerialism that it raised, and the influence of the Second International both in promoting unity and in determining the nature of the party. The roles played by Guesde and Jaurès, by Brousse, Allemane, Vaillant, and other figures are examined with discernment. A postscript notes that the unity achieved remained superficial and that many issues of party theory and practice remained unresolved. How unstable that unity really was did not become fully apparent until 1920, when the pre-1914 conflict between reformism and revolution emerged with dramatic effect to produce a new and deeper schism. This is a clear and cogent narrative, unraveling the tangled skein of pre-1914 French socialism. Although it does not materially alter the picture of these years to be obtained from such standard French works as those of Paul Louis, Marcel Prélot, Georges Weill, Alexandre Zévaès, and others, it is certainly the most comprehensive account of these events in English. It has been written directly from the press, pamphlets, and other sources of the period, including unpublished materials from the Jules Guesde archives at Amsterdam.

JOEL COLTON, *Duke University*

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SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

C. J. Bishko¹

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, 1474-1566: BIBLIOGRAFIA CRÍTICA Y CUERPO DE MATERIALES PARA EL ESTUDIO DE SU VIDA, ESCRITOS, ACTUACIÓN Y POLÉMICAS QUE SUSCITARON DURANTE CUATRO SIGLOS. By *Lewis Hanke*, University of Texas, and *Manuel Giménez Fernández*, University of Seville. (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Torribio Medina. 1954. Pp. xxxi, 394.) As the title suggests, this is a bibliography of all the known writings of Las Casas, published or in manuscript. Woven in chronologically with the successive editions and reprintings of the great Dominican's works is a list of commentaries upon them and their author's career by other writers extending from the sixteenth century to 1953. On the basis of the number of commentaries, the interest displayed in Las Casas may be described as great in the sixteenth century, when it was usually a matter of Spaniards agreeing or disagreeing with him; less in the seventeenth, when foreigners, for their own purposes, took over the task of evaluating the writings; smallest in the eighteenth, for which the compilers have been able to discover only eighteen items; somewhat larger in the nineteenth, with the revival of interest in the discovery and conquistador period; and bordering on great again for the first half of the twentieth. Each bibliographical item is accompanied by a brief summary of its contents and a note telling where at least one copy may be found. In dealing with the commentators, Hanke and Giménez Fernández generally refrain from offering their own judgments as to accuracy and value, yet here and there, by the choice of words employed in summarizing contents, they seem to express some reaction. Professor Hanke, who contributes the introduction, warns that at present no bibliography of Las Casas can be complete and predicts that the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville, will still yield fresh documentary information. Hanke's introduction begins with a survey of the reactions to Las Casas' writings in the Spanish- and English-speaking worlds over four centuries, especially with regard to the friar's well-known part in creating the "black legend" of Spanish cruelty. It concludes with a brief summary of the author's own studies of the subject and remarks concerning the historical treatment Las Casas has received in Cuba, where in 1514 he launched his lifelong crusade for the betterment of Indian conditions.

CHARLES E. NOWELL, *University of Illinois*

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

William C. Kinsey¹

MUNTHEER EN MUNTMEESTER: EEN STUDIE OVER HET BERGHSE MUNT-PRIVILEGE IN DE TWEDE HELFT DER ZESTIENDE EEUW [English summary]. By F. B. M. *Tangelder*. [GELRE. Vereeniging tot beoefening van Geldersche Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde en Recht.] (Arnhem: S. Gouda Quint-D. Brouwer en Zoon. 1955. Pp. xvii, 344.) This book tells the story of the seignorial mints of the counts van den Bergh in the second half of the sixteenth century. These mints were located in Gelderland: one at 's Heerenberg on the border of Cleves and the Holy Roman Empire and the other at Hedel, a village across the Meuse from 's Hertogenbosch. It is true that they were moved around as a result of political and military events, but their peregrinations are of no great historical importance. The seignorial mints created a problem because they failed to maintain the standards set by either the Empire or the government of the Low Countries. In order to keep going, they issued what was, in fact, counterfeit and light coin. Since bad money drives out the good, this fraud led inevitably to monetary disturbances. A favorite practice was to imitate existing types so closely that the public was easily deceived. In general, ordinances banning the coins issued by the seignorial mints were of no avail. From 1560 to 1585, the troubled state of the Low Countries and the impotence of the Empire made it possible for the counts van den Bergh to operate without serious interference. After 1585, however, the Dutch Republic felt strong enough to proceed against the merchants who supplied the seignorial mints with bullion and to arrest the mint officials for counterfeiting (the counts themselves were beyond reach). This action proved successful. As the seignorial mints were located in out-of-the-way places, they ceased

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

to attract bullion when illegal profits could no longer be made. Moreover, in the Dutch Republic, the mint privileges of the nobility found no defenders and fell quickly into disuse. The author gives interesting information but makes little effort to rise above the level of local history. He has had the praiseworthy idea of giving summaries in French and English at the end of his book.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes¹

SUOMEN HISTORIAALLINEN BIBLIOGRAFIA. Finsk historisk bibliografi; Bibliographie historique finlandaise 1926-1950. Vol. I. Edited by J. Vallinkoski and Henrik

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

Schauman. (Helsinki. 1955. Pp. 709.) This bibliography covering a quarter century of Finnish historiography will be concluded in a second volume. It is intended as a continuation of *Suomen Historiallinen Bibliografia 1901-1925* (Helsinki, 1940) by Aarno Maliniemi and Ella Kivikoski.

O. J. F.

SVENSK HISTORISK BIBLIOGRAFI 1921-1935. Edited by *Paul Sjögren*. [Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Historiska Föreningen. V.] (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB. 1956. Pp. 685.) Based upon the annual issues of *Svensk historisk bibliografi*, currently edited by Percy Elfstrand, this volume includes some items missed in the annual lists and drops others, in particular the references to reviews in the daily press. For good practical reasons it does not cover government publications and the professional historical journals. Sjögren's volume, in a very useful way, will complement S. E. Bring's extended compilation on the sources and bibliography of Swedish history which was published in the concluding volume (XV, 1945) of the major cooperative work, *Sveriges historia till våra dagar*.

O. J. F.

A HISTORY OF SWEDEN. By *Ingvar Andersson*. Translated from the Swedish by *Carolyn Hannay*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1956. Pp. xxvi, 461. \$7.50.) This translation of a Swedish history performs a notable service. Dr. Andersson's work replaces the out-of-date volumes of Hallendorf and Schück and Palmstierna, and its graceful prose, retained in the excellent translation, increases its value to the lay reader, for whom it was written. The introduction by Michael Roberts, a South African writer on Gustaf Adolf, acquaints the English reader with some aspects of Swedish history, especially the importance of this small country. Royal Archivist Ingvar Andersson clearly underlines his country's international position in several periods, including Sweden's role in Baltic medieval trade and her greatness in the seventeenth century. His biography of Erik XIV and research on the sixteenth century are evident in his narrative on Gustaf Vasa and his sons and Sweden's involvement in the Thirty Years' War. The emergence of new classes and the formation of a Swedish administrative system made Sweden's "Storhetstiden" from 1654 to 1718 possible, and, in combination with domestic resources, were responsible for this brief era of glory. The survey of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is devoted to internal developments: political reforms, shifts in class structure, industrialization, and the liberal and Social Democratic struggles for social and political alterations. It was an epoch of change which transformed Sweden into a middle-of-the-road socialist state. The twentieth-century section also deals more with economic and political changes than with external policy; in bringing his survey to a close in 1950, Andersson has given the reader a reasoned and unprejudiced account of the problems of war, depression, and reform which have confronted Sweden in this century. Complaint could be made about the episodic nature of the first seven chapters, or about the absence of a good bibliography (which is not excused by reference to Samuel Bring's volume of 1936), or about an inadequate index. There might also be more on social and cultural history. But these criticisms should not hide the sound scholarship and over-all merit of Dr. Andersson's *History of Sweden*.

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN, *Occidental College*

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

VOM DEUTSCHEN VOLK ZUM DEUTSCHEN STAAT: EINE GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN NATIONALBEWUSSTSEINS. By Paul Joachimsen. Edited by Joachim Leuschner. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1956. Pp. 136. DM 3.60.) The distinguished Munich historian, Paul Joachimsen, who died in 1930, wrote this book in 1916; Joachim Leuschner, editor of this third edition, has added several chapters. Joachimsen is a nationalist historian, not in the narrow sense of Prussian historiography, but he is one who hopes for "a national consciousness that threatens no one" and "is grounded in pride of national dignity and submissiveness to God." His beautifully condensed, extremely well-written little book traces in short brilliant strokes the entire history of German national consciousness. The theme is the persistent split between *Volck* and *Staat*. For Joachimsen, the people (*Volck*) is something natural, growing, remaining essentially the same; the nation is something that is consciously fashioned (*ein Volck ist, eine Nation wird*). There is ample evidence here to show that the outstanding fact of German history is a dichotomy of ideas and development that has never been resolved, an unending struggle for a working compromise between uniformity and disruption. At no time in German history has there been one central power strong enough to crush the centrifugal tendencies of its component parts. It is a tragic story of cleavage—centralism vs. particularism, theocratical world monarchy vs. national unity, Protestantism vs. Catholicism, Austria vs. Prussia, etc. There are some questionable conclusions: the German "personality" was "democratized" in Hanseatic times (p. 25), and the Lutheran Reformation shows that the Germans, more than any other people, are inclined to regard all the problems of life as questions of an inner faith (p. 29). In his added chapter, editor Leuschner accurately describes Hitlerism as "the last step from nationality to bestiality." Fellow historians throughout the world will greet this sentence with a fervent amen: "Moreover, the gas chambers of Auschwitz belong from that point on to our national heritage; without recognition, atonement, and surmounting of this national shame there can be no new dignity for our people" (p. 125).

LOUIS L. SNYDER, *City College of New York*

GEORG SPALATIN, 1484-1545: EIN LEBEN IN DER ZEIT DES HUMANISMUS UND DER REFORMATION. By Irmgard Höss. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau. 1956. Pp. xvi, 467. DM 27.) Irmgard Höss, of the University of Jena, has filled one of the large gaps in Reformation research by publishing the first complete biography of Georg Spalatin based on all the available sources. The results of her arduous task of gathering the scattered materials are most gratifying. In a fascinating, spirited account she presents a chronological survey of familiar events associated with the beginnings of Lutheranism, but from a new perspective. Spalatin, almost an exact contemporary of Luther, began his career as a humanist of Mutian's Erfurt circle. In tracing Spalatin's experiences as a teacher, librarian, and historian to the time he entered the service of Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony as a tutor of John Frederick, the author shows how humanist ideas and methods were given practical application. In recounting his various activities as Frederick's privy councilor, confessor, and court chaplain, she demonstrates how Christian humanism pervaded the Saxon court and joined forces

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

with Luther's evangelical theology. In evaluating the great reliance which Frederick and his successors John and John Frederick placed on him, she clarifies his role in gaining ducal support for Luther and organizing Lutheranism as a territorial church. In dealing with the long and intimate friendship between Luther and Spalatin, she shows how the impulsive, creative professor of theology and the deliberate, diplomatic administrator influenced each other. The author establishes beyond a doubt that Spalatin played a decisive role not only in gaining political support for Lutheranism but in making important decisions which resulted in the consolidation of the movement. The book contains excellent illustrations, a complete bibliography of sources and secondary works, and a helpful index.

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DIE POLITIK DES KURFÜRSTEN KARL THEODOR VON DER PFALZ WÄHREND DES ÖSTERREICHISCHEN ERBFOLGEGKRIEGES (1742-1748). By *Hermann Weber*. [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Band 6.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid. 1956. Pp. viii, 314.) Though the Elector Palatine Karl Theodor ruled the Palatinate for more than half a century, from 1743 to 1799, and Bavaria from 1777, when the Wilhelmine line of the Wittelsbach died out, the history of his reign has not yet been written. Sharply criticized by numerous German historians from Friedrich Christoph Schlosser and Ludwig Häusser on, because of his pro-French policies—he fought both in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War with France and hardly pursued a German national course thereafter—he has also been credited with making his court a center of German cultural and artistic life and praised for his role as an enlightened and popular ruler, at least in the Palatinate. Weber's study treats in considerable detail the first six years of Karl Theodor's foreign policy, a rather small though significant period of his career. In this thoroughly documented, well organized, and clearly written book, the author has relied largely on sources in the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially the political correspondence with the Palatinate and Bavaria. Though the policy of the Palatinate appears thus primarily in the French mirror, its main outlines emerge rather clearly. Yardsticks of German national policy, it is held, were not applicable for the evaluation of Karl Theodor or any other ruler of his time. The accusation of his blind subserviency to the French neighbor ought to be re-examined, and the author hopes that his study will contribute to this goal—yet the Elector's dependence on France is stressed throughout. The name of Karl Theodor, especially as ruler of Bavaria, is closely linked with some of the most important phases and problems of Austrian, Prussian, and Imperial policies of the late eighteenth century, with Austria's attempt to expand into southern Germany (1778) and to exchange Belgium for Bavaria (1785), with the formation of the League of Princes organized by Frederick II, and with Bavaria's and south Germany's policy toward revolutionary France. This study examining Karl Theodor's early foreign policy in the Palatinate and the causes of her pro-French orientation ought therefore to be of interest, particularly to the specialist.

ALFRED D. LOW, *Marietta College*

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

ORSINI MINORE. By Alberto M. Ghisalberti. (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1955. Pp. xi, 282. L. 2400.) For the student of the Risorgimento, the name Felice Orsini is a synonym for conspiracy, uprising, prison, and scaffold that are the essence of that dramatic period. For all of us, Orsini is the man with the bomb in the attempt on the life of Louis Napoleon, January 13, 1858. For some, he is the patriot; for others, the assassin; in any case, an intriguing figure who has challenged both historian and biographer for a century. Alessandro Luzio's biography of the conspirator remains the classic, enriched by the later contributions of Rinaldo Caddeo, Carlo Arrigoni, and others—Italians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans too numerous to list. For all who have attempted an evaluation of the man and his role in history, objectivity has been a most difficult goal to attain—the pall of the attempted assassination constantly coloring and obfuscating the search for a balanced judgment. Professor Ghisalberti makes no claim for his little volume as a replacement for the Luzio study. On the contrary, and as the title and preface indicate, Ghisalberti has sought to delve into the shadows of Orsini's life in order to bring the role of the conspirator into truer focus. Painstaking research through the files of the most amazingly varied sources has produced a remarkably fine portrait of Orsini the man. We find the hot-tempered youth averting a sudden end to his career by accident and good fortune; we follow the young adult through the trials of his first prison sentences; and we see the man committed to the life of a patriot-conspirator searching for political justification for an act of force which would bring freedom to his homeland. His character allowed no room for the philosopher. Action was his life, and the number of prison sentences, detentions, and exiles he counted are confirmation of his activities as a man of violence in the cause of his country. The details, the *sfumature* so clearly brought out in the life of the conspirator, reconstruct Orsini the man, someone we must know before we can refer to Orsini the patriot—or Orsini the assassin.

GEORGE A. CARBONE, *University of Mississippi*

DA GIOLITTI A MUSSOLINI: MOMENTI DELLA CRISI DEL LIBERALISMO. By Nino Valeri. [Saggi di cultura moderna, Volume XVI.] (Florence: Parenti Editore. 1956. Pp. 230. L. 1200.) One of the better writers on recent Italian history here pub-

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

lishes several perceptive essays, buttressed by telling selections from private and government archives concerning some of the leading personalities and issues involved in the decline and fall of the Italian liberal state during the period, roughly, from Italy's entrance into the Great War to the advent of Fascism to power. As distinguished from most works on contemporary Italy, the tone is temperate rather than polemical, the documentation solid rather than superficial. The archival material reproduced by Valeri that will prove to be particularly illuminating—for most readers, at any rate—relates to D'Annunzio's Fiume expedition (what passed between the D'Annunzians and the Nitti government despite their outer display of mutual hostility and contempt) and the "March on Rome" (the role of the prefect, Lusignoli, of Giolitti, and of Premier Facta, who paints a striking, but hardly surprising, portrait of himself). Clearly, Valeri's book should be consulted by all students of the period, though it may be questioned whether the essay form in which he has chosen to cast his conclusions is not far too sketchy and allusive to satisfy those who are still awaiting a full-bodied study and explanation of the collapse of the Italian liberal state and the emergence of the first Fascist movement in history.

GAUDENS MEGARO, *Queens College*

DICTATORS FACE TO FACE. By *Dino Alfieri*. Translated by *David Moore*. (New York: New York University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 307. \$4.95.) Italy's ambassador to the Vatican (1939-1940) and to Germany (1940-1943) wrote his highly personal reflections in Switzerland after his own political world had crumbled around him and published them under the title *Due dittatori di fronte* (Milano, 1948). Alfieri presents no systematic account of his labors as ambassador, and an appraisal of his work as a diplomat will have to await the appearance of other volumes in the ninth series of *I documenti diplomatici italiani*. It is interesting to note that Mario Luciolli, secretary of the embassy at Berlin, ascribed Alfieri's appointment there to a German request but indicated that Alfieri eventually lost all prestige with the Nazi leaders. Luciolli concluded that Alfieri was not a particularly keen observer sending reports from Berlin which pleased Mussolini (Mario Donosti, pseud., *Mussolini e l'Europa*, pp. 231, 276-77). The improvement of the lot of the many Italian workers in Germany appears to have been one of Alfieri's greatest accomplishments. His major triumph at the Vatican seems to have been to arrange a meeting between the Pope and the Italian king. Alfieri's book has importance for the picture it presents of Germany and her leaders at war, of the rift between Italy and Germany, and of Mussolini and Ciano. He makes much of the difficulties under which he labored: he was often without adequate instructions, his advice was not heeded at Rome. His description of the meeting of the Fascist Grand Council in which he and eighteen other members joined in repudiating Mussolini's leadership on July 24, 1943, is a dramatic one. The translator has failed to indicate that he has, in effect, brought out a revised edition. The pictures are different, the chapter order has been somewhat changed, and whole pages and many short sections have been cut out. Some documents, including those in the appendixes, have been omitted, and in three places material has been added which was not in the Italian original. The reader should have been informed of these changes.

WILLIAM C. ASKEW, *Colgate University*

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley¹

ODRODZENIE W POLSCE: MATERIAŁY SESJI NAUKOWEJ PAN 25-30 PAŹ-
DZIERNIKA 1953 ROKU [Renaissance in Poland: Materials of the Scientific Session
of the Polish Academy of Sciences October 25-30, 1953]. Volume I, HISTORIA.
Edited by Stanisław Arnold. (Warsaw: State Publishing Institute for the Academy.
1955. Pp. 575. zł 65.50.) This book, the first part of a symposium on the Renaissance
in Poland, is devoted mainly to social and economic problems. The lengthy studies

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

published in this volume were read and debated at a conference in Warsaw in which historians and scholars from various fields participated. Four more volumes in preparation will cover Polish learning, language, literature, and fine arts in the same era. The longest and undoubtedly the most valuable contribution in this volume came from the pen of Professor Kazimierz Lepszy of the Jagellonian University (pp. 23-113). Speaking in the plenary session, he analyzed the works of Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503-1572), especially the treatise *De republica emendanda*, and characterized Frycz as "the defender of exploited social classes, great patriot, and humanist." Lepszy's paper is by no means a pioneer study of Frycz's work—in 1923 Professor Stanisław Kot published a concise biography of Frycz—but the new contribution is illustrative of prevalent interest among Polish scholars in pioneers of progressive thought. Professor Stanisław Arnold opened the session of the historical section with a paper on economic and social foundations of the Polish Renaissance (pp. 117-60). In a long and thorough discussion of his paper, a good deal of attention was given to problems of village life. This theme was introduced by Stanisław Szczotka, who spoke on class struggles of Polish peasants in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The discussion was one-sided, for the speakers were mostly concerned with unrest among the peasants and its causes. Professor Marian Małowist of Warsaw wrote a succinct study of handicraft in the Renaissance period (pp. 261-98), relying largely on such monographs as A. Mączak's book on wool production. Other topics included in the program were the towns and townfolk in Renaissance Poland (Stanisław Herbst), developments in Silesia (Karol Małeczynski), and a comparative study of Polish law and system of government (Karol Koranyi). Both the papers and contributions to discussion were carefully prepared. Some are solidly documented; in others, quotations from Marxist classics support the author's position more frequently than references to sources. Summing up the results of the conference, Professor Arnold observed with satisfaction the readiness and enthusiasm with which young members of the Polish historical school, trained in Marxist methodology, participated in the program and helped constructively to clarify controversial problems. He admitted that for such subjects as the class struggles, both in village and in town, not enough evidence was available for members of the conference to make unchallengeable conclusions. Despite its shortcomings, the book contains a good deal of information on social and economic conditions in Poland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is richly illustrated. Reproductions are mostly from original manuscripts, books, or paintings, but in some cases the editors resorted to such standard works as *Propyläen Weltgeschichte*.

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK, *University of Pennsylvania*

POLISH POLITICS AND THE REVOLUTION OF NOVEMBER 1830. By R. F. Leslie. [University of London Historical Studies, Volume III.] (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by John de Graff, New York. 1956. Pp. xii, 307. \$7.50.) This study, emanating from a doctoral dissertation at the University of London, is undoubtedly one of the most important to have appeared to date on Polish history. It offers much more than is promised by its title. The opening two chapters (a third of the book) give an excellent account of the social and economic conditions in Poland from the middle of the eighteenth century to 1830, with particular emphasis on the *szlachta* and peasant problems. There follows a brief discussion of the impact of romanticism on the younger generation in Congress Poland which resulted in a flowering of Polish artistic genius on the one hand and a growth of radicalism finding its outlet in conspiracy on the other. The author tears away the legend enveloping these conspiratorial activities and the ensuing revolution. Brought about "by a handful of youths" in a "haphazard way, almost with no plan," it was a foolhardy action. He con-

cludes that "when the brave deeds are praised and heroism acknowledged it must be recognized that the Polish revolution had cut a very poor figure." To be sure, he wastes no words on praising these "brave deeds" and "heroism" but very effectively demonstrates that "the revolution presents the picture of timid statesmanship, of cardboard men playing in the diet what they imagined was the role of the senators of Ancient Rome, of play-acting radicals and swaggering junior officers. . . ." There was lack of both military and political leadership and lack of unselfish devotion to the cause on the part of the majority of the *szlachta*, as shown in its opposition to the agrarian reform and avoidance of financial sacrifices. The concluding chapter contains some penetrating observations on the effects of the revolution on the subsequent Polish national development. Dr. Leslie spent some time in Polish archives and has worked his way through an impressive mass of published Polish documents, memoirs, and contemporary histories. His mastery of the subject is coupled with a keen insight into Polish psychology. Well-organized and written in an elegant and lucid style, his is a superior, if perhaps somewhat one-sided, piece of work.

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI, *Russian Research Center, Harvard University*

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SOVIET UNION

Fritz T. Epstein¹

INDIANA SLAVIC STUDIES: A COLLECTION OF STUDIES BY MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY. Volume I. Edited by *Michael Ginsburg* and *Joseph Thomas Shaw*. [Indiana University Publications Slavic and East European Series, Number 2.] (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1956. Pp. 240. \$3.00.) Although two of the literary articles in this publication ("The Old Believer Avvakum: His Writings," by Serge A. Zenkovsky, and "Koni and His Contemporaries: Authors," by Michael Ginsburg) have considerable historical interest, this reviewer lacks competence to discuss their literary merits. A third literary article on Carpathian folklore and two on linguistics also are not treated here. The two historical articles ("Soviet Thought in the Nineteen-Thirties: An Interpretative Sketch," by Robert V. Daniels, and "Pan-Slavism and Czechoslovak Policy During World War II," by Václav Beneš) are the subjects for this review. Daniels has shown that in most fields of Soviet thought relative freedom gave way to strong domination under the label of "socialist realism." He declares that socialism and Marxist ideology were replaced by a stifling totalitarian control that eliminated all Marxist content. From this he deduces that, although the Soviet leaders still claim to be guided by ideology, actually this is not the case. He reasons that, by mouthing Marxian slogans they no longer believe in, the Soviet rulers can divert popular wrath from themselves to the "capitalist foes," and thus they are able to excuse their own shortcomings. This conclusion, while interesting, is, of course, controversial. Beneš holds that the Czechoslovaks turned to Pan-Slavism largely because of Austria-Hungary's failure to extend federal rights to the Slavs. Vague admiration for Russia seized the Czechs until the 1917 Revolution. When the menace of Hitler appeared the Czechs again turned eagerly to Russia. Munich, and Soviet successes against the Germans, further aroused Czech enthusiasm for Russia and the new Soviet Pan-Slavism. Even Eduard Beneš, Western in outlook though he was, for a time believed Slav cooperation to be feasible. By March, 1945, however, he had come to realize that Soviet pledges against hegemony meant little and regretted his trust in Russia. The appearance of this latest scholarly series devoted to Slavic studies will be widely welcomed by Slavic scholars.

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS, *Duke University*

EINE REISE DURCH SIBIRIEN IM ACHTZEHNTEM JAHRHUNDERT: DIE FAHRT DES SCHWEIZER DOKTORS JAKOB FRIES. Edited by *Walther Kirchner*.

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

[Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München, Band X.] (Munich: Isar Verlag, 1955. Pp. 126. DM 12.) Since the rise of the Muscovite state, a large body of travel literature has appeared reporting the experiences of assorted visitors in Russia and Siberia. In his introductory chapters, Professor Kirchner provides an admirable bibliographical discussion of Siberian travel literature from 1725-1830, presenting this as a background for the first printing of a Swiss doctor's account of his journey to Siberia in 1774-75. As seen through the eyes of Hans Fries, a medical officer in the Russian army, the inaccessible Siberia of that era assumes far more definition than the picture provided in the lifeless reports of Moscow's bureaucracy. Most remarkable, perhaps, is the feeling Fries conveys of the Kremlin's ubiquitous authority even in the depths of Asia. One wonders, nevertheless, how effective this authority actually was. As the editor observes, it may possibly have been the fear of supervision rather than the reality of it that tended to exaggerate the extent of Russian administrative discipline in Siberia. In no sense will this work exert any wide appeal for the German reading public or even for most scholars in the Slavic field. But for the specialist in eighteenth-century Russia, Kirchner's book offers another deft footnote to a still remote scene of 200 years ago.

DOUGLAS K. READING, *Colgate University*

MOUVEMENTS OUVRIERS ET SOCIALISTES (CHRONOLOGIE ET BIBLIOGRAPHIE). LA RUSSIE. Tome I: 1725-1907. By *Eugène Zaleski*. [Ouvrage publié sous les auspices de l'Institut français d'histoire sociale.] (Paris: Les Editions Ouvrières, 1956. Pp. 462. Fr. 1,980.) This bibliography is divided into four chapters: The Penetration of Western Ideas and the Transformation of the Social System in Russia (1725-1850); The Populist Movement (1851-1884); The Emergence of the Working Class and the Birth of the Social-Democratic Movement (1885-1904); and The First (sic) Russian Revolution (1905-1907). Each chapter begins with a chronological table of nine or ten pages, followed by a bibliography in two parts: periodicals, and books and pamphlets. The bibliography is based on the resources of seven libraries in Paris, two in Milan, and one each in Amsterdam, Geneva, and Berne; under each entry the author has listed the library or libraries where it may be found, together with the respective call numbers. The Russian collections in east European countries have not been consulted, for obvious reasons, nor have those in England and Germany, which is less understandable. The present volume ends with 1907; a second volume will cover events through the Revolution of 1917 and works published through 1955. The chief fault of Volume I is that within each chapter the items are arranged according to their year of publication rather than by subject matter. This may be partly corrected by the appearance of Volume II, which is supposed to include a subject index and an alphabetical index. The completed work should become a standard reference, of use particularly to those doing research on the Continent.

THOMAS T. HAMMOND, *University of Virginia*

LITERARY POLITICS IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE, 1917-1934. By *George S. N. Luckyj*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. Pp. x, 323, \$5.00.) Professor Luckyj of the University of Toronto has described Communist party policy with regard to literature in the Soviet Ukraine from 1917 through 1934. He has concentrated upon the literary organizations formed within the Ukraine and has provided an accurate, if confused, picture of the unsuccessful efforts of the Ukrainian Communist intellectuals and other Ukrainian writers to establish a literature free from Russian or Moscow control. Soviet literary policy overcame these efforts and stifled national literature in the Ukraine. This ensured the supremacy of Russian and Communist rule in the cultural field, as in every other field. Luckyj's volume thus becomes a history of suicide, deportation, and execution.

However, the Ukrainian national spirit has not been crushed, and the author demonstrates that even some Ukrainian Communists who yielded and who sang Stalin's praises retained strong streaks of Ukrainian national feeling. The book is based largely on Soviet publications which appeared during the period studied. It also relies upon the papers of Arkadii Liubchenko, a former member of VAPLITE, who survived the purges and the evacuation and left the Ukraine with the retreating Germans. These documents were of immense value, and Luckyj plans to use them in a detailed study of Ukrainian literary life in the 1920's and 1930's. A careful reader will also note heavy use of works published by the Research Program on the U.S.S.R., a good illustration of the organization's fine contribution in making available the materials and the scholarship of displaced persons. This volume is not, and does not claim to be, a study of Ukrainian literature, but it does illuminate Soviet nationality policy and the working of the Soviet system under Stalin. It is a sound book, but it does not succeed in placing this issue in the perspective of other contemporary developments in the Soviet scene, Soviet policy toward other minorities, and the long Russian-Ukrainian relationship. It sometimes fails to explain adequately terms used, and it is too specialized and technical for the general reader.

ROBERT F. BYRNES, *Indiana University*

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

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JAPANS WEG VON GENF NACH SAN FRANZISKO, 1933-1950. By Paul Ostwald. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1955. Pp. 122. DM 7.20.) This is a short, concise, and well-written resumé of the path which Japan took from the Manchurian crisis, through the China incident into the catastrophe of World War II, and thence to her redemption at the San Francisco conference. The author's purpose is to illustrate that, although events in the Far East since Manchuria parallel events in Europe since Hitler's *Machtergreifung*, Japan's course was always her very own and never shaped by her attachment to the Axis. In this endeavor Ostwald is successful. Japan's "national tradition," handed down from the times of Kitabatake Chikafusa, produced a ruthless Japanese *Machtspolitik*, ever unconcerned with European diplomatic thought and the fate of her European allies. He concludes, moreover, that because Japan is so deeply steeped in her own past, little of present and future Western values will be infused into the Japanese nation. Unfortunately, the book is greatly marred by serious errors of fact and interpretation. Part of this is explained by a lack of sources. No Japanese works, nor war crime documents, not even standard works such as Feis, F. C. Jones, or Yanaga were consulted. Reliance is placed on the lesser memoirs of such men as Dirksen, Weizsaecker, and Kordt. Even this hardly condones such factual mistakes as statements that Manchuria was taken over on September 18 because of the assassination of Capt. Nakamura (p. 21), that Russia was responsible for Changkufeng and Nomonhan (pp. 49, 60), that all of Korea was occupied by Soviet troops (p. 93), or that tenantry has totally disappeared in Japan (p. 96). More serious is the problem of interpretation. Many will doubt that Japan's terms to China in 1937 were "moderate" or that it was to China's interest in 1938 to conclude peace (p. 48). Others will remain skeptical whether or not it was indeed American policy which resulted in the rise of Red China (p. 106). And there are yet some who find the past policies of Germany and Japan as much responsible for the present unhappy world as those of the Western powers.

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

AMERICAN LIFE IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY: A DESCRIPTIVE GUIDE. By Richard G. Lillard. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1956. Pp. 140. \$3.75.) In this volume Richard G. Lillard offers a guide for readers interested in American auto-

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

biographies. He suggests, and the idea has merit, that from a judiciously selected list of such works one can get an excellent view of what he calls "the American epic." He has therefore prepared not a comprehensive listing of all American autobiographies but a highly selected list of some 400 books written by people from all walks of life and representing all sorts of occupations. He has written a brief description of each book and classified them all under twenty-two headings ranging from actors to Indians to musicians, and on to religious leaders, scientists, teachers, and writers. This book is not to be compared either in scope or importance to the recently published bibliography of *British Autobiographies* compiled by William Matthews, with its listing of over 6,000 items. It is simply a summary of the reading of Mr. Lillard. The author has limited himself almost wholly to works published since 1900 on the ground that older books are not easily available to the general reader, and even within this restriction he has ignored hundreds of important titles. Still, this is a useful book. Mr. Lillard's comments on the autobiographies are too brief to be brilliant or provocative, but they are sensible and unprejudiced. For the intelligent layman interested in autobiography, his list provides a wide variety of good reading. For anyone interested in the history of, say, medicine or social work, his book offers a representative list of memoirs of persons prominent in such fields. Both students of autobiography and prospective autobiographers will profit from his useful and entertaining introductory essay on the form. This, then, is a book of minor importance, but within its limits it is competent and interesting.

JOHN A. GARRATY, *Michigan State University*

DUTCH IMMIGRANT MEMOIRS AND RELATED WRITINGS. Two volumes. Selected and arranged for publication by *Henry S. Lucas*, University of Washington. (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum and Company; distrib. by University of Washington Press, Seattle. 1955. Pp. 514; 479. \$15.00.) This collection of source material on Dutch immigration during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the first publication of its kind, is a companion volume to the editor's *Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (see *AHR*, July, 1956, pp. 985-87). For his text Professor Lucas has drawn heavily on the collection of the Netherlands Museum in Holland, Michigan, especially its unique newspaper files (which should be included in a microfilm project to make them accessible in their entirety). The documents have been reproduced in their original language, only slightly edited; in case of a Dutch original, an English translation is generally added (this rule being disregarded in a number of instances for unascertainable reasons). Although memoirs of settlers in Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and a number of other states have been included, most of the documents consist of reminiscences of the Michigan Dutch, who, more than any other group, have shown an interest in recording their experiences. The recollections are most elaborate on the period of settlement and are especially interesting for the pioneers' comments on their many tribulations, their reasons for immigration, their religious fervor, and their gradual adjustment to a new environment. Lucas' volumes, besides illuminating many of the problems faced by all nineteenth-century immigrants in the Middle West, constitute an essential text for all future research on Dutch immigration.

KOENRAAD W. SWART, *Agnes Scott College*

GOD AND CAESAR IN NEBRASKA: A STUDY OF THE LEGAL RELATIONSHIP OF CHURCH AND STATE, 1854-1954. By *Orville H. Zabel*. [University of Nebraska Studies, New Series No. 14.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 198. \$2.00.) This competent study explores the legal aspects of certain church-

state issues in one representative American commonwealth. Covering the first century of Nebraska, territory and state, it thus provides a useful view in microcosm of problems which Anson Phelps Stokes surveyed in three volumes in *Church and State in the United States* (1950). Zabel's work, an expanded doctoral dissertation, is based on exhaustive research into Nebraska constitutional, statutory, judicial, and legislative material, both manuscript and printed. He organizes his material clearly, beginning each topic with brief historical generalizations, next describing pertinent Nebraska data, and closing with a succinct summary. Forty per cent of the space deals with problems of religion in the schools. A final four pages indicate conclusions: that Nebraska has no "establishment" of religion, that "separation of church and state" has meant equal treatment for all religious groups but has not implied indifference, that problems of adjustment have risen more frequently than is usually realized, that (except in a few "pressure" situations) the state's agencies "have usually been found on the side of religious liberty." Zabel goes on to suggest legislation to relax strict laws against profanity and Sunday activity, perhaps on a local option basis. He also hints at re-establishing limits on the amount of property which may be held by religious societies. Finally, he casts a long look ahead, finding potential adjustment problems relative to tax-exempt property status, parochial schools and their support, and religious teaching in public schools. Zabel warns against too much state and federal control in these areas. In general, his orientation is that of a concerned liberal; he cites Justice Holmes's *Abrams* opinion as a key to "the best American tradition." Zabel's work is a meritorious reference volume. Its chief limitation inheres in its nature—it deals with legal relationships without close attention to the social, cultural, and economic milieu from which those relationships arise and in which they operate. Of the few errors, most are typographical. Occasional glints of humor lighten the pages. All told, the book is a creditable achievement.

THEODORE L. AGNEW, *Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*

ELI WHITNEY AND THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY. By *Constance McL. Green*. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. vii, 215. \$3.50.) This is another in that excellent series of short biographies called the Library of American Biography, and it is a worthy addition. While Mrs. Green has told well the story of the invention of the cotton gin, her emphasis is upon Whitney's discovery of the principles and techniques of mass production which he developed in the manufacture of muskets for the United States government. Because of her work with the Ordnance Department, she is thoroughly qualified to write in detail of the technical aspects of Whitney's inventions, detail which she capably subordinates to an interesting narrative of Whitney's life. The economic development of the United States was given powerful impetus by Whitney's two basic inventions. Cotton, languishing because the green seed variety could hardly be cleaned by hand, became king almost overnight—500,000 pounds exported in 1793, 6,000,000 in 1795, and three times that in 1800. Whitney and his crude little model, turned out in ten days, had fastened slavery and the cotton kingdom on the South. Yet he himself never really profited from his invention. His invention was so simple that once seen it could easily be duplicated, and the royalty allowed in his patent was so great (one fifth of all cotton ginned) that the machine was promptly pirated, and endless lawsuits were needed finally to establish his rights. More successful for himself personally and for the industrial development of the country as a whole was his plan for mass producing muskets. Here his work is far less known, and he has been given but little recognition for his part in inventing the basic tools of American industrial production—milling machines, boring machines, and the like—and for his successful demonstra-

tion that even complicated parts of a product could be made interchangeable. This he did in his contract with the government for the production of muskets, and the basic principles he established in that first plant are those in use today. It is thus an interesting fact that Whitney's two basic inventions led to the diverse and competing development of the North and South and thus indirectly to the Civil War itself—but this imputes too much to one man. Mrs. Green makes no such claims. She tells her story of this man and his work simply and well and renders a real service in her emphasis upon Whitney's manufacturing inventions.

PHILIP DAVIDSON, JR., *University of Louisville*

THE AGE OF FIGHTING SAIL: THE STORY OF THE NAVAL WAR OF 1812.

By C. S. Forester. [Mainstream of America Series, No. 6.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1956. Pp. 284. \$5.00.) Although the War of 1812 is still a controversial subject in some respects and Forester has written from the English point of view, he has displayed little bias in his accounts of the various battles. However, the shortcomings of American commanders are fully revealed, while those of the English commanders are extenuated. In fact, in the latter part of the book, "if" is used so many times in recounting what might have happened to the English under more fortunate circumstances that one is reminded of the poem of that title by his countryman Kipling. Forester tries vigorously to prove that the United States lost the war, because impressment was omitted in the treaty of peace, but the actual results should be borne in mind. As Forester himself writes, "The avowed purpose of the war was to put an end to interference with American trade and shipping" (p. 11). It is an historical fact that the war did put an end to such interference. Surely the headlong flight of the English from Washington after burning the public buildings, their failure to capture Baltimore, and their overwhelming defeat in the Battles of Lake Champlain and New Orleans by no means indicate a victorious end of the war for England. Though the book contains no citations of authorities and no bibliography, its scholarly nature is evident to the most critical reader. A very interesting and valuable feature is the detailed discussion of the general strategy of the war. However, the repeated comparisons with World War II illustrating British victories become somewhat tiresome to an American reader. The book has some of the characteristics of the historical essay, in spite of its wealth of detail. Though well done and interesting, it adds nothing of any consequence to what has already been written.

CHARLES LEE LEWIS, *U. S. Naval Academy*

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF PETER CARTWRIGHT. With an Introduction, Bibliography, and Index by Charles L. Wallis. (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press. 1956. Pp. 349. \$3.75.) The centennial of its publication in 1856 provides the occasion for a reissue of this classic autobiography of one of early America's best-known Methodist circuit riders. The editor, who is minister of the college church and professor of English at Keuka College, New York, has confined his contribution to a five-page introduction, in which he describes a few events in Cartwright's life that were omitted from the autobiography, a still more modest bibliography which lists only a few of the secondary works touching on Cartwright's career, and a thorough index. The publishers have cooperated by providing a serviceable format and type face that is far easier to read than that in the several editions previously published. A spot check of a number of passages in the first edition indicates that the transcription is accurate. The resulting volume will be of value to the few libraries that do not already possess a copy of one of the earlier editions and to scholars or general readers seeking a colorful, if not always accurate, picture of religious developments on the trans-Appalachian frontier. It

would have been far more useful, however, if the editor had extended his introduction to give a better-rounded picture of Cartwright's contribution to early American Christianity and if he had provided critical notes to explain and evaluate the events described so vividly by the pioneer minister.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, *Northwestern University*

THE MAN WHO ELECTED LINCOLN. By *Jay Monaghan*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1956. Pp. x, 334. \$4.50.) This biography is one of the most thoroughgoing and at the same time one of the most subtle pieces of special pleading that a responsible author and a respectable publisher ever combined to produce. To proclaim, as the title does, that Charles H. Ray, part-owner and editor-in-chief of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1855 to 1863, elected Lincoln President comes close to pure nonsense. If the nomination in 1860 is meant, then Ray was only one of several men who maneuvered it, with chief credit going to David Davis, on whom historians long ago conferred it. If the election is meant, one needs only to point out that Lincoln was elected because he carried eighteen states with 180 electoral votes to his combined opponents' fifteen states and 123 electoral votes. By the most generous estimate, the *Chicago Tribune* could not be credited with influencing the vote in any states other than Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana. Subtract their combined electoral votes—twenty-nine—and Lincoln would still have won by a safe margin. Perhaps the extravagant title should be charged to publisher rather than author, although an author can always veto a publisher's titulary aberrations. Mr. Monaghan's avowed thesis is modest enough—"that Charles Ray had more influence on the rise of Abraham Lincoln than is generally acknowledged"—yet an unwary reader could easily conclude that Ray was responsible not only for the Lincoln-Douglas debates but also for the famous and enormously significant "Freeport question," that without Ray and the *Tribune* Lincoln would not have been nominated, that in the period between Lincoln's election and inauguration Ray was his influential adviser, and that the *Tribune* stiffened the President's spine until he finally issued the Emancipation Proclamation. All this is advanced by implication rather than documentary proof. Perhaps the best commentary is offered by an anecdote which Monaghan relates. Lincoln, on his way to New York, stopped in Chicago and asked Ray and Joseph Medill to comment on the speech he intended to make at Cooper Union. Both men gave him copious notes. When the report of the speech came through, the two advisers saw that Lincoln had not altered a word of his original text. "Medill," Ray said, "old Abe must have lost out of the car window all our precious notes, for I don't find a trace of one of them in his published talk here." This, for all the real evidence Mr. Monaghan adduces, is about as much effect as Ray had on Lincoln's whole career. In this book someone has devised the most irritating and least efficient means yet discovered to avoid putting footnotes at the bottom of the page, where they belong.

PAUL M. ANGLE, *Chicago Historical Society*

ESCAPE FROM RECONSTRUCTION. By *W. C. Nunn*. (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, Texas Christian University. 1956. Pp. 140. \$2.50.) This is an inquiry into the efforts of former Confederates to establish plantations in Mexico, just after the Civil War, on lands offered for colonization by the Emperor Maximilian. Among the colonizers were former generals Sterling Price, John Bankhead Magruder, E. Kirby-Smith, and Joseph Shelby and the geographer, Matthew F. Maury. Confederate colonies such as Carlota, nine miles southeast of Córdoba, were established; but bandits, disease, insufficient capital, and dubious land titles plagued the settlers until

the downfall of Maximilian in 1867 ended all hopes of a "new Confederacy." An appendix provides a tentative list of Confederate immigrants to Mexico, 1865-1866.

HAL BRIDGES, *University of Colorado*

THE BARBER AND THE HISTORIAN: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE A. MYERS AND JAMES FORD RHODES, 1910-1923. Edited by *John A. Garraty*. (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 156. \$3.00.) Students of American historiography, midwestern politics, and the social and political history of the American Negro in the North will be enlightened and entertained by this correspondence between James Ford Rhodes and George A. Myers, prosperous Negro barber from Cleveland. The letters that flowed between "Dear George" and "Dear Mr. Rhodes" during the years 1910 to 1923 constitute an unusual source for an understanding of the mind and heart of the northern Negro and help to make more clear the continued loyalty of the Negro citizen to the party of the Great Emancipator. Whereas "the historian" is able to find much that is good in the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt and even Woodrow Wilson, "the barber" decries Roosevelt's attempt to keep the Progressive Party "lily-white" in the South and notes Wilson's failure to extend a "new freedom" to the Negro citizen, who asked only for his "manhood rights: equal opportunity to work, [and] equality before the law." Myers gently chides Rhodes for his failure to understand the role of the Negro in Reconstruction and adds a comment that might well apply more broadly: "You cannot understand this because you have never been discriminated against." Rhodes welcomes tariff reform in the Underwood Act; Myers upholds the principle of protectionism, as he does all the principles of the Grand Old Party (a party that Rhodes comes to refer to as the "g.o.p."). Of special interest are Myers' comments about Mark Hanna, whose election to the United States Senate Myers helped to secure by the bribery of a Negro legislator in the Ohio state legislature: "Mr. Hanna was a square and honest man, his word once given was never broken. . . . He was a remarkable man, a successful business man, who commercialized politics and believed in commercializing Government. . . . He believed in the Brotherhood of Man and lived it." Garraty's introductory remarks are written with grace and insight; his explanatory footnotes are brief and direct. Both he and the Ohio Historical Society are to be complimented for this delightful edition.

CLARKE A. CHAMBERS, *University of Minnesota*

EXPERIENCE UNDER RAILWAY LABOR LEGISLATION. By *Leonard A. Lecht*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 587.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. 254. \$4.25.) Presenting a valuable analysis of railway labor legislation, this book includes a review of the enactments of earlier years and explanation of the administrative rulings in World War I and the labor provisions of the 1920 Transportation Act. Separate chapters are devoted to full-crew and related laws, to measures for job protection in case of railway consolidations, and to the laws relating to railway employees' social security. Dr. Lecht's chief interest, however, is in collective bargaining. In the several chapters where this is the main theme we see the development of Congressional attitudes, from the acceptance of a measure of administrative compulsion in the early 1920's to emphasis on free collective bargaining and protection of the right to organize as set forth in the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and spelled out more explicitly in the amendments of 1934. Like numerous other commentators, Lecht believes that the emergency board provisions of the Act have tended to undermine genuine collective bargaining. Negotiations between the parties tend to become meaningless, he suggests, when both are aware that a strike vote is almost certain to lead

to the creation of a board, from whose findings each hopes to derive support for its own position. When disappointed in that hope, the unions have frequently, in recent years, rejected the board report and made preparations for a strike. Critics of emergency board procedure often overlook, however, the beneficial effects due to acceptance of awards in cases involving less than nationwide controversies. Moreover, Lecht seems to weaken his argument by his assertion that "emergency board awards, in point of fact, have determined the general features of most of the subsequent contracts." This book is to be commended for its careful attention to factual detail and its extensive documentation, which is enhanced by having footnotes on the same page as the statement to which they refer.

JOHN A. FITCH, *New York, New York*

THE MOFFAT PAPERS: SELECTIONS FROM THE DIPLOMATIC JOURNALS OF JAY PIERREPONT MOFFAT, 1919-1943. Edited by *Nancy Harvison Hooker*, foreword by *Sumner Welles*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 408. \$7.50.) A handsome, well-to-do career diplomat of the Groton-Harvard school, Jay Pierrepont Moffat served his country faithfully and intelligently from 1919 until his untimely death in 1943. The call of duty brought him to various foreign posts, including Warsaw, Sydney, and Ottawa, and to the headship of the Division of Western European Affairs during the fateful 1930's. Selected passages from his diaries throw a flood of light on the internal workings of the State Department and on the dramatic personae involved, including Hoover, Roosevelt, Stimson, and Hull. There is much old-fashioned gossip but also much penetrating observation, mostly at the second-drawer level. Perhaps the most revealing portions relate to the Brussels Conference of 1937, the Munich Crisis of 1938, the Polish-German crisis of 1939, the trip to Europe with Mr. Sumner Welles in 1940, and the Roosevelt-King Ogdensburg meeting of 1940. The editor has meticulously prepared brief introductions and multitudinous footnotes, drawn from both primary sources and secondary works. But several question marks hover over this absorbing material. Where 10,000 pages of diaries and memoranda are sifted down to fewer than 400 printed pages, one would like to know what criteria were set up for inclusion or exclusion. Was the editor seeking interesting material, significant material, material that caused Mr. Moffat to appear in a good light, or what? Three members of the Moffat family read the manuscript, and Sumner Welles, who appears as a participant on sixty pages, wrote the introduction. Were passages omitted that proved, or might have proved, objectionable to all these people or to the deceased? The original papers have been deposited with the Harvard Library, where scholars may ultimately answer these queries for themselves.

THOMAS A. BAILEY, *Stanford University*

A CATHOLIC RUNS FOR PRESIDENT: THE CAMPAIGN OF 1928. By *Edmund A. Moore*. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1956. Pp. xv, 220. \$3.50.) Edmund A. Moore has attempted to explain and evaluate the various factors that were responsible for the defeat of Alfred E. Smith in the presidential campaign of 1928. What these factors were has never occasioned serious argument among historians. Smith's religion, his big-city background and superficial lack of "culture," his relationship with the notorious Tammany machine, and his outspoken criticism of the Prohibition Amendment, along with the "prosperity" issue so thoroughly exploited by the Republicans, combined to break the solid South and elect Herbert Hoover by a comfortable majority. Moore describes these influences on the campaign admirably and attempts to weigh their individual impact on the situation; if the result is not conclusive the effort is both interesting and provocative. As the title makes clear, the weight of

Moore's argument is devoted to the religious question. After tracing briefly the history of anti-Catholicism in America, he discusses the way religion was used against Smith. He handles the very difficult problem of assessing the whispering campaign with shrewdness and insight, making excellent use of the comments of minor politicians and ordinary citizens found in the papers of such Democratic leaders as Josephus Daniels, Thomas J. Walsh, and Carter Glass. He concludes that "anti-Catholicism was indeed the silent issue . . . very much more significant than the somewhat meager news or editorial space assigned to it would indicate" (p. 41). But Moore is too careful and objective a scholar to propose any monolithic explanation of the 1928 campaign. He makes clear that the religious issue was deeply intermeshed with the liquor question and that both were related to rural suspicion of the city. And he admits that Smith's personality, background, and philosophy were probably not decisive; "prosperity was the key issue" (p. 195). He has not, therefore, come up with any new or startling interpretation of the campaign. He has, rather, written a solid, interesting, and fair-minded description of a complex and emotionally charged situation.

JOHN A. GARRATY, *Michigan State University*

THE TRANSPORTATION CORPS: MOVEMENTS, TRAINING, AND SUPPLY.

By *Chester Wardlow*. [United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington: Department of the Army, 1956. Pp. xvii, 564. \$4.25.) On June 28, 1950, just after the outbreak of the Korean War, the functions of the Transportation Corps were clearly set forth for the first time by Act of Congress, and the Corps was finally given a solid statutory basis. Thus the problems of World War II, which are so well analyzed in this volume, were belatedly recognized, and the instrument for their solution was officially established. That this should have been done twenty years ago is the main burden of Wardlow's thesis. This volume deals with the tasks involved in moving freight and personnel within the United States and out to the theaters of operations and with the training and equipping of men necessary to accomplish the missions of the Transportation Corps overseas. Two types of problems, both accentuated by the late creation of the Corps, were encountered in performing these missions. One concerned the development of methods and techniques of performance, particularly in the field of traffic control. These are treated in detail and with a high degree of competence. The other involved the coordination of a vast number of agencies, public and private, civil and military, in order to ensure an adequate flow of men and matériel to the fighting fronts. Although presented here primarily from the records of the Chief of Transportation, and with the functions of his office always in mind, Wardlow pays attention to the conflict of interests with private carriers and to the overlapping functions of other branches of the military establishment. The very fact that strong differences of opinion did exist was the main reason why the Chief of Transportation fought so consistently for jurisdiction over all matters affecting transportation. He believed that without centralized control he could not fulfill his role, which was essentially one of planning, coordination, and supervision. With this conclusion Congress and Mr. Wardlow have agreed.

GORDON B. TURNER, *Princeton University*

THE ATLANTIC BATTLE WON, MAY, 1943—MAY, 1945. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*.

[History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume X.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956. Pp. xxxii, 399. \$6.00.) The tenth volume of this monumental work carries the account of operations against enemy submarines from 1943, when adequate means to deal with that menace first became available, to the German surrender two years later. It deals with little else, for the only major surface

action of the period was the sinking of the *Scharnhorst* in Arctic waters, while the North African and Sicilian amphibious operations have already been described in Volumes II and IX. The account of the invasion of France will be separately related in the next volume. Until the closing months of 1942, German submarines were continuing to reduce the available total of Allied tonnage by sinking British and American merchant ships faster than the shipyards could launch new ones. From 1943 onward the situation steadily improved, partly because of greatly expanded new construction but even more from the numbers of German submarines that began to be sunk once adequate forces—particularly the new escort carriers—were available for the escort of convoys. This antisubmarine warfare in the Atlantic—described by the author as “perhaps the most absorbing and interesting aspect of naval warfare in World War II”—was, as he well points out, “unremitting, subject to constant ups and downs, and fought on three levels—on the surface of the ocean, under the sea, and in the air; a war fought by scientists, inventors, naval constructors and ordnance experts, as well as by sailors and aviators.” It is also the most difficult type of warfare to study, even with enemy records available, and to describe because of its inexorable repetitiveness. The movement of convoys, the endless battles between submarines, surface ships, and planes, the technical developments, the training and the administrative organization that made those battles successful were little known outside the services during the war. To take this mass of complicated and confused data, which only now and then contains dramatic incidents, and turn it into a lucid narrative of absorbing interest is a feat that required all of Rear Admiral Morison’s unsurpassed literary skill. The character of his history of naval operations is, after the publication of ten volumes in the past nine years, too well known to require comment. In regard to the present volume one can only express gratitude and admiration for his brilliant handling of fascinating but singularly cussed and intractable material.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, *Boston Athenaeum*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE LIVINGSTON INDIAN RECORDS, 1666-1723. Edited by *Lawrence H. Leder*. (Gettysburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1956. Pp. 240. \$5.00.) The discovery and publication by Lawrence H. Leder of the Livingston Indian Records (1666-1723), from papers which are on deposit in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, fills a gap in colonial history which has existed for 176 years, since the first two volumes of the New York Indian Records vanished during their transfer to Canada at the time of the Revolution. Robert Livingston (1654-1728), who was Secretary for Indian Affairs to the Albany Commissioners, evidently kept personal memoranda which were later transcribed as minutes; and so, at last, the record is printed for scholars everywhere. The discovery of this material enables scholars to treat Iroquois history adequately for the period previously covered only by Peter Wraxall's abridgement of the New York Indian Records (Charles H. Mllwain, ed., *An abridgement of the Indian affairs . . . from the year 1678 to the year 1751* [Cambridge, 1915]) and Cadwallader Colden's famous *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*. The former was propaganda for Colonel William Johnson's appointment as Indian Superintendent; the latter was a document for the fur trade. The three works can now be read together. Leder's volume, though scarcely "Pennsylvania History," contains an excellent brief outline of Iroquois history by Paul A. W. Wallace; and the Indian records which follow, though difficult enough reading, include as footnotes a pictorial history of the Five Nations by Ray Fadden. This bargain package, then, contains material of three different sorts: excellent documentary history, magnificent writing, and nativism. The critical historian should know that the pictorial record is a modern creation employing native symbols, projecting traditional history backward to the founding of the Iroquois League. Nor is it entirely faithful to the ethnological sources—texts in the native languages. Historians will welcome specific information contained in the Indian records on particular events. For the ethnologist these events contain early horizons for Indian customs, such as the condoling council, which survive to modern times. There are also Indian place names, personal names, and offices associated with the beginnings of the League. The holders of these offices were having trouble even then controlling the warriors and the satellite powers that had come under their sovereignty. Two contemporary maps, locating Indian villages of the period on the Mohawk and Susquehanna Rivers, increase our knowledge of political geography and provide useful hints to contemporary archaeologists.

W. N. FENTON, *New York State Museum*

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS FROM 16 MARCH 1763 TO 9 JULY 1776 OF WILLIAM SMITH, HISTORIAN OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK, MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR'S COUNCIL, AND LAST CHIEF JUSTICE OF THAT PROVINCE UNDER THE CROWN, CHIEF JUSTICE OF QUEBEC. By *William Smith*. Edited, with an introduction, biography, and notes by *William H. W. Sabine*. From the previously unpublished manuscript in the New York Public Library. (New York: Colburn and Tegg, 1956. Pp. xvi, 300. \$10.00.) Smith's well-known history of New York covers the colony's development from its origin to 1762. The contemporary notes upon which he based his history were continued to 1783 but were never published. The present work makes available the portion of these "Historical Memoirs" embracing the crucial years from the conclusion of the French and Indian War to the Revolution, comprising roughly about one sixth of the entire manuscript. Although the bulk of the narrative is concerned with New York politics and is enlivened by

Smith's trenchant and acrid pen portraits of men like Cadwallader Colden and the De Lanceys, there are perceptive observations on the larger course of British-American relations. The format of this edition is not entirely satisfactory. The text is mimeographed, hand-corrected in places, and not always clear. Editorial notes are brief and uneven. Important individuals are not identified, nor is background provided to illumine Smith's detailed comments on broad issues like the Forsey Case, the elections of 1768 and 1769, and the New Hampshire land grants. Despite its limitations, this work will prove useful to all students of colonial history, not least of all as a reminder of the need for a fuller, printed version of the entire Smith "Memoirs."

MILTON M. KLEIN, *New York, New York*

ILL FEELING IN THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING: WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA POLITICAL BATTLES, 1815-1825. By *James A. Kehl*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 271. \$4.00.) After the War of 1812, the business of government fell more and more into the hands of a self-perpetuating political elite, armed with such devices as the congressional caucus. Thus Dr. Kehl's western Pennsylvania was triply separated from the outer world: by geography, which cut it off from the east; by state lines, which arbitrarily divided it from the west; and by contemporary history, which denied it access to the federal and state governments. After describing the confusions of the "social milieu" in the first part of this book, Kehl shows his western Pennsylvanians as men in search of a political identity. His theme would appear to be that no economic problem could be voiced and no dynamic interplay of social groups could take place until the region had been organized politically. The second part of his book is an account of the various attempts at such an organization, attempts which were constantly thwarted by the clash of local interests and by the fact that every politician at the time was obliged to call himself a Republican. The "ill feeling" in this part is rarely more than the stridency of political debate conducted on a rather low level. In the third part, Kehl shows how an emerging farmer-manufacturer alliance, dedicated to high protective tariffs, gave its support to Jackson in the election of 1824. The author utters his *caveat* against arranging Jacksonian conflicts in terms of such simple dualisms as capitalist-agrarian or debtor-creditor and proves, once again, how necessary it is for this whole period to be reconsidered from a local and regional point of view instead of from a federal and sectional one. Redundancy in the second part is the chief blemish in an otherwise valuable and suggestive study.

GEORGE DANGERFIELD, *New York, New York*

JONATHAN TRUMBULL: CONNECTICUT'S MERCHANT MAGISTRATE (1710-1785). By *Glenn Weaver*. (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society. 1956. Pp. viii, 182.) Jonathan Trumbull, Connecticut's war governor and, to our French allies, the ideal "magistrate of a small republic," has been the subject of two biographies and a recent detailed biographical sketch, which have set the background for this excellent study of Trumbull as a businessman. Fortunately a mass of his papers has survived, making possible an absorbing description of the economic development of a small colonial community as mirrored in the activities of its leading citizen. Its interest is more than local, however, for here is the picture of the downward path of colonial economic ineptitude so familiar to the planters of the South. Dr. Weaver's knowledge of the background of this monograph is thorough; his skill in handling the minutiae of prices and trade and in making interesting reading of his conclusions is unusual. The frank way in which he deals with the ethical problems connected with Trumbull's bankruptcy is all the more commendable because the truly beautiful format of the volume makes it very unlikely that it could have been printed without a sub-

stantial subsidy from the descendants of the Governor. Whether one's interest is local history, economics, or the general pattern of revolution, this is an important book. To one familiar with Connecticut history, it is disappointing that Weaver hewed to the line which he drew for himself and left unsolved the problems of Trumbull's political career. One strongly suspects that an early generation removed much political material from the family manuscripts, but it is greatly to be desired that Dr. Weaver give us at least an article on Trumbull as a politician.

CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON, *American Antiquarian Society*

EDWARD EVERETT HALE: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Jean Holloway*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 275. \$4.95.) Edward Everett Hale is known to most persons only as the author of that melodramatic, super-patriotic tale, *The Man Without a Country*. Yet this seems to have been but the most successful literary effort of a New England clergyman who dabbled in journalism, fiction, and history and played a part in reform movements that ranged from anti-slavery to world organization for peace. He belonged to a gifted family; on one side were the Everetts and Hales, on the other, the Beechers. He graduated from Harvard and then, after much hesitation, entered the Unitarian ministry. He served congregations, first in Worcester, Massachusetts, and then in Boston. He was popular with his parishioners and at all times active in social reform. He was never content, however, just to preach—he had the urge to write. This urge led to a rather steady stream of articles and stories published in the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the *Christian Examiner*. It also made him eager to edit a magazine of his own, but in this line, his only success, and ultimate failure, was the *Old and New*. In the field of history, he wrote a few popular sketches and contributed three articles to Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*. None of his historical work has value for present-day scholars. Jean Holloway has made the most of a man who enjoyed great popularity in his own day but who scattered his considerable talents over too many fields to make permanent contributions. She speaks of his "helter-skelter efforts and his complete lack of literary orientation." Even in the field of reform, he was only "a general practitioner," never a "surgical specialist." He was by nature "a journalist and a popularizer, a liaison officer between the world of ideas and the world of action—a preacher."

AVERY CRAVEN, *University of Chicago*

BANNERS IN THE WILDERNESS: EARLY YEARS OF WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON COLLEGE. By *Helen Turnbull Waite Coleman*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 285. \$4.00.) The spread of the liberal arts college from the Atlantic seaboard to the settlements on the trans-Appalachian frontier and the resultant flowering there of the classical and scientific disciplines, an important chapter in the early history of higher education in the United States, is the subject of this volume. Specifically, it relates the story of two educational institutions that arose at the beginning of the past century in the southwest corner of Pennsylvania, their development and eventual fusion almost seventy years later in what has since been known as Washington and Jefferson College. The book describes the environment of Washington County at the close of the American Revolution, its log school and first academy, and the intellectual leadership which the crude but growing community found in the little band of Princeton graduates who came there to preach and teach. Out of the educational ferment generated by these men emerged two full-fledged liberal arts schools: Jefferson College at Canonsburg and Washington College (the younger of the two) at the neighboring county seat. While both institutions owed their origins to the powerful influence of Presbyterianism in this region and

always maintained close ties with the Presbyterian church and ministry, they demonstrated remarkable freedom from ecclesiastical dictation. For two generations each contributed an impressive number of graduates to the various professions, particularly law and theology. When, in 1865, the long-standing rivalry between the two colleges was terminated by the decision of the trustees in favor of unification, each could claim its fair share of illustrious names in church and state from the ranks of its alumni. The book is solidly documented, readable, and handsomely illustrated.

BRUCE T. McCULLY, *College of William and Mary*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

JOHN FILSON OF KENTUCKE. By *John Walton*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 130. \$4.00.) Short and simple were the annals of John Filson, first chronicler of Kentucky, and few were the literary remains except his *Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*. Appropriately enough, his biography, compiled from the fragments, is short. About 1783, Filson, a thirty-year old schoolteacher, came to Kentucky from Pennsylvania. A year later he published his book, and less than four years later he disappeared—presumably killed by Indians—while surveying for Losantiville, a city he helped to found. "A man does not have to be great to be important," says the author. Filson's importance does not stem from his greatness. His book stimulated the settlement of the West; his map, which accompanied the book (and which is here reproduced in a cover pocket), facilitated the settlement. Moreover, he told the story of Daniel Boone and fixed the pattern of the oft-told legend of the pioneer hero. Walton, a collateral descendant of Filson, has written a careful, critical, balanced account of Kentucky's first historian.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

AS THEY SAW FORREST: SOME RECOLLECTIONS AND COMMENTS OF CONTEMPORARIES. Edited by *Robert Selph Henry*. [Monographs, Sources and Reprints in Southern History, No. 3.] (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 306. \$5.00.)

JOHNNY GREEN OF THE ORPHAN BRIGADE: THE JOURNAL OF A CONFEDERATE SOLDIER. Edited by *A. D. Kirwan*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1956. Pp. xxviii, 217. \$3.50.) Two thirds of *As They Saw Forrest*, a volume of reprints, is devoted to an appraisal of Forrest by General Viscount Wolseley and to recollections of service under Forrest written after 1900 by William Wither- spoon and John Milton Hubbard, both veterans of the Seventh Tennessee Cavalry. The book is completed by excerpts from six additional soldier narratives (generally reminiscent and sometimes not firsthand), a few short miscellaneous pieces, and a folding map of Forrest's military campaigns by Monroe F. Cockrell. The items reprinted are not, with a few exceptions, rare in their original forms, and several of the present versions suffer from minor, but numerous, textual inaccuracies. What is more important, the materials are so modest in value from a scholarly point of view that

they are cited in hardly more than fifty of the sixteen hundred notes in Colonel Henry's own excellent biography of Forrest (1944). For casual reading, *As They Saw Forrest* is not without attractive and entertaining features. *Johnny Green of the Orphan Brigade* has the merit of being a fresh document edited carefully and fully, at times even redundantly, by Professor Kirwan. Especially commendable is the inclusion of battle diagrams (Shiloh, Stone's River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, Chattanooga to Atlanta, the Atlanta campaign) and a handsome area map (travels of the Orphan Brigade). The Orphan, or First Kentucky, Brigade is, as it happens, the subject of one of the earliest and largest of Confederate outfit histories (by E. P. Thompson, 1868, 931 pp.; 1898 ed., 1104 pp.), a book that anticipates much of what Green has to tell. His account is further handicapped by its mixed character. Prepared about 1890, apparently, and written "from notes and from memory" with bits of second-hand information added, his text is not a journal in the usual sense. Fortunately, the greater part does seem to come fairly straight from a wartime journal or notes; unfortunately, the reminiscent and secondhand elements are well enough blended so that both the exact basis and the evidential value of any given statement are likely to be in doubt. As far as narrative is concerned, Green's recasting has achieved unusual coherence while retaining an on-the-spot ring. These qualities, plus his quick style, his eye for an episode, his engaging personality, and the heroic combat record of his brigade, make his story a pleasure to read.

BARNES F. LATHROP, *University of Texas*

FORT GRIFFIN ON THE TEXAS FRONTIER. By *Carl Coke Rister*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956. Pp. xv, 216. \$3.50.) *Fort Griffin* is the second book to appear posthumously from the pen of Professor Rister, long recognized as an authority on the Comanche country. Reading this book in conjunction with J. Evetts Haley's *Fort Concho* (1952), the student of the Southwestern frontier between 1850 and 1880 will find concise information to re-emphasize the major thesis of Rupert Richardson's earlier work on the Comanches as a "barrier" to white settlement. Nearly thirty years ago, Rister published *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881*. Since then, in almost a dozen books, he has filled in and highlighted the details of his broad canvas. The predecessors of Fort Griffin—Camp Cooper (1856-61) and Fort Davis (1861-67)—receive a chapter each in this volume. Fort Griffin, 100 miles west of Fort Worth, Texas, named for Reconstruction General Charles Griffin, was not abandoned until 1881. The Indians had ceased their raids, and the Texas and Pacific railroad had by-passed the site. The significance of this particular outpost in the long chain from Fort Sill to San Antonio has not been exaggerated. The Comanches drove many settlers back into Fort Worth during the Civil War. While recreating the everyday life at the fort, Rister's vision encompassed the meaning for the upper Brazos region of decisions made in Washington, Santa Fe, or Dodge City. He explained how Kansans followed the buffalo southward and helped to make Fort Griffin a hide market. As the herds dwindled, the Indian raids increased in the middle seventies. There were war parties off the High Plains until 1875 by Indians who had traded for guns and lead with New Mexico *Comancheros*. Sometimes restless braves slipped off the Indian Territory reservations and raided south of Red River. The author has sifted the essentials of cattle drives, railroad construction, Quaker Indian policies, and the new hunting techniques, and these have been analyzed for their relationship to the final collapse of the Comanche barrier. There is evidence of careful use of the military and medical records in the National Archives and of the frequently overlooked treasures in the several publications of the southwestern historical associations. Professional use of the manuscript "Medical History of the Post, Fort Griffin, Texas,

1867-81," helps make this volume a distinct contribution to the portrayal of life on the Texas frontier.

ROBERT C. COTNER, *University of Texas*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

RUFUS B. SAGE: HIS LETTERS AND PAPERS, 1836-1847, WITH AN ANNOTATED REPRINT OF HIS "SCENES IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND IN OREGON, CALIFORNIA, NEW MEXICO, TEXAS, AND THE GRAND PRAIRIES." In two volumes. Introduction, Biographical Sketch, and Notes by LeRoy R. Hafen, Professor of History, Brigham Young University, and Ann W. Hafen. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1956. Pp. 353, 361. \$19.00 the set.) Rufus Sage's narrative of his two extensive journeys to the Rockies (1841-1844) was written in 1845 and first published in 1846; it was reprinted several times from the original plates—the last, in 1860. The Hafen edition represents a new printing and contains an extensive introduction and appropriate annotations by the editors. There is also embodied much textual matter not heretofore published, in the shape of correspondence of members of the Sage family, business letters pertaining to the publication of the original edition, contemporary reviews of the first printing, and a brief autobiography. This fresh material was obtained from the Coe Collection in the Yale University Library. Sage was a Connecticut man. He resided in Ohio from 1836 to 1841 and set out in the latter year for the Great West to gather materials for a book. In addition to recording his observations on the nature of a new and strange milieu, his first expedition turned, fortuitously, to a fur trading venture which ended without profit. His second trip lasted two years, during which he reported on the terrain and Indian inhabitants of parts of the present states of Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, New Mexico, and Utah. At the conclusion of this second odyssey he returned to Ohio, and subsequently to Connecticut in 1845, where he remained for the duration of his life.

Sage's published account of his travels was by no means a unique enterprise. Several works of this genre had already appeared, typical of which were Irving's *Astoria* (1836), Farnham's *Travels* (1841), and Fremont's official *Report* (1845). Sage's narrative, however, covered some areas about which little had hitherto been reported, and his work therefore represented a distinct contribution to knowledge in his day; its usefulness more than a century later is also plain. Among the items of interest are his depiction of the flora and fauna of plains and mountains, observations on comparative soil fertility, and characterizations of the nuances of the different Indian tribes encountered—their mutual relations and their varying attitudes toward the United States. One query arises in my mind. What became of Sage's notes? He states in a letter to his mother (p. 91) that "I have collected the materials for a work upon that country, which, when time permits, I shall write out." Dr. Hafen makes no mention of these notes; they must have disappeared or else some editorial allusion to them would surely have been made.

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DAVID S. TERRY OF CALIFORNIA: DUELING JUDGE. By *A. Russell Buchanan*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1956. Pp. ix, 238. \$5.00.) Terry, a Kentuckian of Virginia-Carolina descent, grew to manhood and became a lawyer on the troubled Texan frontier of the 1830's and 1840's. Joining the 1849 trek to California, he practiced law successfully on this rugged frontier and in 1855 was elected to the California supreme court, on the Know-Nothing ticket. He resigned in 1859 after killing Senator Broderick in a duel. Acquitted of murder, he went to Nevada's mining frontier but soon returned to Texas and became a Confederate colonel. After failing to found a colony in Mexico for Southern émigrés, he tried Nevada frontier law again. When he returned to Stockton in 1870, his life, as if reflecting the passage of frontier turbulence, settled into the quiet pursuits of the law. He participated effectively in California's second constitutional convention in 1878. Like a flash back to his beginnings, however, his death in 1889 was violent. A man of stormy temper, a strong sense of chivalric honor, courage, and skill with the Bowie knife, Terry often left his causes and himself in clouds of misunderstanding. This well-written volume brings to the Terry story a thoughtful, considered balance, based upon diligent assembly and careful use of the materials. The book's significance is broader than Terry's life. The author makes clear that Governor Johnson and his followers (including Terry), in opposing the second (1856) Vigilance Committee, sought not to aid and abet the criminal elements but rather to enforce the law through constituted agencies instead of illegal, even if disciplined, mob action. The tortuous negotiations to get national arms for state militia use are well handled, although the reader may still wish that clearer focus had been given whatever efforts Johnson, Sherman, Howard, and Terry made to invoke the national constitution's fourth article—and thus to throw the Army itself into action.

ROBERT P. FOGERTY, *College of St. Thomas*

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Latin American History

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GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. Number 16, 1950. Prepared by the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress. Edited by *Francisco Aguilera* and *Elsie Brown*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 332. \$7.50.) This volume of the standard guide covers 1950 publications—books, articles, documents, and special items—in twenty fields of the social sciences, humanities, and public administration. It is the best-balanced *Handbook* so far, thanks to the work of the editors and the forty-nine others who contribute or advise. After fifteen years, this annual survey covers more territory, prints shorter critical notes, and is more selective. A new section on sociology and a subject index are worthy additions to this volume, and, as usual, the editors note the appearance of new periodicals and discuss other significant developments. Greatest emphasis is still on history, language and literature, economics, and anthropology and archaeology. History is still the strongest, with about 800 items among 3400. All sections of the book mention titles valuable to historians. The six editors of the history section, with their cumulative experience and favorable division of labor, make very competent notes and comments. Meanwhile, some other sections of the volume still need more editors, to assure the breadth of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

coverage formerly attained, for example, in government and in labor and social welfare.

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CAMAGÜEY (BIOGRAFÍA DE UNA PROVINCIA). By *Mary Cruz de del Pino*. (Havana: Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1955. Pp. vi, 257.)

LAS VILLAS (BIOGRAFÍA DE UNA PROVINCIA). By *Rafael Rodríguez Altunaga*. (Havana: Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1955. Pp. 355.) These attractively printed books deal with the history of two important Cuban provinces from pre-colonial times to the present day. They naturally emphasize matters that are primarily of interest to the people of each locality: the founding and growth of towns, the development of educational and charitable institutions, and the careers of notable personages. Each devotes much attention to the participation of the inhabitants in Cuba's wars for independence but very little to political events since 1898. They do not attempt to deal in detail with some matters that would be of interest to foreign students of Latin American history, such as the evolution of local political institutions and the changes in the relationship between the various classes of society. Rodríguez Altunaga's book, however, has an extensive bibliography which should be useful to some students.

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COLONIAL PERIOD

THE MILLENNIAL KINGDOM OF THE FRANCISCANS IN THE NEW WORLD: A STUDY OF THE WRITINGS OF GERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA (1525-1604). By *John Leddy Phelan*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956. Pp. 159. \$3.00.) In the evangelization of the New World in the sixteenth century, the Spanish mendicant friars played the most important, and at first almost the exclusive, role. Filled with an apostolic zeal, the early missionaries undertook the gigantic task of converting in a generation or two all the Indians within the bounds of Spanish conquest. That they should have failed of their high resolve is best understood from the perspective of our own day. Apart from the immensity of the enterprise, jealousy of the secular clergy, economic exploitation of the Indians by laymen, disastrous epidemics, and the near destruction of native cultures account for much of the frustration and the disillusion that followed. This essay is an interesting contribution to the history of ideas: a study of the mystical concepts of an important Franciscan missionary and historian who lived in New Spain during the years from 1554 to his death in 1604. Mendieta belonged to the Spiritual or Observant wing of the Franciscan Order. Like many other mendicants of his time he believed that the Age of Discovery and the occupation of the New World, with the opportunity afforded to bring the Gospel to all peoples of the earth, foreshadowed the rapid approach of the end of the world and the coming of the millennial kingdom. Anticipating the eighteenth-century concept of the "noble savage," he conceived of the Indians as possessed of a primordial innocence, whose characteristics "were meekness, gentleness, simplicity of heart, humility, obedience, patience, and contentment with poverty. In a word the natives instinctively practiced those virtues which Christ . . . said belonged to all those children who would inherit the Kingdom of God." They should therefore be completely segregated from contact with other races, in an Indian commonwealth under the quasi-political and paternal supervision of the friars—a rebirth and continuation of the primitive Apostolic Church. This apocalyptic and messianic vision was not shared by all the friars. Especially after the middle of the century, internal dissensions and pressures from the crown and the episcopacy led to a decline of morale. Many of the friars were exploiting the natives for worldly advantage. Mendieta's writings were an eloquent appeal to the friars to return to the ascetic ideals of apostolic poverty. Dr. Phelan's inquiry is a learned and ingenious study, meticulously documented. For the incautious reader, he might have said something about the degree of actual Christianization of the Indians. There are a few questionable statements of historical fact, but they are of very minor consequence and do not detract from the uniformly high quality of the work.

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NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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SOUTH AMERICA

ARGENTINE UPHEAVAL: PERÓN'S FALL AND THE NEW REGIME. By *Arthur P. Whitaker*. [University of Pennsylvania, Foreign Policy Research Institute Series, No. 1.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956. Pp. x, 179. \$3.50.) This timely volume is another example of the value of historical background in the analysis and interpretation of current events. Part I analyzes the causes and consequences of the Argentine revolution of September, 1955, the events of the three-month interval between the abortive revolt of June 16 and the successful uprising led by General Eduardo Lonardi, September 16-19, together with the principal developments of the latter's provisional government, including his displacement by General Pedro Eugenio Aramburu in November. The examination, in Part II, of the relationship of the various Argentine power groups and parties to these changes is the most informative and useful part of the volume. With remarkable freedom from the clichés which have so often obscured the significance of the Perón regime, the author explains the problems which labor, army, and church groups present today to the political parties, particularly the Radical party, in the effort to restore the normal course of Argentine politics. Since the *Peronistas* probably constitute a numerical majority, Whitaker writes, it is not surprising to note that "to catch Peronista votes the majority Radicals seem to be draping themselves in the Peronista mantle with an appropriate change of labels" (p. 78). How Perón mistakenly permitted the church issue to become a rallying point for all his enemies is set forth clearly (pp. 72-76), as is the character of the two new parties which have sprung up within the Christian Democratic movement. Yet, somehow, in making the easy assumption that the relationship of the Church to national political life will simply revert to that of the pre-Perón era (p. 76), the analysis seems to miss the significance of the growing social consciousness represented in the Catholic lay movement. The political effects of Perón's shift from left to center in 1952 is well analyzed in relation to the army (p. 67) and labor (p. 69) groups which constituted his main support. What is not studied, surprisingly, are the effects of his re-election and the change in the constitution to permit it, in light of the strong Argentine tradition against continuation in the presidency. The discussion of foreign policy questions in Part III brings up to date the author's earlier *The United States and Argentina* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955) but adds little to the previous work, except to show how Perón's enemies used his rapprochement with the United States to help overthrow him and to document the unwillingness of the provisional governments to undertake any basic change in Argentine policy.

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American Historical Association

Association headquarters are now at 400 A Street, Southeast, Washington 3, D. C. (telephone LIncoln 4-2940), a block behind the Library of Congress Annex. Members of the Association are invited to call and to make the headquarters office what it is designed to be—a service center for American historians in every historical field of study. It is the function and desire of the Association staff to be of assistance in any serious historical undertaking in which members may wish such help. American Historical Association headquarters will maintain an “historians in Washington” book, so that visiting historians may find each other. A personal call at headquarters will not only afford pleasure to the staff, it may also help to “promote the study of American history and history in America.”

The American Historical Association has received a grant of up to \$75,000 to prepare a new *Guide to Historical Literature*. The Committee in charge (George F. Howe, chairman) has made plans for the completion of the project before the end of 1958.

Competition is open for the following prizes, to be offered by the American Historical Association at the 1957 and 1958 annual meetings: *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize* (\$200) for a monograph, in manuscript or in print, in the field of European history. Work must be submitted by June 1, 1958. *George Louis Beer Prize* (about \$200), for the best work, in print or manuscript, on European international history since 1895. Work must be submitted by June 1, 1957. *Albert J. Beveridge Award* (\$1,000 plus royalty of five per cent after cost of publication; publication for honorable mention), for the best complete original manuscript (50,000-125,000 words) in English on American history (United States, Canada, and Latin America). The manuscript must be the author's first or second work and must be submitted, in legible ribbon copy, before May 1, 1957. *John H. Dunning Prize* (about \$140), for a monograph, in print or manuscript, on any subject relating to American history. Work must be submitted by June 1, 1958. *Watumull Prize* (\$500), for the best work on the history of India originally published in the United States. Three copies of the work must be submitted by September 15, 1958.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received a substantial addition to the papers of George W. Norris (1861-1944) as a gift from Mr. and Mrs. John P. Robertson, his son-in-law and daughter. It numbers approximately 20,000 pieces which date

from about 1885, when Norris began the practice of law in Nebraska, to 1913, when he had served ten years in the House of Representatives and was entering upon a long service as Senator from Nebraska. The new material, composed largely of correspondence related to these phases of Norris' career, is of special significance, since it goes far toward documenting the period for which there was almost no material in the valuable collection of Norris papers received from the Senator himself some years ago. The group has been organized and may be consulted by permission of the Chief of the Manuscripts Division.

About 12,000 papers of the late Wendell Berge, official of the Department of Justice from 1930 to 1947, have been given to the Library by Mrs. Berge. They include a large amount of correspondence, as well as diary material, notebooks, and scrapbooks—mainly for the period of Mr. Berge's career in the federal service. He was called to Washington during the Hoover administration by John Lord O'Brian, then Chief of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. He served the Department in various important capacities in the depression, during the operation of the New Deal, and through World War II, and his papers are important for a study of those years, in which the structure and practices of the business community were objects of new regulation and control by the Government.

The Library has received by transfer from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare approximately 1,200 papers of the Cuban Educational Association of America, an organization which was formed in 1898 under the leadership of General Joseph Wheeler and Gilbert K. Harroun, Treasurer of Union College, to advance "the educational interests of young men from Cuba and Puerto Rico whose families and fortunes were prostrated by the Spanish-American War," and which functioned with great success for somewhat more than three years. The papers reflect the accomplishments of the Association, which, in cooperation with a large number of schools, colleges, and universities in this country, had been able, by 1900, to place 1,500 Cuban and Puerto Rican students in American schools.

Earlier material received by the Library includes a small group of documents concerning attempts by British sugar planters and merchants in the West Indies to secure a revision of the Molasses Act, 1750-51; a personal memorandum book kept by Isaac Shelby as Governor of Kentucky, 1792-94, as an addition to the Shelby family papers; and, as an addition to the Andrew Stevenson papers, some 300 letters and invitations he received in 1837, while serving as United States Minister in London.

Professor Paul A. French of the Harvard Law School has been named editor-in-chief of a history of the Supreme Court (of perhaps ten to twelve volumes) by the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise. The publication of this history was provided for in Public Law 246, 84th Congress (August 5, 1955), which established the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise Fund and the

permanent committee to administer it. The fund, the capital value of which is now over \$400,000, may also be used to publish a memorial volume of Justice Holmes's writings and to provide for a series of annual lectures.

The Agricultural History Society announces that Professor D. Anderson Brown of the University of Illinois is the new editor of *Agricultural History*.

The Woodrow Wilson Centennial Celebration Commission requests that it be informed of all Wilson material published in 1956 and also of the year's addresses and papers bearing on Wilson that are not printed or otherwise reproduced (copies of these materials will be appreciated). The material will be used to prepare a guide to the Wilson literature and to create a Woodrow Wilson Centennial Collection of the more significant portions of that literature. The Commission also seeks detailed information concerning all programs and activities relating to the Woodrow Wilson Centennial. Communications should be sent to: The Woodrow Wilson Centennial Celebration Commission, Interior Building, Washington 25, D. C.

The Lost Cause Press of Louisville, Kentucky, proposes to publish, in micro-card form, books in the public domain, readily obtainable for microcarding, from the bibliography of *Travels in the Confederate States*, compiled by E. M. Coulter. There will be three groups of approximately 115 volumes each. Inquiries about this project should be addressed to the Lost Cause Press, 2116 Confederate Place, Louisville 8.

The Max Planck-Gesellschaft, successor to the former Kaiser Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, has restored the Kaiser Wilhelm-Institut für deutsche Geschichte (1917-1944) as the Max Planck-Institut für Geschichte at Göttingen. Under the directorship of Professor Hermann Heimpel of Göttingen University, the new institute will continue publication of the correspondence of Charles V and Emperor Wilhelm I and resume publication of the series *Germania Sacra*.

The Humanistic-Social Division of the American Society for Engineering Education held its annual meeting in June, 1956, at Iowa State College. Featured was a symposium based on the Division's report dealing with problems concerning the teaching of history in professional schools. The report has been published under the title *General Education in Engineering* and may be obtained by mailing twenty-five cents to Professor W. Leighton Collins, The American Society for Engineering Education, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Newly-elected officers for the coming year are: Chairman, Harmon W. Chapman, New York University; Vice Chairman, Melvin Kranzberg, Case Institute of Technology; Secretary, Captain A. A. Lawrence, U. S. Coast Guard Academy. The next annual meeting of the Humanistic-Social Division of the ASEE will be held at Cornell University, June 17-22, 1957.

The American Numismatic Society held its fifth Summer Seminar in Numismatics in the Society's Museum in New York City, June 19 through August 25, 1956. The use of numismatics as a necessary auxiliary to research in history and other broad fields of study provided the theme of the Seminar. Grants-in-aid for next summer's Seminar will be offered to students who will have completed at least one year's graduate study in various humanistic fields by June, 1957. Application for these grants, to be completed before March 1, should be made to the Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32, New York.

The fifth Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held on July 12-14, 1956, at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. Of the 391 persons registering, 105 were from overseas. At the first general meeting, Professor Herbert Butterfield read a paper in which he discussed the evolution of the historical method during the nineteenth century and evaluated the work of the chief historians who dealt with the reign of George III. Section meetings included papers dealing with Medieval English History, Modern British History, Modern European History, American History, and Imperial History. The last general session included a business meeting and a paper by M. F. Bond, Clerk of the Records, House of Lords, "Record Offices Today: Facts for Historians." He gave considerable attention to the work being done in the county record offices throughout England, stating that while only fifty-three record repositories existed in 1930, three times that number are operating in 1956. He spoke of the new profession of "archivist" developed in our time as a direct result of historical study and noted that history students need more instruction in archives and repositories and how to use all that relates to them. Mr. Bond also reported that the National Register of Archives has, since 1955, undertaken the publication of an annual list of accessions in the various record offices throughout Britain. The sixth plenary Anglo-American Conference of Historians will be held at the University of London, July 8-13, 1957, and universities in the United States and Canada will be invited to nominate representatives. Scholars who expect to be in England at the time are asked to write for particulars to The Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London, W.C. 1.

A progress report on the History of Parliament Trust, established in 1951 by the British Government, was presented to the fifth Anglo-American Conference of Historians. Work on the new history of the Westminster parliament officially began in the spring of 1953, when Sir John Neale and Sir Lewis Namier accepted editorial responsibility for sections covering the years 1558-1603 and 1754-1790, respectively. Since then three further sections have been put to hand: 1485-1558, edited by Professor S. T. Bindoff; 1714-1754, edited by Romney Sedgwick; and 1790-1820, edited by Professor A. Aspinall. The Editorial Board announced that the manuscripts of the two first-named sections will be substantially completed during 1958. Tentative arrangements have been made with K. B. McFarlane,

Professor J. S. Roskell, and Dr. J. H. Plumb for them to undertake preparation of sections concerned, respectively, with the years 1327-1377, 1377-1422, and 1690-1714. The work, which it is contemplated will take twenty years to complete, will involve the preparation of between 2,000 and 3,000 biographies of members of the House of Commons.

The Eighth International Congress of the History of Science was held in Florence and Milan during the week of September 3-9, 1956. For the first time, a considerable delegation from the United States was able to participate, because of grants-in-aid for travel provided by the National Science Foundation to fourteen persons. Other American scholars in Europe also attended, so there were twenty-five American representatives among a total of some three hundred participants from most of the countries of Europe, Asia, and North Africa.

For its working sessions, the Congress was divided into six sections, each devoted to the history of one of the major branches of science. Eight papers were presented by members of the American delegation: Dr. Marie Boas (Brandeis), "The XVIIth Century Reform of Chemical Nomenclature"; Dr. I. B. Cohen (Harvard), "Phenomenon and Hypothesis in the Physics of Newton"; Dr. John F. Fulton (Yale), "Mascagni and his Forerunners"; Dr. Charles C. Gillispie (Princeton), "The Origin of Lamarck's Evolutionary Theory"; Dr. Genevieve Miller (Western Reserve), "The Earliest Attempts to Attenuate Smallpox Virus"; Dr. Charles O'Malley (Stanford), "A Latin Translation of Ibn Nafis (1547) Related to the Problem of the Circulation of the Blood"; Dr. Ilza Veith (Chicago), "Some Early Nineteenth Century Concepts on the Causes of Insanity"; and Dr. Harry Woolf (University of Washington), "The Solar Parallax and the Growth of International Scientific Cooperation in the 18th Century."

Among the most valuable features of the formal program was the opportunity to visit the Museo de Storia della Scienza in Florence and the Museo della Scienza e della Tecnica in Milan. The latter in particular is truly splendid, and its historical collections, presented with admirable style and imagination, are worth calling to the attention of historians who may chance to be in Milan on their travels. As with most conferences, the informal associations were the most rewarding. Perhaps the dominant impression to be brought back from the Congress as a whole is that the history of science is no longer a somewhat forlorn scholarly cause but has become a subject in its own right, and that as more and more universities offer regular instruction, it is even becoming something of an educational movement.

CHARLES COULSTON GILLISPIE

A conference on Cultural Freedom in the Western Hemisphere was held in Mexico City on September 18-26, under the auspices of the Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture (104, Boulevard Haussmann, Paris 8°), with the cooperation of a Mexican committee. Academic participants from the United States were Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania; Manoel Cardozo, Catholic Uni-

versity of America; and Frank Tannenbaum, Columbia University. Non-academic United States delegates were Adolph A. Berle, John Dos Passos, James T. Farrell, and Norman Thomas. This was the first of the several conferences sponsored by the Congrès since 1950 which dealt broadly with Western Hemisphere problems.

The New York State Association of European Historians held its sixth annual meeting at Colgate University, Hamilton, on October 12-13, 1956. The sessions featured an all-day conference of interested scholars on Carl Becker's *Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*.

The Conference on British Studies met in New York, November 10, 1956. Professor Basil Duke Henning of Yale University spoke on the work of the History of Parliament Trust. Dean Mary Frear Keeler of Hood College and Professor Gerrit P. Judd, IV, of Hofstra College commented on their experience in the field of parliamentary history. Professor Alice Colburn of Wellesley College presented a tribute to the memory of Professor Judith B. Williams. During the afternoon session, Professors Edgar Graves of Hamilton College and Conyers Read spoke on their revisions of the Gross and Read bibliographical volumes and asked the cooperation of the Conference.

The Society for French Historical Studies will meet February 1-2, 1957, at Hunter College in New York City. The program will include papers, a reception at the French Embassy, luncheons, dinners, and a visit to the French Exhibit at the New York Historical Society. Further information may be obtained by writing to Professor David Pinkney, University of Missouri, 318 Jesse Hall, Columbia, Missouri.

A Seminar-Workshop on "World Affairs Programs on Radio-TV" will be held at the University of Denver during the summer of 1957. The nine-week institute (June 24-August 23) will offer intensive and practical experience in planning, writing, and producing radio and TV programs on world affairs. Diplomatic historians and others may be interested in the full-expense fellowships available for participation in the institute. For further information, write to The Director, Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver 10, Colorado. Deadline for applications is March 1, 1957.

The Lilly Endowment, Inc., of Indianapolis, Indiana, has made a grant of \$10,000 to the University of Chattanooga in support of a special collection of materials on the Civil War, to be called the John T. Wilder Collection, in memory of the Union general who was both a mayor of Chattanooga and one of the University's founders. The collection will be housed in the University's modern library building and will be administered by Gilbert E. Govan, librarian, and James W. Livingood, professor of history.

Awards for postdoctoral study in statistics by persons whose primary field is not statistics but one of the physical, biological, or social sciences to which statistics can be applied are offered by the Committee on Statistics of the University of Chicago. The awards range from \$3,600 to \$5,000 on the basis of an eleven month residence. The closing date for application for the academic year 1957-58 is February 15, 1957. Further information may be obtained from the Committee on Statistics, Eckhart Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

An annotated twenty-two volume edition of the writings of James Madison will be prepared as a joint undertaking of the University of Chicago and the University of Virginia during the next twelve years. Many important papers heretofore unpublished, including letters to Madison which throw light on certain of his own remarks, and extensive explanatory notes will appear in the new and full edition, to be published by the University of Chicago Press, beginning about 1960. Supervising the work will be a three-man editorial board, consisting of Leonard D. White and William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago and William M. E. Rachal, designated by the University of Virginia. A special advisory board of distinguished scholars concerned with the early period of American history will be available for consultation on technical and policy matters. The work of editing and publishing the collected Madison papers was made possible by a grant of \$150,000 by the Rockefeller Foundation; a grant of \$200,000 from the Ford Foundation; an appropriation of \$10,000 for each year of the current biennium by the General Assembly of Virginia; and commitments by the two universities.

The Rockefeller Foundation has made the following grants to historians, during the second quarter of 1956: Adam B. Ulam, Harvard University, research on the meaning and development of modern socialist movements; Lee Benson, Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, completion and preparation for publication of a study in political historiography; and Robert Butow, Princeton University, preparation of a biography of General Hideki Tojo.

Funds have been made available, through the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, to facilitate the travel of American specialists in the Soviet and East Central European fields to the areas of their professional interest. The purpose is to strengthen the core of fully-trained, linguistically-competent specialists in these fields now teaching in universities and colleges throughout the United States and Canada. Countries included within the scope of the grants are: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the Soviet Union. The awards are normally for a period of thirty days, but support for longer visits may be granted to those who submit a specific research proposal. Interested historians should apply as soon as possible to Professor William B. Edgerton, chairman of the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, 429 West 117th Street, New York 27, New York. Applications for the summer of

1957 must be completed before February 28; those received after that date will not be considered until later in the summer.

An annual award of \$250 has been established by Henry and Ida Schuman of New York City, under the auspices of the History of Science Society, for an original prize essay in the history of science and its cultural influences. This competition is open to undergraduate and graduate students in any American or Canadian college, university, or institute of technology. Papers submitted for the prize competition should be approximately 5,000 words in length, exclusive of footnotes, and thoroughly documented. It is the wish of the donors that "History of Science and Its Cultural Influences" should be broadly interpreted, and the papers should in each case be original contributions to learning. Essays submitted should be sent to the Chairman of the Prize Committee, Professor Harry Woolf, Department of History, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington, and must be received on or before June 1, 1957.

The Society of American Historians has announced that the first Francis Parkman Prize, to stimulate the writing of history as literature, will be awarded for a book published within the calendar year 1956. The prize of \$500 will be awarded in the field of American history or biography. A book submitted may deal with any aspect of the colonial or national history of what is now the United States. Literary, religious, economic, political, scientific and technological, legal and constitutional history, and the history of foreign relations would fall within this field. Any American historian, biographer, or writer who is a citizen of the United States is eligible for the prize, which will be awarded during the spring of 1957. The Committee of Award consists of Dr. Julian P. Boyd, Princeton; Dr. Louis B. Wright, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library; and Dr. Benjamin P. Thomas, Director of The Abraham Lincoln Association. For further information address Dr. Rudolf A. Clemen, The Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

University of Alabama: George R. Abernathy, Jr., of Colorado State College of Education, appointed assistant professor. *Alabama State College*: L. D. Reddick, formerly chief librarian and professor of history at Atlanta University, named chairman of the department. *University of Alberta* (Canada): Wallace D. Farnham, of Iowa State Teachers College, appointed assistant professor. *Brenau College* (Gainesville, Georgia): Edward H. Gibson, III, of Carson-Newman College, appointed professor and chairman of the department. *The Citadel*: Charles C.

¹The Review prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

Martin, Robert W. Rieke, E. Lawrence Lee, Jr., Richard Megaree, Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr., and David B. McElroy appointed assistant professors. *Colgate University*: Michael McGiffert, of the University of Maryland, appointed instructor. *University of Colorado*: Walter S. Perry, of Stanford University, Walter G. Simon, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Howard L. Scamehorn, of the University of Illinois, have been appointed to the staff; Fritz L. Hoffman, who has been on leave of absence in Argentina, has returned to be acting chairman of the department. *Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College*: Alfred J. Rieber appointed assistant professor for one year. *Cornell University*: Knight Biggerstaff named chairman of the department; E. F. Rice, Jr., and David B. Davis appointed assistant professors; Robert L. Daniel, of Carnegie Institute of Technology, appointed visiting assistant professor. *Elmira College*: Ralph Bowen, formerly of Columbia, appointed associate professor. *University of Florida*: Rembert W. Patrick to serve as acting head of the department while Donald E. Worcester, the present chairman, is on nine months' leave to lecture in the American Studies program at the University of Madrid, Spain. *Georgia Institute of Technology*: George Hendricks named acting head of the social sciences department; Elmo M. Roberds and H. William Rodemann appointed to the social sciences staff; Willard E. Wight promoted to full-time lecturer. *Grove City College* (Pennsylvania): Raymond M. Lorantas appointed assistant professor with a year's leave of absence to complete a research project in diplomatic history, financed by the Penfield Scholarship Fund.

Hamline University: Arthur S. Williamson promoted to headship of the department; David W. Pletcher, of Knox College, appointed associate professor. *Harvard University*: Charles Gibson, of the State University of Iowa, appointed visiting lecturer. *Haverford College*: Hugh Borton, former director of the East Asian Institute of Columbia University, named president of the college; J. Jean Hecht, of Williams College, appointed visiting associate professor. *Holloman Air Development Center* (New Mexico): James S. Hanrahan, of University of California at Los Angeles, and David Bushnell, of Harvard, appointed to the historical division staff. *University of Houston*: C. B. Ransom named chairman of the department, succeeding Ernest C. Shearer; James A. Tinsley promoted to associate professor and Raymond A. Esthus to assistant professor; Robert V. Haynes appointed instructor; Robert I. Giesberg rejoined staff as instructor after a year's research in France. *Illinois State Historical Library*: Clyde C. Walton, formerly rare books curator and reference librarian at the State University of Iowa, appointed Illinois state historian. *Indiana University*: Robert F. Byrnes, formerly director of the Mid-European Studies Center in New York, appointed professor; Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin named professor and director of the Great Lakes-Ohio Valley research project; John W. Snyder, of the University of California at Berkeley, appointed assistant professor; Donald P. Greene appointed lecturer; C. Leonard Lundin on leave for research in Finland under a Fulbright

grant; Maurice G. Baxter, on leave second semester 1956-57. *State University of Iowa*: Allan G. Bogue promoted to associate professor; Stow Persons awarded a research professorship for the first semester of 1956-57.

Los Angeles State College: W. Ardell Stelck appointed assistant professor. *Louisiana State University*: T. Harry Williams on sabbatical leave for work on a biography of Huey P. Long. *University of Maryland*: Gregory Crampton, of the University of Utah, appointed professor in the European program; Philip Wheaton and Eugene Carraher, formerly serving in the North Atlantic programs, transferred to Japan; Gordon W. Prange on sabbatical leave during the first semester to complete his study on Pearl Harbor; Wilhelmina Jashemski on sabbatical leave during the second semester to do research in Greece and Italy; J. Norman Parmer, David W. Hirst, Emory Evans, George Callcott, and Millard LesCallette appointed instructors. *University of Missouri*: David H. Pinkney named chairman of the department; Walter V. Scholes promoted to professor. *University of Montana*: Paul Carter, formerly of the University of Maryland, appointed assistant professor. *Mount Holyoke College*: John L. Teall promoted to assistant professor; Ruth McIntyre appointed visiting lecturer for 1956-57; Norma Adams on sabbatical leave for 1956-57 to continue research in England.

Nebraska Wesleyan University: William H. Maehl appointed associate professor. *Ohio University*: Carl G. Gustavson promoted to professor. *University of Oklahoma*: A. K. Christian and Stuart R. Tompkins, professors at the university for thirty-four and twenty-four years respectively, have retired; W. E. Hollon and Max L. Moorhead promoted to professors; Herbert Ellison, formerly of the University of Washington, appointed assistant professor; Lowell L. Blaisdell, of Arkansas Polytechnic College, appointed visiting assistant professor; Hans A. Schmitt on leave for 1956-57 to do research in Luxembourg under a Fulbright fellowship. *Pennsylvania State Teachers College* (California): John W. Keller, formerly of American University, appointed professor. *Pennsylvania State Teachers College* (East Stroudsburg): John C. Appel named head of the department to replace Leroy J. Koehler who has been appointed president of the college; Alfred D. Sumberg, of the University of Wisconsin Racine Extension Center, appointed associate professor; William L. Smyser, formerly of the United States diplomatic service, appointed assistant professor. *Pennsylvania State University*: Joseph G. Rayback named chairman of the department. *University of Pittsburgh*: John Geise named dean of the college.

Roosevelt University: Helmut Hirsch appointed acting chairman of the department in the absence of Richard Hooker, who is doing research under a University grant; Arthur Mendel appointed assistant professor. *Salem College*: M. Foster Farley appointed to the staff. *Southwestern Louisiana Institute*: Amos Simpson, of the University of Arkansas, appointed associate professor; William H. Adams, of Louisiana State University, and Vincent Cassidy, of the University of North

Carolina, appointed assistant professors. *Texas Technological College*: Thomas G. Manning appointed associate professor; Merton Lynn Dillon and Harry DeLaRue appointed assistant professors. *University of Toledo*: Cecil E. Cody, promoted to assistant professor. *United States Naval College* (Newport, Rhode Island): Ollinger Crenshaw appointed Ernest J. King professor of naval history for 1956-57. *University of Virginia*: Edward E. Younger promoted to professor; Cecil A. Hutchinson and Thomas T. Hammond promoted to associate professors; Stanley J. Zyzniewski, of the Harvard Graduate School, appointed acting assistant professor. *Washington College* (Chestertown, Maryland): Richard R. Reichard appointed assistant professor; Nathan Smith appointed instructor.

Washington and Lee University: William A. Jenks promoted to professor; Thomas P. Hughes appointed assistant professor; James R. Connor appointed visiting assistant professor for 1956-57. *Wayne State University*: Avery O. Craven, of the University of Chicago, appointed visiting professor; John Weiss appointed instructor. *Westminster College* (Salt Lake City, Utah): Frank E. Duddy, Jr., formerly of the Naval Academy, named president of the college. *College of William and Mary* (Norfolk, Virginia): Warren F. Spencer appointed to the staff.

RECENT DEATHS

Curtis Howe Walker, professor emeritus of European history at Vanderbilt University, died in Nashville, Tennessee, on October 30, 1956, at the age of seventy-nine. He was a recognized authority on medieval Europe.

Lucien Febvre, one of the great twentieth-century scholars in the social science field, died on September 27, 1956. He will be universally missed, and his death has deprived not only French historians but social scientists the world over of a challenging leader. While his health had been poor for some time, he had appeared to recover last spring, and hence his death came as a shock. He was best known for his leadership of all those interested in economic development and its integration with other facets of history. An international figure, he was prominent for years in gatherings related to the interpretation of history and to co-operative efforts to advance world history.

Febvre was born in Nancy in 1878, studied at the École normale supérieure, was pensionnaire of the Fondation Thiers, and held the doctorate from the Sorbonne. He taught first at the University of Dijon, then Strasbourg, and, since 1933, at the Collège de France. His influence was broadest, perhaps, as Director of the École des Hautes Études in Paris, and as a member of the Directory of the Centre National de la Recherche scientifique, he promoted much research and publication through the Centre. He was also a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques and had been awarded the Croix de Guerre française et belge 1914-18 and the Légion d'honneur.

His earlier works on Philip II and Franche Comté, the problem of the Rhine,

and his others on the sixteenth century have exerted less influence than his *La Terre et l'évolution humaine*, an eleven-volume *Encyclopédie française*, and many monographs. Aside from his personal influence in committees, gatherings, and international meetings, he probably made his greatest contribution as the founder and director of the periodical which bears the present title of *Annales: économie, société, civilisation*, where articles of high scholarship have continued to appear and integration of world knowledge has been an objective. It is to be hoped that the *Annales* will be continued.

Harry Grant Plum, professor emeritus of history at the State University of Iowa, died on September 29, 1956, within five weeks of his eighty-eighth birthday. Fifty-three of these years were spent in the active service of the State University, with which his name will always be associated by those privileged to know him. Professor Plum was born November 3, 1868, in Johnson County, Iowa, and received his training at the State University (A.B., 1894; M.A., 1896). In 1894 he joined the faculty as instructor and advanced through the ranks to a professorship in 1906. During these years, he found time to complete the doctorate at Columbia (Ph.D., 1906). In 1905 he married Margaret Budington, who survives him. Except for his years of advanced study in the East and a season at the Sorbonne, Professor Plum's entire career, as a teacher and scholar, was spent in the Midwest, but his outlook and philosophy were never parochial. Anyone unaware of Professor Plum's biography might easily have mistaken the man in his Iowa setting for another breed. His influence was widest on the thirteen generations of undergraduates who knew him as professor of European history, on occasion genial or grave, but always sensitive to their needs, ready to lend a current book from the collection that over the years had filled the walls of his office. He stimulated his undergraduate students in provocative lectures and for them he wrote the fattest of his volumes, *Modern and Contemporary European Civilization* (1923). Graduate students knew him as a master willing to allow them a wide range at their own pace but in the end exacting from them the same high standard of performance to which he held himself. Professor Plum taught them by example that a slender book need not be a slight book. His studies, *The Teutonic Order and Its Secularization* (1906) and *Restoration Puritanism* (1943), were distilled from deep reading and wide human experience. But it was his friends, inside and outside the University, who saw in this modest professor depths given to few men. They tell of a noble life, of high integrity and generous friendship, of sorrows gallantly borne, and, at the end, of serene years.

Ralph Volney Harlow, professor emeritus of history at Syracuse University, died on October 3, 1956, at Westbrook, Connecticut, at the age of seventy-two. Born in Claremont, New Hampshire, Dr. Harlow received his A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Yale University. His college teaching career began at Simmons College and included periods of service at Boston University and Yale Uni-

versity. In 1929 he became chairman of the history department at Syracuse University, a post he filled with distinction until his retirement in 1948.

Dr. Harlow wrote several American history textbooks that have been widely used both at the high school and the college level. In addition to notable articles contributed to this review and to other professional journals, he wrote three important book-length studies: *The History of Legislative Methods in the Period before 1825* (1917); *Samuel Adams, Promoter of the American Revolution* (1923); and *Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer* (1939). The first is the definitive work in its field; the second and third have earned a unique place in the literature of American historical biography by their attempts to explain crusading reformers in the light of the newer insights of psychology.

Meticulous in his research, clear and forceful in his exposition, careful in his judgments, Dr. Harlow represented the best traditions of our profession. His kindness, fairness, and quiet sense of humor made him a fine teacher and a delightful colleague.

Dan Elbert Clark, professor emeritus at the University of Oregon, died on August 14, 1956, in Eugene, at the age of seventy-two. A native of Iowa, born in Ogden, he received his academic degrees at the State University of Iowa (B.A., 1907; Ph.D., 1910). He became an editor at the State Historical Society while still a student and continued in this position from 1907 to 1918. From 1910 to 1918, he was honorary instructor and lecturer in political science at the State University of Iowa. From 1918 until his death, Professor Clark lived on the Pacific Coast. He moved first to Seattle, where he was in the service of the Red Cross. In 1921 he joined the faculty of the University of Oregon and for twenty years gave most of his time to the university extension division, of which he was assistant director. In 1940 he became head of the department of history, a position which he held until 1951, when he retired. His quiet ways, his judicial temperament, his democratic procedures, and his own diligent scholarship inspired both respect and affection, and his department enjoyed an ample decade of much-envied harmony. He was deeply involved in the work of many university committees where his voice spoke always on the side of forbearance in human relations and of high standards in academic affairs.

Professor Clark was from the beginning an active member of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. In 1931 he was its president. In association with another Iowan, John Carl Parish, he was one of the founders of the *Pacific Historical Review* and was on its board of editors (1931-35 and 1939-44). In addition, he was greatly interested in the Oregon Historical Society and served on its board of directors from 1940 to 1956.

The publications of Professor Clark included *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa* (1912); a biography of *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (1917); and a widely-used textbook, *The West in American History* (1937). He also edited a volume of essays by John C. Parish, *The Persistence of the Westward Movement* (1943),

and contributed a chapter, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," to a volume bearing the title *Les explorateurs célèbres*, edited by André Leroi-Gourham (1947). During his retirement, he continued working on a history of the Pacific Northwest; it was not far from completion when failing health compelled him to stop.

Professor Clark has left his mark. Numerous students, undergraduate and graduate, will remember his generous devotion of time to their problems, personal as well as academic. Mrs. Clark, also deceased, was the daughter of a pioneer missionary of the far west, and Professor Clark had established the Abigail E. Clark Memorial Fund, to purchase, for the University Library, materials on the history of northwestern missionaries. The family has changed the name to the Abigail E. and Dan E. Clark Memorial Fund.

Eleanor Ashby Bancroft, Assistant to the Director of the Bancroft Library, died in an Oakland, California, hospital on August 28, 1956, after a lingering illness. Born in Nebraska, August 16, 1903, she came to California with her family at an early age. She entered the University of California in 1920 and soon became a part-time employee in the Bancroft Library, which was then under the aegis of Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton. Largely because of his influence, she majored in history (B.A., 1926) and later studied library science. During these years she continued to be employed at the Bancroft Library, where she became conversant with its books and collections as few have ever been; since 1940 she served as Assistant to the Director.

Besides being a scholar, Mrs. Bancroft was adviser and guide to countless other scholars. She performed most of the work in preparing Volume II of *Spain and Spanish America in the Libraries of the University of California*, published in 1930—a catalogue of the Spanish books and books about Spain and Spanish America in the Bancroft Library. With Edith M. Coulter, she edited two works, *Thirteen California Towns, from the Original Drawings* (1947) and *An Account of a Tour of the California Missions, 1856—The Journal and Drawings of Henry Miller* (1952), both published by the Book Club of California. She also contributed articles on California history to books and magazines. Her warm personality and genuine interest in people as well as in books made her a host of friends everywhere. Her niche in the Bancroft Library will long remain unfilled.

Frank Lawrence Owsley, Hugo Freidman Professor of Southern History at the University of Alabama, died on October 21, 1956, in England, where he was serving as lecturer at Cambridge University on a Fulbright grant. Professor Owsley was born in Montgomery county, Alabama, in 1890. He received the B.S. degree from Alabama Polytechnic Institute in 1911 and the M.S. degree in 1912, and taught at that institution and at Birmingham-Southern College before joining the faculty of Vanderbilt University in 1920. His Ph.D. degree in history was obtained at the University of Chicago in 1924, under the direction of Professor William E. Dodd, and his dissertation, *States Rights in the Confederacy*, pub-

lished in 1925, presented a new interpretation of the fundamental weakness of the Confederacy. During the next three decades, he became known as a stimulating teacher and an inspiring guide for graduate students, and his research and writing established him as one of the outstanding scholars in the field of southern history. In 1949 he joined the University of Alabama faculty and was made head of the department of history in 1951, resigning this position three years later in order to devote more time to his teaching and writing. He was a member of the executive committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1934-37) and the board of editors of the *Journal of Southern History* (1938-41). In 1940, he served as president of the Southern Historical Association.

At Vanderbilt University, Owsley was one of the central figures in the original thinking which produced the Agrarian Group, a term familiar to all who are acquainted with intellectual trends in the South. With others of this vigorous thinking band, Owsley contributed to the volume of essays, *I'll Take My Stand* (1930). His book entitled *King Cotton Diplomacy* (1931) attracted most attention in the United States and abroad. In collaboration with others, Professor Owsley wrote *The United States from Colony to World Power* (1949) and *A Short History of the American People* (1945). At the time of his death, he was writing a study of the diplomatic relations between the United States and European governments during the Civil War.

Professor Owsley was not satisfied to pursue the beaten paths of historical interpretation; he worked with the passion of the explorer and instilled in his students the same spirit. He had a deep and abiding interest in his students, who held him in esteem and affection, and he developed a large number of highly capable and inspired young historians. His work as a productive scholar made a significant contribution toward a better understanding of the Old South and of the Civil War, but perhaps his most lasting influence will be seen through the continuation of that contribution in the work of more than fifty younger scholars who earned their doctorate under his inspiration and guidance. In addition to greatness of mind, Professor Owsley had greatness of spirit, kindness, and conviviality not always found among very productive scholars. He had the rare quality of not taking himself or others too seriously and his personal qualities endeared him to many outside as well as inside the realm of scholars.

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East Asian Views of Modern European History

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THE interesting but unstudied question—how do Chinese and Japanese historians view Western history?—deals with numerous double-ended variables that depend on an almost infinite series of multivalued ambiguities. Since Eastern historians have to base their interpretations on Western books, this article offers only one myopic Western view of selected East Asian views of printed Western views of modern European history. The subject is fraught with multifocal confusion. Yet this kind of “intercultural historiology,” seeing how one society views another, will no doubt bulk large in the comparative historical studies of the future. It is particularly pertinent today when so many Asians have a Marxist view of Western history.

Mindful that one can be most certain about things least known, I offer these definite, though obviously preliminary, conclusions: first, that one society’s view of another’s history involves a problem of social or cultural epistemology—how do the observers of one society learn about another? The

answer seems to be—by finding what they seek or are capable of finding, by noticing those things which are of interest to them or lie within their range of interest. To take an example from European history, during the Enlightenment the *philosophes* were delighted to see in the Chinese emperor a philosopher-king who ruled in accordance with natural law without the benefit of revealed religion. This congenial view of the Chinese despotism was made possible partly because in the seventeenth century the Jesuit missionaries in China had preferred to see Confucianism as a system of mere ethics compatible with Christian religious faith. In the same way we must assume, I think, that Chinese and Japanese scholars today view the West according to the way in which they have been sensitized to view it by their interests and experience. The historical view of another society includes a large subjective element—the viewers ask unconsciously, “What significance has *that* for *us*?”

A second conclusion is that professional historians and their textbooks, as functioning parts of a society, reflect its degree of modernization (a term I will eschew defining further except to call it maturity of adjustment to the modern world). On this score, Japanese studies of Western history have been a good deal more extensive than Chinese studies. The reasons range over a wide gamut: from Japan's original offshore propensity to absorb foreign culture to China's greater size and ethnocentricity and her difficulties of social metamorphosis during the modern century of imperialist pressures and destruction. Whatever the complex causes of this striking contrast, China's slower response to the modern West has left her today with rather little alternative to the dogmatic Marxist interpretations of Western history now being propagated from Peking, whereas Japanese historians have already absorbed a good deal of Marxism and are rising above its simplistic trammels.

The halting growth of China's view of the West can be sketched briefly through five phases, beginning with one of happy insouciance. Before the first Anglo-Chinese (Opium) war of 1840, imperial geographies characterized Europeans with charming superficiality:

Their flesh is dazzling white, they have big noses. . . . Their custom is to esteem women and think lightly of men. Marriages are left to mutual arrangement. . . . the (English) males mostly wear wool and love to drink wine. The females, when they have not yet married, bind their waists to make them slender. They wear disheveled hair which hangs over their eyebrows.¹

¹ Tung Kao, *et al.*, comp., *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* (Illustrations of the regular tributaries of the imperial Ch'ing, 1760), *chüan* i; transl. in J. K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), I, 12. For an example of geographical confusion, note the quite understandable Chinese difficulty in distinguishing between Portugal, Spain, Italy, and France, whose nationals in varying degree were called by the medieval generic term *Fo-lang-chi*, “Franks,” *ibid.*, I, 10.

This interest in the quaint externals rather than the basic philosophy of the Westerners persisted down to 1840. Then for the first time it became necessary to study the West in order to understand the danger it presented—what was the secret of Western power? An early geography of 1848 supplies a preliminary answer:

England consists merely of three islands, simply a handful of stones in the western ocean . . . an area about the same as Taiwan and Hainan. The reason for her becoming suddenly rich and strong . . . is that in the West she obtained America and in the East . . . India. . . . The English stealthily encroached on the various (Indian) states like silkworms eating mulberry leaves.²

Even after the Chinese scholar-officials recognized that they must study the secrets of Western power, they were slow to see a pattern in Western history. Having first ascribed Western power to gunboats and cannon, they soon saw the origin of these contrivances in Western science and industry; the latter must be absorbed into the Chinese state in order to preserve it. Eventually this view was also recognized as superficial. Partly by an extension of the Confucian emphasis on "men of ability" and "human talent" (*jen ts'ai*) in the political process, Chinese officialdom concluded that Western power derived from political processes and institutions. In developing this view in the 1880's, the pioneer journalist Wang T'ao was still appraising Britain through Confucian glasses:

The real strength of England lies in the fact that there is a sympathetic understanding between the governing and the governed, a close relationship between the ruler and the people [a typical Confucian ideal]. . . . The expenditure of the British ruler is a constantly fixed amount. . . . He does not dare to eat myriads of delicacies. . . . His palaces are all very simple. . . . The king has only one queen and no concubine and has never had a multitude of three thousand beautiful women in a harem.³

The appreciation of Western power as due to institutions led to a third phase in China's view of the West, marked by the acceptance of the historical theory of social Darwinism, survival of the fittest among nations. In the 1890's, reformers such as K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao pointed to the examples of declining states like India, Turkey, and Poland, or Annam, Burma, and Korea, and also to the examples of rising states such as Russia under Peter the Great, Prussia, Japan, or Siam. The latter were seen to be rising because of institutional reforms. The conclusion seemed inescapable

² Hsü Chi-yü, *Ying-huan chih-lueh* (A brief description of the oceans' circuit, 1850), VII, 43b; transl. in Ssu-yü Teng and J. K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 42-43.

³ Transl. in *China's Response to the West*, p. 140.

that China must reform her own traditional institutions, yet the efforts in this direction (especially in 1898, after 1901, and again after 1911) all proved ineffective in revitalizing and strengthening the Chinese state.

Not unnaturally, these attempts to learn from the Western example, when they proved unavailing on the level of national power, prepared Chinese observers for a fourth phase of disillusionment.⁴ This emerged particularly after the holocaust of World War I. In the 1920's, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as a reformer could write in retrospect: "Darwin's theory of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest was applied to the study of human society and became the core of thought, with many evil consequences." Europe, he felt, was sick from a "spiritual famine." Eastern learning (by which he meant that of China and India) has "spirit as its point of departure, Western learning has matter as its point of departure."⁵ Thus developed one of the most trenchant, persistent, and yet oversimplified criticisms of the West from an Asian point of view.

The fifth phase in China's view of the Western historical process has been the acceptance of Marxism-Leninism. It is noteworthy that in China there was no preceding socialist movement. After 1911 the Western parliamentary model had failed to work, and in the 1920's Sun Yat-sen and his Kuomintang began to follow the Soviet model as a basis for organizing political power. At the same time, while the new Chinese intelligentsia remained essentially liberal and individualistic in outlook, a few began to accept academic Marxism as a new way of organizing their view of the world, partly, I think, because of the inadequacy of Sun Yat-sen's system of ideas. Marxism-Leninism thus became the latest phase of the Western impact on China—in effect, to imitate Lenin's formula, Marxism in China has become the highest stage of cultural imperialism.⁶

In retrospect, it would appear that the problem of China's adjustment to

⁴ Confucian conservatives had, of course, always found much in the West that was distasteful. As one late-nineteenth-century traveler noted, "In the West, a son does not take care of his father. . . . A wife is more honored than a husband. . . . Beautiful young girls are seeking for males everywhere . . . the customs are as bad as that! . . . As for food, they always sip cold water and juice. They cannot appreciate the culinary art but like butter and mutton ribs. . . . The kinds of soup are very limited." *Ibid.*, p. 184, quoting Yuan Tsu-chih, *She-yang kuan-chien* (Personal views after travelling abroad).

⁵ From Liang's collected essays, written in 1920; see *ibid.*, p. 267.

⁶ The latest Peking periodization divides Chinese feudalism into three periods: *Early* (W. Chou to Ch'in unification, ca. 1000 B.C.–221 B.C.), *Middle, first part* (Ch'in to Sui unification, 221 B.C.–589 A.D.), *Middle, second part* (Sui to end of Yuan, 589–1368), and *Late* (Ming to Opium War, 1368–1840). China's great civilization is thus put in the ignominious position of having been "feudal" for almost 3,000 years, far longer than any other people in history. See Fan Wen-lan in *Chung-kuo k'o-hsueh-yuan li-shih yen-chiu-so ti-san-so chi-k'an* (Bulletin of the Third Institute of the Institute [sic] of Historical Research, Chinese Academy of Sciences), July, 1954.

the modern world has been so all-absorbing, the modern Chinese scholars have been so concerned with China's immediate problems, so ethnocentric of necessity, that there has been neither opportunity nor inclination to develop a vigorous school of academic historical study of the West.⁷ A leader in modern Chinese thought such as Dr. Hu Shih, for example, who is now honored by violent attacks from Peking, focused his attention on the re-evaluation of the Chinese cultural tradition. Although he did this in part from a Western point of view, it did not involve him in a continuing and detailed study of the West as such. His Westernizing was selective and stressed the adaptation of Western elements to a Chinese setting as an aid to China's cultural rebirth. Today, the Chinese Communists' study of the West seems to be almost entirely a subjective function of their local and international political needs.⁸

Japan's view of the West went through a sequence of phases somewhat similar to China's but telescoped into a much shorter period. Already in the eighteenth century, Japanese scholars of the "Dutch learning" were studying the West, partly through Chinese books which were not being studied in China at the time. The "Dutch learning" produced its first Japanese translations of Western works in the 1770's. After the reopening of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, Japanese scholars quickly took over a Western world view, including the current doctrines of evolution and progress. In the 1870's, translations of Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and Darwin gave them a simple comprehensive system. Social Darwinism came into vogue in Japan even before it did in China. The early admiration of English institutions on the part of educators like Fukuzawa Yukichi gave way to an admiration of Bismarck and the doctrine of the supremacy of the state. Similarly, in economic theory the earlier doctrine of laissez faire gave way to a more Germanic theory of state intervention in the economy. All these Western doctrines became in turn subordinate to the rising Japanese nationalism.⁹

In the late 1920's and increasingly thereafter, many began to accept aca-

⁷ In contrast to the small number of Chinese historians of Western history, the Japanese Western History Association (Nihon Seiyōshi Gakkai) as of 1953 had 350 members. The American counterpart, the Far Eastern Association, had 750 members.

⁸ Thus a recent volume of essays on the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 is formally summarized (*t'i-yao*) as showing primarily that Japan's attack was caused, supported, and urged on by American imperialism (History Teaching Monthly, ed., *Chung-jih chia-wu chan-cheng lun-chi*, Peking, 1954). A documented *History of American Aggression against China* stresses the "piratical" nature of American commercial-capitalist contact with China from 1784 (Ching Ju-ch'i, *Mei-kuo ch'in-hua-shih*, Vol. I, Peking, 1952). A history of the American war of independence makes much of Shay's Rebellion (*Hsieh-ssu ch'i-i*) of 1786 as a class war covered up by capitalist historians (Liu Tso-ch'ang, *Mei-kuo tu-li chan-cheng chien-shih*, Shanghai, 1954).

⁹ See G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York, 1950), chap. xiv.

demic Marxism. (In what follows, my references are to this academic doctrine, Marxism as theory, rather than to its application in political action as part of a socialist or communist movement.) This process occurred in a time of increasing intellectual protest against the rise of militarism.

The many and diverse reasons for the acceptance of Marxist theory in Japan may be suggested briefly under two main heads. First is the tradition of ideological orthodoxy. Confucianism in Japan, as in China, had been an official tool of government. By it the scholar-administrator had been taught to think deductively from the authority of abstract principles. To some extent also the ideology of the state, summed up preeminently in Confucianism, had commanded an emotional adherence similar to that given religion in the West. The state had been comparatively more dominant over the individual and his thinking. It had regularly used history both to buttress authority and to sanction its exercise. There was little precedent for a Western type of historical pluralism. Thus the influence of tradition was to give Japanese scholars a craving for a comprehensive historical scheme, an authoritative doctrine of history. Even today Japanese teachers may be found who expect the Ministry of Education to establish one single system of periodization for history textbooks.

The second range of causes for the Japanese acceptance of Marxism may be grouped under the heading of circumstance. Rapid social change by the 1930's had produced a revolution in ideas. Old values had been overthrown by new conditions. The modern scholar class was comparatively poor and insecure, yet at the same time scholars were called upon to provide the intellectual framework by which Japan might claim her place in the modern world. They were under pressure to achieve a unified explanation of modern European and Asian experience, so as to fit the Asian half of mankind into the world. Looking at their own recent past, Japanese scholars saw the counterpart of European feudalism, the growth of capitalism, and an imperial expansion, all running parallel to the example of Western history, especially in its Marxist interpretation. In recent years, we have seen how Chinese scholars under the Communist dictatorship have attempted to fit China satisfactorily into the modern scene by alleging that she is now in the "forefront" of the (Marxist) historical process; this evidently offers some gratification after a century in which China has remained unable to fit herself into international life on equal terms with Western countries. A similar need was felt in Japan, even earlier, to make sense of the disasters and difficulties of modern international life in some all-embracing terms. Finally, there is

little doubt that today the spectacle of a Communist China close at hand also continues to be a direct stimulus to Marxism in Japan.¹⁰

Through this complex mixture of traditional and circumstantial factors, Marxism has become respectable among Japanese historians and certainly quite popular among the student body. Yet it has many varieties and gradations of influence, and leading Japanese historians remain in many ways quite non-Marxist. Perhaps it is safe to say that Japan's degree of acceptance of academic Marxism puts her scholars somewhere in between the Marxist and non-Marxist worlds.

This intellectual situation is not easy to characterize, but perhaps it can be illustrated by noting Japanese textbook treatments of four major topics in modern European history.¹¹

Absolutism: This is taken to refer not to the political theory of the absolute monarchy in Europe but to a national political-economic-social structure or form of state and social order. Thus the Age of Absolutism intervened as a separate period between decentralized feudalism and modern centralized democracy. The absolutist form of state provided a balance between conflicting feudal and bourgeois elements.¹² The significance of this interpretation for Japan lies in the fact that the Meiji period, which is fresh in memory, can be viewed as a counterpart in Japan of the historical stage represented by Absolutism in the West.¹³

The Renaissance, Humanism, and the Reformation: These subjects remain comparatively neglected or subordinated in Japanese textbook presentations of Western history, partly perhaps because they have no direct counterparts in Japanese experience and partly because cultural subjects are generally held secondary to those of economic and social history. There is a tendency to decry Humanism as a merely reformist movement which leaned

¹⁰ These generalizations are derived partly from a survey by J. K. Fairbank and Masataka Banno, *Japanese Studies of Modern China* (Tokyo and Rutland, 1955).

¹¹ For textbooks and correspondence, I am particularly indebted to Professor Teruhiko Onabe of Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku, Tokyo, a leader in the teaching of Western history (not responsible, however, for the inadequacies of this sketch).

¹² My colleague Professor Benjamin Schwartz found, as of 1954, that the discussion of absolutism along this line by Paul Sweezy and Maurice Dobb was widely known and remarked upon in Tokyo. See "The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism," *Science and Society*, Spring, 1950, pp. 134-67; also Fall, 1952, pp. 313-45 (H. K. Takahashi); and Spring, 1953, pp. 155-64 (P. M. Sweezy). For an account of the Japanese translation of the above and numerous later articles published on this controversy, see Inoue Kōji and Hayashi Kentarō, *Seiyōshi kenkyū nyūimon* (Research guide to Western history, Tokyo, 1954), pp. 96-102. For a typical textbook explanation of absolutism, see Kamei Kōkō and Hayashi Kentarō, *Gaisetsu Seiyō rekishi* (Outline of Western history, rev. ed., Tokyo, 1954), II, 4.

¹³ Cf. *Seikai rekishi jiten* (Tokyo, 1951-54), V, 266-69, on Japan's modernization. This 21-volume encyclopedia of world history by many authors will seem to American readers generally Marxist in tone, much more so than the older *Tōyō rekishi daijiten* (Encyclopedia of Oriental history, 9 vols., Tokyo, 1937-39).

on the despots to be its patrons and provided no useful model for revolutionary social change requiring force and strong leadership. Thus one textbook divides the modern period into Ages of Absolutism, Liberalism, and Imperialism, including under the first the geographical discoveries, the Renaissance, the Reformation and wars of religion, and even the Enlightenment.¹⁴ Another highly esteemed non-Marxist textbook retains the Age of Absolutism as a major section following the Middle Ages and subordinates the Renaissance and Reformation to it, though excluding the Enlightenment.¹⁵

The rise of bourgeois society: In their view of this topic, Japanese textbook writers may follow the Russian categorization according to which there were three forms of development respectively in England, Western Europe as typified by France, and Europe east of the Elbe as typified by Prussia and including Russia. The rise of bourgeois society in these different regions was distinguished by differences in the process of agrarian reform, emancipation of the serfs, and the like. For Japan, the significance of this lies in the conclusion that Japan's development has been rather similar to that of Europe east of the Elbe.¹⁶

The bourgeois revolutions in Western history are, of course, viewed in the light of Japan's own modernization. Agrarian reform and the growth of industrial capitalism in the West are seen as normal and healthy developments, whereas in Japan the Zaibatsu are regarded as having grown up from commercial capitalism, which made them more monopolistic and closer to the state, in the unhealthy manner described in *Das Kapital*.¹⁷

On this general topic, great influence has been exerted by the writings of Max Weber. Not unnaturally, American historians in Japan who prove to be somewhat vague in their knowledge of both Marx and Weber may be treated with that excessive politeness which bespeaks contempt.

Imperialism: Judging by Japan's experience of it over several generations, imperialism is one of the big facts of modern times, a point often difficult for Americans to appreciate. From an Asian point of view, no doubt, it is logical to see modern Europe as built on colonialism and at the expense of Asian lands. It is therefore perhaps less surprising that the Leninist theory of imperialism is almost universally accepted by Japanese scholars, whether or

¹⁴ Ōno Mayumi, *Seiyōshi gaisetsu (Kindai)* (rev. ed.; Tokyo, 1953).

¹⁵ Onabe Teruhiko, *Seiyōshi gaisetsu*, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1953-55).

¹⁶ Cf. *Seikai rekishi jiten*, V, 266, where the Japanese form of modernization is placed between the East European (Prussian) type and the Asian (Chinese) type.

¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, IX, 20 on capitalism; also XIV, 278-80 on Japan.

not one might characterize them as Marxist or non-Marxist.¹⁸ This means that many Japanese scholars will accept the technical definition that "imperialism" is possible only for capitalist states, not for the Soviet Union, and possible only in the late nineteenth century or after, not in the time of Rome or of Napoleon. Many, indeed, will go so far as to apply this sort of theory to recent times and accept the propaganda thesis that World War II was caused by Britain and France turning Germany against Russia,¹⁹ or that Japan's military aggression was caused essentially by the 1929 depression and American economic imperialism in the Far East. World War II, in any case, is generally traced back to the post-1929 depression.

From this brief sketch emerge two preliminary conclusions: first, that historians in China and Japan, since they look at the West from outside, see its structure first and its values only later. In other words, the economic and social order, the polity of Western states, has been of greatest interest to them in a period when the old order has been undergoing rapid change in their own countries. On the other hand, some distinctive Western values, things in which Western individuals have generally reposed great value or importance, have not been similarly felt and experienced in these Eastern countries. So the Western historian, having an inside view and laying his greatest stress upon the values inherited from his own past, since they are indeed his own, may give corresponding attention to Humanism or the struggle for individual rights, while these topics may remain of less emotional concern to readers of history in China or Japan. Presumably the latter attach an emotional value to filial piety or the history of Zen Buddhism which will mean little to a Westerner.

A second conclusion, which I believe is basic to the further development of this field of study, is that the historians of modern China and Japan have felt the compulsion to achieve a system of world history capable of embracing West and East in a single view. In this direction, Japanese historians are now pioneering.²⁰ In contrast, the general fraternity of historians in the West,

¹⁸ See, for example, the economic explanation of imperialism in a non-Marxist text, Kamei and Hayashi, *Gaisetsu Seiyō rekishi*, pp. 214-16.

¹⁹ *Seikai rekishi jiten* presents this thesis in authoritative form: see XI, 128 under World War II; also XIII, 72 under imperialism.

²⁰ See the volume edited by Onabe Teruhiko, *Seikaishi no kanōsei* (The potentialities of world history, Tokyo, 1950), a symposium with some sixteen contributors. The following three examples of high-school world-history texts show a more balanced world view than their Western counterparts. Wada Sei and Yamanaka Kenji, professors emeritus of Tokyo University, devote 140 pages each to Oriental history (China, India, Islam, etc.) and to Western history (Greece, Rome, Europe, etc.) down to the nineteenth century and 65 pages to the contemporary world since the rise of imperialism (*Seikai shi*, 3d ed., Tokyo, 1953). Three other Tokyo University pro-

having previously felt little need for it, has been a bit pauperized or narrowed because of leaving Asia largely out of account.

The result is a challenge to Western historians to avoid being culture-bound, to maintain our historical pluralism (as a closer approach to reality than any single doctrine will permit), yet at the same time to expand our horizon so as to include the Asian half of human experience. Historians of modern Europe are challenged to delve more deeply into Asian sectors of modern history, to encompass phenomena which in many cases, often by default, are interpreted to Asian readers only in the monocausal terms of Marxism. Perhaps this can be done by what are called "comparative studies."

Certainly Asia will not come to be included in the Western historical perspective through the efforts of Western "Asia specialists" alone. Grave doubt must be thrown on the thesis that historical thought is possible only for those who read the languages required for mastery of documentation concerning a given subject. The use of Chinese and Japanese is now correctly recognized as prerequisite for specialization in Chinese or Japanese history from a Western point of view, but it may be argued that the mastery of these languages, far from preparing an individual for broader comparative world history studies of the sort here in question, may in fact obstruct his mastery of the many-sided questions involved in such comparative work. It is a disquieting symptom that while we have no "European specialists" in America who are called by that name, one still hears of "Far Eastern specialists" among us. The latter can only be got rid of when every Western historian takes world history as his proper horizon.

One incidental but important result of such a move will be to lend moral support to those nondoctrinaire Japanese and Chinese historians, wherever they may be, who are trying to bring East Asian history realistically and without dogma into our common modern world.

Harvard University

fessors, Murakawa Kentarō, Egami Namio, and Hayashi Kentarō, make a more social-anthropological approach to world-wide developments chronologically: Part I (150 pp.) through the Mongol dynasty in China and feudalism in Europe; Part II (100 pp.) through the rise and expansion of Europe, Ming and Ch'ing; Part III (55 pp.) on the world since imperialism and World War I (*Seikai shi*, 5th ed., Tokyo, 1955). Onabe Teruhiko and Nakaya Kenichi devote 80 pages to pre-modern and 160 pages to modern times (in the Japanese sense of the last five centuries) and 135 pages to contemporary times (imperialism and after), on a world-wide basis (*Gendai sekai no naritachi* [Origins of the modern world], Tokyo, 1955).

Jackson Men with Feet of Clay

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR.

THE contagious enthusiasm for General Andrew Jackson that in 1824 swept thousands of voters for the first time out of their accustomed tutelage to the established leaders demands careful study as a major phenomenon in the history of political democracy. It demands study also as an example of the frequently neglected influence of local political maneuvers on national developments. Though a few historians have intimated that Old Hickory's popularity could not have been converted into an electoral plurality without the aid of disgruntled politicians pursuing conventional factional and personal advantages in the various states,¹ little attention has been paid to the Tennessee politicians who brought him before the country in the first place.

The accepted interpretation assumes that the men behind Jackson's candidacy—principally Judge John Overton, Senator John H. Eaton, Felix Grundy, and Major William B. Lewis—were moved by sincere admiration and affection for their friend. They are also credited with a shrewd perception that the ground swell of democratic discontent building up beneath the surface of American politics might be mobilized to make the popular general President.² A close scrutiny of the events of 1821-1823 in Tennessee reveals, however, that the objectives of Judge Overton and most of his associates were by no means so large and disinterested. There is evidence to show that Jackson was nominated for the presidency only in order that specific local political advantages could be achieved and that "the original Jackson men" actually favored other nominees.

When General Jackson retired to private life in the winter of 1821-1822, seven years had elapsed since his victory over the British at New Orleans had made him a national hero. The sporadic talk that he might be a presidential possibility had never been entertained seriously in any responsible quarter, and Jackson himself had never taken it seriously. President-making was still left exclusively to the political leaders, and they were already grooming more

¹ See especially Philip S. Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics 1817-1832: A Game without Rules* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 117-24.

² Cf. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1861), III, 11-23; John Spencer Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1911), I, 326-29; Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (Indianapolis, 1938), pp. 335-53.

than enough entries for the presidential sweepstakes of 1824. Already in the field, or soon to be there, were the major contenders: President Monroe's Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts; the Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford of Georgia; the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina; and the Speaker of the national House of Representatives, Henry Clay of Kentucky. Among the long shots being mentioned were Congressman William Lowndes of South Carolina, soon to be removed by death, and Governor DeWitt Clinton, leader of the opposition to Martin Van Buren's pro-Crawford Bucktail faction in New York.

Jackson's attitude toward these candidates was dictated mainly by personal considerations. Grateful to Adams and Calhoun for their defense of his violent incursion into Spanish Florida in 1818, he was hostile to Crawford and Clay, whose friends had attacked the Florida expedition in Congress. Crawford was slated by the old-line Republican leaders to receive the nomination of the regular congressional caucus, but Jackson declared that he "would support the Devil first."³ The Georgian had earlier impugned some of Jackson's Indian treaties, and he was being supported by the general's personal and political enemies in Tennessee.

The exigencies of factional politics largely controlled the attitudes of Tennesseans generally toward the presidential candidates. Overton, Eaton, and Lewis were associated with a faction that had dominated Tennessee for most of its history. Founded by William Blount, the architect of a fabulous land speculation involving most of the acreage in the state, this faction had been concerned primarily with making good its land claims and later with exploiting the possibilities of the banking business. Jackson had worked with this loosely knit group in his early days of political activity, and he was still personally intimate with Overton, now its unofficial leader, Eaton, Lewis, and their principal allies in East Tennessee, Overton's brother-in-law, Hugh Lawson White, and Pleasant M. Miller, a son-in-law of William Blount.

John Sevier had led the opposition to the Blount-Overton faction in the state's first years; more recently his mantle had fallen on a group of vigorous men who were all deadly personal enemies of Andrew Jackson. They included Senator John Williams and several congressmen, while their principal strategist was a Middle Tennessee planter and land speculator, Colonel Andrew Erwin, with whom Jackson was, in 1822, engaged in a bitter litigation that brought Erwin to the brink of financial ruin.⁴

³ Jackson to James Gadsden, Dec. 6, 1821, draft copy, Andrew Jackson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴ Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "Banking and Politics in Jackson's Tennessee, 1817-1827," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLI (June, 1954).

Since Erwin and his friends were solidly in the Crawford camp, the Blount-Overton men were certain to be anti-Crawford, and Jackson undoubtedly hoped to line them up behind Adams or Calhoun. This hope was threatened, however, when Henry Clay entered the presidential competition as the first western candidate in the history of the office, attracting strong support that cut across factional lines in Tennessee. Judge Overton had visited Clay in the summer of 1821, and as soon as the Kentuckian became a candidate, the judge promised him Tennessee's electoral votes. Clay got additional support from another important Tennessee politician, Felix Grundy, who a decade before had worked closely with him as one of the congressional War Hawks in precipitating the War of 1812. Grundy, like Overton, had been in communication with Clay during 1821, urging him to become a candidate and assuring him of Tennessee's support. Still another Clay backer was Governor William Carroll.⁵

Overton, Grundy, and Carroll spanned the political spectrum in Tennessee, and a union of their followers for the Kentuckian would have ensured his success in the state. Overton and his faction had been in eclipse since the Panic of 1819, which had generated a storm of public resentment against the banks they operated. Grundy, the only important Tennessee politician not identified with either major faction, had shrewdly capitalized on this popular discontent to become the dominant figure in the legislature, while veering back and forth between the two factions. Carroll was the ultimate beneficiary of the panic-generated discontent. Running as the Erwin faction's candidate for governor in 1821, he won a smashing victory over the Blount-Overton candidate. It was, in fact, the Overton men's desperate efforts to regain their ascendancy that led to Jackson's nomination for President.

The accounts left by Major Lewis and Judge Overton both indicate that the movement to nominate Jackson developed in the winter of 1821-1822, hard on the heels of Carroll's election. According to Lewis, the general's friends around Nashville "began now to speak of him as a candidate and, in *good earnest*, to take the necessary steps to place his name prominently before the country." The first public manifestation of the movement, Lewis continues, was an article in one of the Nashville newspapers in January, 1822, and soon afterward the Nashville *Gazette*, organ of the Blount-Overton faction, "took the field openly and boldly for the General."⁶

⁵ Overton to Clay, Jan. 16, 1822, Henry Clay Papers, Library of Congress; Nashville *Constitutional Advocate*, Sept. 17, 1822.

⁶ Lewis to Gov. Lewis Cass, undated letter, probably written in the 1840's, in the Henry L. Huntington Library.

Overton's account is similar, but he claims credit for originating the movement. Early in 1822, says the judge, "it forcibly struck me that he [Jackson] ought to be the next President and by proper means might be made so." Overton goes on to recall that he had "praises thrown out" in the *Nashville Gazette*. "They were lightly thought of," he says, "but that made no difference with me."⁷

Contemporary evidence makes it clear, however, that Overton was not the first to envision Jackson as a presidential candidate. Indeed, even after the Jackson talk had started, the judge preferred another. In a letter of January 16, 1822, he assured Clay that "as far as I know the public mind, you will get all the votes in Tennessee in preference to any man whose name has been mentioned." Though Overton reported "some whispering conversation here that Jackson would suffer himself to be run," he was "almost certain that he will not, and my information is derived from good authority." The judge added that Jackson could probably "beat you himself" in Tennessee, but that the general could not induce the voters to prefer Adams or Calhoun over Clay. Overton particularly requested Clay to keep his remarks confidential. "Inasmuch as I, and our family have always been friendly with Jackson," he wrote, "I should not like him to know of any interposition of mine on this subject."⁸

The apparent conflicts in the foregoing evidence are not irreconcilable. It would seem that the Jackson-for-President talk actually started with a group of politically ineffectual men around the general, most notably Major Lewis, that Overton was converted to the idea shortly after he wrote to Clay, and that Overton then instructed the *Gazette's* editor to launch the public campaign. If things happened this way, Overton's claim that he initiated the movement is essentially valid, since without his support it would never have gotten beyond the stage of talk. At any rate, the movement was certainly being pushed "in good earnest" by February, when Jackson's wife complained that "Major Eaton, General Carroll, the Doctor and even the Parson and I can't tell how many others—all of his friends who come here—talk everlastingly about his being President."⁹

Why did Overton throw his great influence behind the Jackson movement?

⁷ Overton to his nephew, Feb. 23, 1824, quoted in a sketch of Overton by Judge John M. Lea, a newspaper clipping in the Overton Papers on microfilm at the Joint University Library, Nashville. In the letter, Overton dates these events in early 1821, but this is an obvious slip, since he speaks of them as immediately preceding the legislature's nomination of Jackson, which did not occur until 1822.

⁸ Overton to Clay, Jan. 16, 1822, Clay Papers.

⁹ Augustus C. Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson: Pioneer, Patriot, Soldier, Politician, President* (New York, 1904), II, 157-58.

Much of the answer to this question may be found in a letter he received about the time he must have been making his decision. On January 27, Pleasant M. Miller of Knoxville, leader of the Blount-Overton forces in the lower house of the legislature, wrote to the judge suggesting that Jackson should be run for governor in 1823.¹⁰ Though Miller's epistolary style was highly ambiguous, the most casual reader could hardly miss his reiterated suggestions that Jackson's popularity might be used to effect certain local political objectives. Overton would have had no trouble understanding Miller's intimations that Governor Carroll, whose overwhelming strength was the chief obstacle to a Blount-Overton comeback, might thus be defeated at the state elections of 1823, that a new legislature purged of Jackson's enemies from the Erwin-Carroll faction might be elected at the same time, and that the various legislative purposes of the Blount-Overton men might thus be achieved.¹¹

A single paragraph of Miller's long letter will sufficiently suggest its tone:

Is there any man whose personal popularity is so likely to assist in fixing the seat of government permanently at any given point as Andrew Jackson, if so why should he not be the next governor, or why should this not be wish[ed] for by those who desire this result. I am satisfied that this cannot be done with the present legislature.

A more reliable legislature could be elected along with Jackson in 1823, Miller was suggesting. Even in Bedford County, Andrew Erwin's stronghold, Miller was confident the Jackson question would be potent enough to ensure the right kind of representation. In addition, Senator John Williams, whose term was expiring, could be replaced by a reliable Blount-Overton man. Miller had himself in mind for this position, as subsequently appeared.

At the time Miller wrote, there was talk of calling a special session of the legislature to meet during the summer. This legislature, having been elected along with Carroll the previous year, was untrustworthy from the Blount-Overton point of view. Hence Miller was anxious to prevent a special session, or if it were called, to keep it from acting on the matters he mentioned.

Miller had got wind of the talk about running Jackson for President, and he was by no means opposed to the idea, his comments implying that the

¹⁰ Miller to Overton, Jan. 27, 1822, John Overton Papers, Claybrooke Collection, Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville.

¹¹ Among the issues to which Miller alluded were the location of the state capital and a proposed penitentiary, land legislation in which the speculators were vitally interested, and revision of the state judiciary. The judicial question was related to the land issue, the state supreme court having recently made a ruling disastrous to the speculators, and Overton was anxious to return to the supreme bench for the purpose of rectifying matters (see Patrick H. Darby to Jackson, July 4, 1821, Jackson Papers).

general had no chance to be elected, but that his candidacy might yield certain collateral advantages. Miller was reported to favor Adams for the presidency about this time,¹² and though his meaning is obscure, his letter of January 27 seems to suggest that Tennessee and other southern states cooperate with the smaller northeastern states in electing the New England candidate. Jackson's nomination would actually help Adams in the electoral college by depriving Crawford and Clay of votes from Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, in most of which the New Englander had no chance anyhow. Crawford's defeat would aid in prostrating the Erwin-Carroll faction in Tennessee. Miller knew that Grundy "has different views at the called session," which doubtless meant a plan to nominate Clay. But, he told Overton, "I know that if you fall in with my notions that you will know how to act." He particularly urged the judge to "take time to consider of these matters so far as they concern our local affairs & ascertain how far certain persons will act on them," and concluded by promising to visit Nashville in March, when "we can converse more freely."

Overton's desertion of Clay and endorsement of the Jackson movement was substantially a fulfillment of Miller's hope that the judge would "fall in with my notions." The project of running Jackson for governor was found impracticable, but his nomination for President was to serve the same purposes. Although it was Miller who actually conceived the essential strategy first, Overton was doubtless responsible for abandoning the plan to run Jackson for governor and concentrating on his presidential candidacy. Early in the spring, Miller made his promised trip west to concert strategy with Overton. The special session had now been called for July, and it was agreed that this body should nominate Tennessee's hero formally.

Miller's subsequent letters to Overton throw further light on the motives of Jackson's two principal managers. "I have Jackson's interest deeply at heart," he wrote on June 8.¹³ "I think I know how bringing him forward is to operate upon the next congressional election &c. &c. I should not have went to the west when I did but with this view, & I think the effects of my visit will shew itself in some shape." The time had come, he thought, "for the papers to come directly forward" and call on the legislature to nominate Jackson at the special session. "Tell Jackson to come up Wednesday of the first week while people are all in a good humour—ask his friends to see him," Miller advised. "He can say he feels proud he has once returned to private

¹² Statement of Hugh Lawson White, in the *Nashville Union*, Sept. 25, 1835.

¹³ Miller to Overton, June 8, 1822, Overton Papers.

life. If he has any redgmental coat were it, put on little milletary dress &c. You know more I need say no more."

Miller did not hesitate to admit that "I have motives for this matter." Jackson's nomination was the best way of frustrating Senator Williams' plan to win reelection at the special session. "There ought not to be an election for Senator at this time," Miller insisted, "—these good people must be held in check & this is all the hold we have—in a state of excitement publick opinion will keep them down unless that election is over." Should Williams be re-elected, he predicted, there would be "a prodigious struggle" to realign Tennessee's congressional districts so as to favor Erwinite congressmen who "will in caucus vote for you knowho [Crawford]. I believe however I understand this matter tolerable well & expect to frustrate these views," Miller continued. "If I fail it will be the first time[.] keep your eye on [the] fidler & work even a head & let me alone for the rest." Almost parenthetically he reported talk that "I am a candidate for the Senate, & that my visit to the west was to promote that view."

Several weeks later, Miller wrote again,¹⁴ in terms indicating that he and Overton were working closely together toward mutually agreeable objectives. "I have rec[eive]d your two letters," he told the judge, "& things will be attended to to your satisfaction in part or in whole. I am using all my exertions to bring old hickory to view during the approaching session."

Meanwhile Overton and Miller had acquired an important recruit. Felix Grundy had become estranged from the Erwin-Carroll men and, in danger of political isolation, was ready to jump aboard any band wagon that happened along. The Jackson movement offered him a perfect opportunity to reinstate himself in the good graces of the Blount-Overton faction, and he did not hesitate. It was Grundy who on June 27 signed the note asking Jackson whether he had any objection to the proposed nomination.¹⁵ Jackson seems not to have replied, but silence was as good as open assent.

The last possible obstacle removed, Overton, Miller, and Grundy now made their final preparations, and the Nashville newspapers endorsed the plan for a legislative nomination. State pride kept even the Erwin-Carroll men from opposing Jackson publicly,¹⁶ though the editorial of endorsement in their organ, the Nashville *Clarion*, had a sarcastic ring. When the special ses-

¹⁴ Miller to Overton, June 25, 1822, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Grundy to Jackson, June 27, 1822, Jackson Papers. Grundy was probably enlisted during Miller's visit to Nashville in the spring. Miller had even foreseen Grundy's cooperation, having informed Overton in his letter of January 27 that Grundy had "abandoned the head of department at Nashville [Governor Carroll] & said that he would stick to me."

¹⁶ Andrew Hynes (an associate of Carroll) to Henry Clay, June 30, 1822, Clay Papers; James, *Jackson*, p. 351.

sion assembled on July 22, Miller was able to push his nominating resolutions through the lower house promptly, though the Erwin-Carroll men delayed action in the senate for two weeks.¹⁷

The reactions to Jackson's nomination by well-informed politicians outside the circle of Jackson managers were significant. All the comments that have been discovered agree in predicting that Jackson would not remain in the race as a serious contender. A month before the nomination, one of Governor Carroll's associates, Colonel Andrew Hynes, had informed Clay that Jackson had no hope of being elected and that he was being brought forward "not so much with view of promoting his own elevation, as to subserve an Eastern or Northern interest."¹⁸ The same explanation was advanced as late as the summer of 1823 by that astute politician, Thomas Hart Benton, following a two-month tour of Tennessee in the interest of Clay. "Jackson out of the way the state will go for you," Benton told the Kentuckian, "and there is hardly anyone who thinks he has any chance, and many see in his offering nothing but a diversion in favor of Adams."¹⁹

During the special session of 1822, Colonel Hynes discovered an additional explanation for the nomination. According to a "secret rumor that is afloat in the air," he informed Clay, Jackson's nomination was designed mainly to affect the senatorial election.²⁰ This was corroborated by a Colonel McClung, one of the leading citizens of Knoxville, who asserted that Pleasant Miller had "played off this manouvre to bring Jackson's name to bear, & make a point in the election of Senator." McClung was confident that Williams would be reelected by the special session despite the Jackson movement and that "so soon as the election of Senator is over, we shall hear no more of a Tenn. candidate for the office of President."²¹ McClung's judgment was wrong, for Miller's strategy succeeded in blocking Williams' reelection at the special session, and the senatorial election was postponed to the regular session of 1823.

Meanwhile, Governor Carroll was spreading reports that Jackson would probably not remain long in the running and telling Clay that he still had a

¹⁷ James, *Jackson*, pp. 352-53. Though inaccurate in details, Overton's account, cited in fn. 7 above, illuminates the roles of the principals. "The Legislature met," says the judge, "and then I communicated to a leading member my views which he gave into, communicated them to Grundy, who at first seemed a little surprised, but gave into the measure of recommending him by our Legislature which was done unanimously. The resolutions were preceded by a speech which I wrote for a member." Most of these negotiations took place, as we have seen, some time before the legislature met. The "leading member" was unquestionably Miller.

¹⁸ Hynes to Clay, June 30, 1822, Clay Papers.

¹⁹ Benton to Clay, July 23, 1823, *ibid.*

²⁰ Hynes to Clay, July 31, 1822, *ibid.*

²¹ McClung's remarks were reported by one of Clay's correspondents, George C. Thompson, Thompson to Clay, Aug. 12, 1822, *ibid.*

good chance for Tennessee. The governor also informed the Kentuckian that Grundy had promised to support him "if the prospects of Jackson became hopeless . . . and that he would endeavour to have you nominated at the next meeting of our legislature."²² About the same time, Colonel Hynes was in New Orleans assuring the Louisiana politicians that Tennessee would ultimately go for Clay.²³

Skepticism about the seriousness of Jackson's candidacy was also expressed by one of his sincere admirers. "Whatever may be the estimate in which he is held by the people of this State (and surely even here he is very differently estimated)," wrote Thomas Claiborne to a friend in Virginia, "I confess that I fear he will not be likely to unite sufficient strength in other States to secure his election. There are too many great men in other States to suffer a man from the young & small State of Tennessee at the present day to be made President of the United States."²⁴

Whatever their ultimate purposes or expectations, Miller and his allies did everything they could to raise a Jackson excitement in the state campaign of 1823. Meetings to endorse Jackson were organized all over the state; pro-Jackson candidates for Congress and the legislature were put up in most districts; office seekers were called upon to say whether they would vote against Williams for senator and for Jackson in the presidential election; and an unsuccessful effort was made to induce Jackson to aid his supporters by touring East Tennessee.²⁵

One of the hottest contests was in the Knoxville district, home of Williams, Miller, and Judge Hugh Lawson White, where Miller had entered a Doctor Wiatt as the pro-Jackson candidate for the legislature against the senator's brother, Thomas L. Williams.²⁶ This placed Judge White in a particularly embarrassing position. One of Jackson's oldest friends, a brother-in-law of Overton, and long a leader of the Blount-Overton faction, White was also related to Senator Williams and reluctant to oppose him. When he took the Williams' side in the Knoxville legislative campaign, he and his sons became involved in such a bitter personal broil with the Miller-Wiatt party that several duels were barely averted.

²² Carroll to Clay, Feb. 1, 1823, *ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*; Isaac L. Baker to Jackson, Mar. 3, 1823, Jackson Papers.

²⁴ Claiborne to David Campbell, Sept. 9, 1822, David Campbell Papers, Duke University Library.

²⁵ Samuel Martin to Jackson, June 17, 1823, Jackson Papers; John Williams to Rufus King, Nov. 19, 1823, Rufus King Papers, New York Historical Society; James Campbell to David Campbell, Apr. 3, 1823 [misplaced 1825], Campbell Papers.

²⁶ J. G. M. Ramsey to Francis P. Blair, Oct. 5, 1835, Blair-Lee Papers, Princeton University Library.

"If Genl Jackson has any wishes or prospects of success, I never was more disposed to aid him than now," White explained to Overton; "but I will not, as far as I can prevent it, permit scoundrels by the use of his name, to effect their dishonest or dishonorable purposes." White never doubted that Miller's senatorial aspirations lay at the root of the Jackson-for-President movement. "The whole cry is that Jackson must be President," he complained. "They have no more notion of trying to make him President than of making me. If he had a wish that way, and there was any prospect of success no three persons in this State would aid him more zealously than me and my sons; but I will not consent that scoundrels under a pretense of that kind shall rule, or tyrannize, over me and mine."²⁷ Recalling these events later, White maintained that Wiatt was in reality for Clay, while Miller wished "to use the name of Gen. Jackson, only for the purpose of securing the election of Mr. Adams, by dividing the western vote."²⁸

When the state election finally occurred in August, 1823, the results were inconclusive. The Williamses defeated Miller's pro-Jackson candidate for the legislature in the Knoxville district, but Andrew Erwin lost to a pro-Jackson candidate for Congress, and a pro-Jackson legislator was elected in Erwin's bailiwick, Bedford County.

Meanwhile there had been two important new developments. First, an astonishing and unprecedented upsurge of grass roots support for Jackson had manifested itself in various places outside Tennessee. A veritable "contagion" of Jacksonism was spreading over Alabama, as an alarmed Clay backer had to admit, and it rapidly attained sufficient proportions to block the expected election of a Crawford man as United States senator.²⁹ Major Lewis had been sounding out North Carolina and Mississippi politicians with surprisingly gratifying results.³⁰ Most startling of all was the outburst of Jackson sentiment in Pennsylvania, stemming, as one of Calhoun's lieutenants sneered, from "the grog shop politicians of the villages & the rabble of Philadelphia & Pittsburgh."³¹ But contempt quickly turned into intense concern when the swelling Jackson enthusiasm prevented the anticipated

²⁷ White to Overton, Jan. 30, 1823, Overton Papers. White expressed similar sentiments in a letter to David Campbell, June 19, 1823, in the Campbell Papers.

²⁸ Quoted in the *Nashville Union*, Sept. 25, 1835.

²⁹ James, *Jackson*, p. 370; Charles R. King, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* . . . (New York, 1900), VI, 494.

³⁰ Albert Ray Newsome, *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*, *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, XXXIII, No. 1 (Chapel Hill, 1939), 90-91; Lewis to George Poindexter, Oct. 10, 1822, J. F. H. Claiborne Papers, Mississippi Dept. of Archives and History (copy furnished the writer by Dr. Edwin Miles).

³¹ George McDuffie to Charles Fisher, Jan. 13, 1823, Charles Fisher Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

nomination of Calhoun by the state Republican convention in March.³² Major Lewis was virtually the only member of Jackson's inner circle who seems to have anticipated anything like this. As early as October, 1822, he had predicted that Jackson's popularity with the masses would give him such states as Pennsylvania and North Carolina, that Calhoun would be forced to withdraw, and that Jackson would fall heir to the South Carolinian's following.³³ At the time it was written, Lewis' estimate had been the wildest optimism, but by the summer of 1823 it was a sober statement of a reality that was daily becoming more apparent.

Simultaneously with these surprising indications of his national strength, Jackson began demonstrating a disturbing independence of the Blount-Overton faction on state issues. Entering Tennessee politics many years before under the aegis of William Blount, Jackson had joined the Blount men in land and mercantile speculations based on paper credit and political power. But his business ventures had ended in a bankruptcy that cured him of all sympathies for the speculative system. He was outraged, therefore, when Grundy, Overton, and Miller induced the special session of 1822 to pack the state supreme court with judges who would overturn an earlier ruling adverse to the land speculators and to pass a punitive law aimed at Patrick H. Darby, a self-educated attorney who had been bringing suit against the speculators' doubtful titles. When Darby established a newspaper in self-defense and announced for the legislature against Grundy from the Nashville district, Jackson upheld him warmly, which "put Judge Overton in a great state of fretfulness" and produced a perceptible coolness with Grundy.³⁴

Banking was an even more important issue than land speculation in 1823. The banks, which were controlled by Blount-Overton men, had not paid specie on their notes for four years, and the new legislature would finally decide their fate. Here too Jackson's views were inimical to his managers, and he egged Darby on to expose the fraudulent misuse of federal pension funds by the Overton ally who headed one of the principal banks. Jackson was telling all who would listen, in fact, that he opposed all banks on principle.³⁵

Thus by the time the new legislature met in 1823, Jackson's conservative managers were in a dilemma. Their candidate had begun to display his dangerous tendencies just at the moment when he unexpectedly became a major contender. Most mortifying of all, they had initiated the whole business.

³² James, *Jackson*, p. 370.

³³ Lewis to George Poindexter, Oct. 10, 1822, Claiborne Papers.

³⁴ John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, D. C., 1926-1935), III, 194.

³⁵ Sellers, *loc. cit.*

But Jackson's candidacy might still be killed. John Williams' reelection to the Senate would indicate that Jackson did not control his own state and keep worried politicians in states like Pennsylvania from jumping aboard the Jackson band wagon. Even Tennessee might be held for Clay after all.

The crucial importance of the Tennessee senatorial election was appreciated far beyond the borders of the state. Senator Ninian Edwards came down from Illinois to represent Calhoun's interests, while Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri spent several months in Tennessee on a similar mission for Clay.³⁶ When the legislature assembled at Murfreesborough in September, the little village was crowded with "extra members," who had flocked in from every part of the state to influence the legislators in the senatorial election. Judge White had come from Knoxville to "spread himself against Jackson,"³⁷ and was frequently seen with Senator Williams "in deep consultation on the woodpiles about the square."³⁸ The pro-Jackson delegation on hand to ensure Williams' downfall included Senator Eaton, Major Lewis, Thomas Claiborne, fresh from his defeat for the legislature on the anti-Grundy ticket, and Sam Houston, the dashing young lawyer who had just won a seat in Congress as Jackson's protégé.

During the preceding weeks, John Williams had been touring the state to line up his supporters, and despite Miller's active campaign the senator reached Murfreesborough with the assurance of a comfortable majority over the announced opposition. Much of his advantage arose from the fact that Miller was not the only politician hoping to ride into the Senate on Jackson's coattails. William G. Blount, son of the great speculator and a former congressman from East Tennessee, threatened to enter the race, while Jackson's old crony, the veteran East Tennessee politician, John Rhea, had actually abandoned his seat in Congress to offer as a candidate. Neither Miller nor Rhea would withdraw, and the Jackson men were forced into desperate efforts to stave off the election until they could unite on one of their two candidates. The least division would ensure the election of Jackson's notorious enemy and almost certainly destroy his presidential prospects.³⁹

There is strong evidence that Overton and Grundy were now working for

³⁶ Elihu B. Washburne, ed., *The Edwards Papers* (Chicago, 1884), p. 207; John Williams to Rufus King, Nov. 19, 1823, King Papers; Benton to Clay, July 23, 1823, Clay Papers; Jackson to [Eaton?], Oct. 4, 1823, draft copy, Jackson Papers.

³⁷ J. G. M. Ramsey to F. P. Blair, Oct. 5, 1835, Blair-Lee Papers.

³⁸ *Nashville Union*, Sept. 22, 1836.

³⁹ John Rhea to Jackson, June 18, 1823, Jackson Papers; R. G. Dunlap to Jackson, July 2, 1823, *ibid.*; John Williams to Rufus King, Nov. 19, 1823, King Papers; *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, III, 201n.; *Tenn. House Journal*, 1823, pp. 20, 76-77; *Tenn. Senate Journal*, 1823, pp. 29-30, 37, 59-60.

just this result, with the important assistance of Judge White. Since January, Senator Williams had been writing familiarly to Overton about his chances,⁴⁰ and now Thomas L. Williams implored Overton to come to Murfreesborough and help his brother. "As the friends of our opponents assemble to influence members and to promote the views of their favourite I think ours should be permitted an equal liberty," he wrote, betraying not the slightest doubt of Overton's sympathy. "Will you come up next week."⁴¹

Grundy, meanwhile, was leading the fight to bring on the election at once. "His vote had been firmly fixed from shortly after his arrival here," a newspaper reported him as saying in debate; "previous to that time a difficulty had existed with him on the subject which but one man [John Williams] could remove; and he now could say that the difficulty had been removed fully and satisfactorily, and he was now ready to give his vote."⁴² This was merely part of a concerted effort to convince members that Williams was not unfriendly to Jackson and would not oppose his presidential aspirations. Simultaneously, Grundy introduced resolutions instructing Tennessee's senators to do their best to prevent the congressional nominating caucus. All of this convinced Jackson's friends that Grundy was leading the Williams forces and had introduced his caucus resolutions to obviate the most serious objection to Williams, the expectation that he would attend the caucus and help nominate Crawford.⁴³

The suspicious Jackson men now sent a delegation to question Williams on his attitude toward the general, and when he equivocated, they dispatched a messenger urging Jackson to hasten to Murfreesborough and save the situation. Jackson refused to come, but he did insist on Williams' defeat and denounced Grundy and the other "schemers of the opposition."⁴⁴ By this time, as Governor Carroll reported to Clay, the situation was extremely "strange and uncertain."⁴⁵ When it became clear that Miller had too many personal enemies to overcome the well-organized Williams forces, the Jackson men persuaded the general to endorse Rhea, but even this left them three votes short of a majority. Jackson again refused to come personally to their aid, and the election could be staved off no longer.

Finally, in desperation, Eaton and Lewis had Jackson's name placed before the legislature as Williams' competitor for the Senate. When the messenger

⁴⁰ John Williams to Overton, Jan. 14, 1823, Overton Papers.

⁴¹ Thomas L. Williams to Overton, Sept. 20, 1823, *ibid.*

⁴² Nashville *Whig*, Sept. 22, 1823.

⁴³ William Brady and Thomas Williamson to Jackson, Sept. 20, 1823, Jackson Papers.

⁴⁴ Jackson [to William Brady and Thomas Williamson], Sept. 27, 1823, draft copy, *ibid.*; Nashville *Union*, Sept. 22, 1836.

⁴⁵ Carroll to Clay, Oct. 1, 1823, Clay Papers.

bearing this news reached the Hermitage, Jackson mounted up and left post-haste for Murfreesborough, arriving in the middle of the night preceding the election. Even with Jackson as a candidate and present at the election, Williams was beaten and Jackson elected senator by a vote of only thirty-five to twenty-five.

In Washington the following winter, Senator Jackson charmed friend and foe alike. Pennsylvania soon endorsed Tennessee's hero, most of Calhoun's support shifted to Jackson when the South Carolinian was forced to withdraw, and everywhere the popular enthusiasm for Old Hickory mounted.

Though Grundy, Overton, Miller, and White now joined Lewis and Eaton in the five-year campaign that carried Jackson into the White House, their situation was ironical. A movement started by obscure Tennessee politicians for their own local purposes had unexpectedly been caught up by a deep ground swell of democratic aspiration. The original Jackson promoters found themselves uncomfortably astride a whirlwind of their own devising.

None of these conservative men were fundamentally sympathetic to Jackson's social philosophy, as it began to manifest itself in the 1820's or as it was implemented in the 1830's. Old Hickory was hardly inaugurated before Miller went into opposition. Overton and Eaton evidenced their discomfort by trying to block Van Buren's vice presidential nomination in 1832. Overton died shortly afterward, while Eaton opposed the Jackson party covertly in 1836 and openly in 1840. Major Lewis dissembled from about 1833 on, professing friendship to Jackson but actually aiding his enemies. Judge White ran for President against the Jackson party's candidate in 1836. Only the adaptable Grundy, acutely sensitive to Old Hickory's popularity, managed to remain loyal until his death in 1840.

Since the foregoing account depends at some points on inference from rather ambiguous documents, it has been necessary to present much of the evidence in relatively raw form. This evidence each reader may evaluate for himself; but to the writer the following conclusions are clearly indicated:

1. Major Lewis and a few other politically inconsequential personal friends were the first Tennesseans to think seriously of making Jackson President, and these men could never have initiated the Jackson movement by themselves.

2. Jackson's nomination by the Tennessee legislature in 1822 was the work of Pleasant M. Miller, John Overton, and Felix Grundy, none of whom preferred Jackson personally and none of whom thought he had a chance to

be elected, or even to be a major contender. Miller seems to have favored John Quincy Adams, while Overton and Grundy hoped ultimately to carry Tennessee for Henry Clay.

3. The primary motive of these "original Jackson men" was to use Jackson's popularity to achieve certain local political advantages. Miller, who apparently sold this strategy to Overton in January, 1822, was particularly motivated by a desire to succeed John Williams in the United States Senate.

4. Overton and Grundy, surprised by the ground swell of Jackson sentiment outside Tennessee and dismayed by Jackson's increasingly manifest social philosophy, sought to kill his presidential candidacy by securing John Williams' reelection to the Senate in 1823.

American history is full of ironies, but surely few are more striking than the situation of these conservative Tennesseans as they unwittingly launched the movement that carried popular democracy to victory in national politics. The episode in itself is hardly more than a fascinating footnote to the Jackson story, yet for historians it is significantly representative. Scholarly indifference to the local and particular ends that are often the springs of political behavior has shrouded much of our political history in a pervasive unreality. The Jackson movement originated in a curious amalgam of local machinations by obscure politicians and of broad national developments. The political system thus imposed on the country has continued to rest on just such an amalgam. We shall never understand that system and its history adequately so long as able scholars confine themselves to congressional and cabinet level materials, while regarding investigations at the base of political life as work for inferior talents.

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French Finance and Italian Unity: The Cavourian Decade*

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"ON the morrow of Solferino France gave its gold after its blood. . . . The financial campaign followed the military campaign."¹ Writing in 1863, the author of these words sought to emphasize the fact that French contributions to Italian unity did not end with the withdrawal of the French expeditionary force from Italy after the War of 1859. In fact, however, the military campaign followed an earlier financial campaign. Between 1848 and 1860, Frenchmen invested more than one billion gold francs in both public securities and private enterprises in the Kingdom of Sardinia. The activities of French bankers, investors, and engineers helped lay the foundations of economic development and financial stability in Piedmont which supported the diplomacy of Cavour and prepared the way for military collaboration with Napoleon III.

I

French investments in Piedmont formed part of a much larger outflow of French capital in the nineteenth century.² France experienced no rapid transformation to an industrial economy as did England between 1785 and 1850, or Germany and the United States after 1870; but throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a steady growth of modern industry, a growth that reached its peak intensity in the decade between the Revolution of 1848 and the Austro-Italian War of 1859 and made the France of the Second Empire the wealthiest nation on the Continent.³ By 1850,

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¹ *L'Industrie* (Paris), Mar. 7, 1863.

² See Rondo E. Cameron, *French Foreign Investment, 1850-1880* (Chicago, 1952), available on microfilm from the University of Chicago Libraries.

³ For general surveys of French industrialization, see Henri Sée, *Histoire économique de la France*, Vol. II (2d ed.; Paris, 1951), and Arthur Louis Dunham, *The Industrial Revolution in France, 1815-1848* (New York, 1955).

mechanical spinning and weaving of silk, cotton, and woollens, introduced in the first third of the century, produced almost 50 per cent of all French exports. Coal production rose from less than a million tons in 1815 to about five million in 1850, and more than eight million in 1860. The iron industry, utilizing primarily the ancient charcoal technique, doubled its output from 1825 to 1850; reorganized on the basis of coke smelting, its output increased by 250 per cent within the next decade. The installed horsepower of steam engines in industry increased tenfold between 1840 and 1870; other sources of mechanical power existed in the old-fashioned water wheels still in use and in the new hydraulic turbine developed by the Frenchman Benoît Fourneyron in 1832. In the latter year, France's first steam railway began operations; by 1850, three thousand kilometers of track were open; nine thousand by 1860; and eighteen thousand by 1870. Steamshipping, already important for internal transport before 1850, increased rapidly in overseas commerce thereafter.

Other factors joined technological advance to favor the rapid growth of wealth. Foreign commerce doubled between 1830 and 1850, and doubled again by 1860. Under the stimulus of increased world gold production, of which France received a disproportionate share, the price level rose by more than 50 per cent between 1850 and 1857. Wages lagged behind prices, resulting in a redistribution of income in favor of the propertied classes and contributing to the great speculative boom that made Paris the world's leading capital market in the 1850's.

The transformation of the French banking system produced a similar effect. After 1848, the Bank of France greatly extended its credit facilities, especially those concerned with stock market operations. The *Crédit Mobilier*, first of the great corporate investment banks, opened its doors in 1852. Its competition with the leader of the old established private banks, the Paris House of Rothschild, forced the latter to adopt more aggressive methods in the attempt to retain its preeminence in financing governments, foreign commerce, and especially new industrial enterprises.

The net result of all these factors was that the annual increase in the national wealth of France, which had averaged between 2 and 3 per cent in the first half of the century, rose to 5 per cent or more in the 1850's.⁴

In spite of the rapid accumulation of capital, the domestic demand, apart from the requirements of government and the nonrecurring expenditure for the construction of railroads, was not great. The French population was

⁴ For a discussion of both the supply of and demand for capital, see Cameron, *op. cit.*, chap. i and the references there cited.

virtually stagnant in the 1850's; the slight increase that did take place resulted mainly from immigration. Many French enterprises, especially in light industries such as textiles, were tightly-controlled family firms which rarely, if ever, sought capital from outside sources. Finally, the relative scarcity of mineral resources in France, particularly coal and the nonferrous metals, made domestic investment in these and related industries less attractive in comparison with similar investments abroad.

The foreign demand for French capital more than compensated for the relative weakness of the domestic demand. As in France itself, the real or fancied needs of government were responsible for the greater part. In the nineteenth century, public debts increased apace for the construction of public works such as railroads and harbors, for building and maintaining larger armies and navies, or simply to make up for the inefficiency and corruption of governments. By the century's end, only little San Marino, of all the states of Europe, was without its public debt.

The second largest foreign demand for capital was for the construction of railways. Britain, which in the earliest days of the steam railway had first begun its own system and then contributed to developments in nearby nations, notably France, increasingly turned its attention to overseas areas. From the middle of the century onward, Frenchmen shouldered the largest part of the burden in financing and constructing European railways. As early as 1860, Frenchmen could say: "What England has done for our railways, we in our turn have believed ourselves able to do for the rest of Europe. There exist today very few railways on the Continent in which French capital has not taken the largest part in their establishment."⁵ Paris was "virtually the only market" for Spanish, Swiss, and Italian rail securities, as well as the principal market for those of Portugal, Russia, and the Austrian Empire.

Foreign governments came of their own accord to the Paris capital market where French bankers, who reaped large underwriting profits and commissions, eagerly received them. At the same time, French promoters and entrepreneurs scoured Europe in their search for likely concessions for railroads, banks, insurance companies, canals, mines, and miscellaneous enterprises of all varieties. One of the happiest hunting grounds of these avid searchers was France's diminutive neighbor with big ideas, the Kingdom of Sardinia.

II

French investors bought Italian securities long before there was an Italian government, but they confined their earliest investments almost entirely to

⁵ François Blanc, *Des valeurs étrangères en France* (Paris, 1860), p. 6.

the public funds of resolute opponents of Italian unity: the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the States of the Church, and the petty princelings of central Italy.⁶ However, after the abortive uprisings of 1848-1849, in which Piedmont prematurely attempted to drive Austria from the Italian peninsula, French capitalists helped liquidate the costs of the wars and pay the indemnity of seventy-five million lire which Austria exacted from its hapless victim.⁷ Baron James de Rothschild, of Paris, was the principal intermediary in these transactions.

The Rothschild family, with branches in Frankfurt, London, Vienna, and Naples as well as Paris, had been the principal bankers of the Austrian Empire and its Italian satellites ever since the Congress of Vienna but had had very few dealings with Piedmont. One reason, no doubt, was the moribund state of affairs, both politically and economically, of the latter country before 1848. The government of Carlo Alberto and his predecessors was a miserly autocracy of the old style which had few occasions to incur debt, and the semi-feudal economy provided slight incentive for private investments. When the Austrian government engaged Baron James to transmit the indemnity payments, therefore, it gave him the inside track to the Sardinian finance ministry. Thereafter he played a leading role in both public and private finance in Piedmont, later in the Kingdom of Italy—much to Austria's chagrin.

Piedmont's finances were in a precarious condition as a result of the war costs and the indemnity, and its public debt tripled in the three years following 1848. Rothschild underwrote virtually the entire increase in Paris at ruinous rates for the country. Giovanni Nigra, the first finance minister under the new *Statuto* of 1848, which created a bicameral legislature and responsible cabinet on the English model, had the responsibility for raising loans. To cover actual and anticipated deficits for 1850 and 1851, the parliament in the summer of 1850 authorized Nigra to issue six million lire in 5 per cent *rentes*, thus constituting a nominal capital of 120 million lire.⁸ Rothschild, using a

⁶ Isadore Sachs, *L'Italie, ses finances et son développement économique, 1859-1884* (Paris, 1885), pp. 445-58; Egon C. Corti, *The Rise of the House of Rothschild* (New York, 1928), *passim*, and *The Reign of the House of Rothschild* (London, 1928), *passim*. The pagination of Corti's books differs slightly in the English and American editions; my references hereafter are to the American edition of *Rise* and the English edition of *Reign*.

⁷ Camillo di Cavour, "Mémoire sur les opérations financières exécutées sous le Ministère de Mr. de Cavour," (1852), in Luigi Chiala, ed., *Lettere edite ed inedite di Camillo Cavour*, 7 vols. (1st ed.; Turin, 1883-88), I, 313; *Journal des économistes*, XXIV (October, 1849), 424.

The gold lira, equivalent to the gold franc, was worth approximately 20 cents in pre-1914 gold dollars. There is no accurate method of measuring its value in terms of present-day currencies, but one may say that the purchasing power of a gold lira (or franc) in the 1850's was roughly the same as that of a United States dollar in the 1950's.

⁸ Cavour, "Mémoire," *Lettere*, I, 314.

veiled threat to depress the prices of all Sardinian securities if he did not get the contract, took 500,000 in *rentes* at a fixed price and agreed to sell an additional 3,500,000 on commission for what the market would bring. By the end of the year, with almost two million of the original bloc unsold, prices were so low that Rothschild persuaded Nigra to halt sales temporarily and accept an immediate advance of twenty-five million from him.⁹

This was one of Rothschild's favorite gambits. Once he conditioned a government to accept temporary advances to tide over emergency periods, it rarely ever regained its financial independence. As though addicted to a habit-forming drug, it returned again and again for new injections.

III

One member of the government saw at once where this policy would lead. Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, minister of marine, commerce, and agriculture, had already subjected his colleague to sharp criticisms in the Chamber of Deputies for allowing the country's finances to fall into such a state.¹⁰ When James de Rothschild visited Piedmont in October, 1850, to sign the contract for the four million in *rentes*, Cavour left Turin for the mountains in order to avoid meeting him and seeming to share the responsibility for the operation.¹¹ Although Cavour could not prevent Nigra either from giving the contract to Rothschild or from accepting the temporary advance, his ringing denunciations of financial incompetence soon forced Nigra out of the cabinet. In April, 1851, Cavour himself accepted the post of minister of finance.¹²

Cavour was no novice in financial and economic questions. As a young man, he pioneered in scientific agriculture in Piedmont and made several fortunes trading and speculating in grain, silk, securities, and foreign exchange. He played a leading role in founding the Bank of Turin and the first railway conceded to a private company in Piedmont. To his practical experience, he added years of study of history, politics, and economics, and he was an enthusiastic if undogmatic follower of the English classical school of political economy.

In 1850, Cavour entered the government and immediately put his principles into practice. The government had already taken a few hesitant steps

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *C. Benso di Cavour—Discorsi parlamentari*, 10 vols. [series incomplete] (Florence, n.d.), II, 176 ff. *et passim*.

¹¹ Cavour to Emile de la Ruë, Oct. 6, 1850, in Amédée Bert, ed., *C. Cavour: Nouvelles lettres inédites* (Turin, 1889), pp. 399-400.

¹² *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1851, p. 417.

to promote industry, lower the grain duty, and abolish differential navigation dues, but the rapidity with which Cavour instituted reforms astounded even his Liberal colleagues. Within a month, he negotiated a new trade treaty with France, followed shortly by others with Belgium, England, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, the Zollverein, and even with Austria. Between 1850 and 1855, exports increased by 50 per cent while imports almost trebled; the resulting heavy adverse trade balance was made up by French investments in Piedmont.¹³ The French minister at Turin had frequent occasion to comment favorably on the progress of the country and to indicate among its causes the "transition . . . [to the system] of commercial liberty."¹⁴

Not content with the promotion of freer trade, Cavour sought to stimulate the domestic economy with laws abolishing the municipal taxes on bread, eliminating the last remaining feudal dues, encouraging joint stock companies, promoting agricultural credit and education, reforming the postal system, and overhauling the administration of the navy. One of his most notable reforms was the removal of the naval arsenal from Genoa to La Spezia to permit the enlargement and reequipping of the Genoese harbor as a first-class port.

Both in office and out, Cavour consistently advocated the use of foreign capital and foreign enterprise to help develop Piedmont to the point that it could stand on its own feet. Time and again after he assumed leadership in the government, he stressed that financial order and economic progress were the two "indispensable conditions" for Piedmont to assume, in the eyes of Europe, the leadership of the Italian peninsula—and these it could achieve only with foreign aid.

As the director charged with supervising construction of the Turin-Savigliano railway, Cavour in 1850 obtained the services of two French engineers on the recommendation of Adolphe d'Eichthal, a Parisian banker and railway director. Regarding the choice between French and English engineers (to his mind these were the only alternatives), he wrote: "We preferred a French to an English engineer for the simple reason that the English are spendthrifts, and even at that we could not get a passable man except for an outrageous price."¹⁵ As a member of the government, Cavour was responsible for granting concessions to French entrepreneurs and engineers for

¹³ Gourand, branch manager of the Bank of France in Grenoble, to Count de Germiny, governor of the Bank of France, Grenoble, Apr. 11, 1860, Archives of the Bank of France. See also Bolton King, *A History of Italian Unity*, 2 vols. (3d impr. rev.; London, 1924), II, 2; and Roberto Tremelloni, *Storia dell'industria italiana contemporanea* (Turin, 1947), pp. 262 ff.

¹⁴ Duke de Guiche to Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Turin, Mar. 3, 1854, Archives Nationales (France), F¹⁴.8627.

¹⁵ Cavour to De La Ruë, July 4 and 11, 1850, *Nouvelles lettres*, pp. 385, 387.

railways, gas companies, banks and insurance companies, mining privileges, and even agricultural development.

After becoming prime minister in 1852, Cavour divested himself of direct connection with commercial and industrial undertakings, but he continued to advise his friends and countrymen in their private economic affairs and to implore them to utilize the best talent, even when that meant importing it from abroad. The project for enlarging the harbor of Genoa occupied him throughout the 1850's, and the narrow viewpoint and limited horizons of the local businessmen drove him to distraction on more than one occasion. As early as 1852 he wrote: "If the city of Genoa refuses to take charge [of the project] one can find the capital in Paris without difficulty."¹⁶ He was still writing in the same vein in 1856 when he suggested that his friends in the *Crédit Mobilier* might be interested and in 1858 when, to his great disgust, the city fathers gave up the project altogether.¹⁷ In the end, Genoa got its new harbor through the bequest of a Paris banker, rather than through any efforts on the part of the local businessmen.¹⁸

IV

Important as were his reforms while minister of agriculture and commerce, Cavour first clearly demonstrated his great diplomatic talents as minister of finance. The situation he faced upon taking that office in 1851 was not an enviable one. A hasty survey showed a current deficit of some sixty-eight million lire—roughly 40 per cent of the budget. Cavour had to raise immediately eighteen million lire to repay advances from the Banca Nazionale, thus enabling it to resume specie payments; repay the advances from Rothschild to halt the drain on the treasury created by the exorbitant interest charges; and dispose of the remainder of the *rentes* created the previous year.¹⁹ Moreover, within a relatively short period another large loan would

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Paris, Sept. 13, 1852, p. 441.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Turin, Feb. 10, 1856, and Jan. 23, 1858, pp. 508, 529. The French *Société Générale du Crédit Mobilier*, founded in 1852 by the brothers Émile and Isaac Pereire with the collaboration of the Paris banking house of B. L. Fould et Fould-Oppenheim, was the most famous financial institution of its time; see Cameron, "The *Crédit Mobilier* and the Economic Development of Europe," *Journal of Political Economy*, LXI (1953), 461-88.

¹⁸ Raffaele Ferrari, Duca di Galliera (1803-1876), was a Genoese nobleman who spent his adult life in Paris making an already large fortune into the largest in Italy through his speculations and banking activities. He was a sometime director of the *Crédit Mobilier*, which he deserted to become an associate of the Rothschilds. When his only surviving son embraced socialism, he willed his entire estate to the city of Genoa, with a special provision of twenty million francs for rebuilding the harbor. See Duca di Galliera to Marco Minghetti, Dec. 7, 1875, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna; copy in Mostra del Porto de Genova, *Catalogo della mostra tecnico-storica del Porto di Genova* (Genoa, 1953); also *Gazzetta di Genova*, Nov. 24, 1876, and Giuseppe Morgavi, *Rievocazioni Genovesi* (Genoa, 1954), pp. 24 ff.

¹⁹ Cavour, "Mémoire," *Lettere*, I, 314.

be necessary to pay the last installment of the indemnity to Austria and resume construction of the state railway from Turin to Genoa.

Solicitous, as always, of the welfare of his clients, James de Rothschild offered fresh advances to Cavour to tide him over during his first few months in office. But Cavour resolutely turned his back on the tempter. Not for this had he created a ministerial crisis. He was determined to show Rothschild and Europe, once and for all, that Piedmont was not tied to Rothschild's purse strings.²⁰

The course Cavour set for himself was a bold one which, he knew, would encounter the gravest sort of opposition from the rejected financier; but once he set out upon it he dared not turn back. An issue of treasury bonds, an innovation in Piedmontese finance, sufficed to repay the bank its temporary advances and elicit more. Another innovation, public subscription in Piedmont for eighteen million lire in standard government bonds, was an overwhelming success which called forth almost double the amount of the issue in subscriptions.²¹ But the boldest step of all was the decision to raise a new large loan, not in France and not through the Rothschilds but in England, where until then Piedmontese securities had been all but unknown. Cavour's emissaries had first approached Baring's, the financiers of France's Napoleonic indemnities; but Baring's knew that a Rothschild offer had been spurned and dared not attempt the issue of a loan that would be opposed by the greatest financial power in Europe.²²

Better luck was had with C. J. Hambro & Son, a relatively small house, but one which was highly respected both in England and in Scandinavia, where it was banker to the court of Denmark. The face amount of the loan was 3,600,000 pounds sterling which, at an issue price of eighty-five for the 5 per cent bonds, would have brought in more than seventy-five million lire to the Sardinian treasury. The price of issue created a stir in financial circles, for it was 2 per cent above the price of the Sardinian 5 per cent *rentes* on the Paris market.²³

Public subscriptions opened in London in the first week of July, 1851, but sales were not rapid. Cavour, as soon as he took over as finance minister, had ordered Rothschild to sell the remainder of the 1850 *rentes* at whatever price they would bring. Rothschild had already begun to depress the prices of all Piedmontese securities and, as soon as the loan was opened, he threw on to

²⁰ Cavour to E. d'Azeglio, Turin, Apr. 25, 1851, in Nicomède Bianchi, ed., *La politique du Comte Camille de Cavour de 1852 à 1861* (Turin, 1885), pp. 1-2.

²¹ Cavour, "Mémoire," *Lettere*, I, 315.

²² Cavour to D'Azeglio, Turin, May 9, 1851, *Politique du Comte Cavour*, pp. 6-7.

²³ Cavour, "Mémoire," *Lettere*, I, 316; *The Times* (London), July 1, 1851.

the market all of his own substantial holdings of the 5 per cent *rentes*. As the subscription dragged, Rothschild quipped: "L'emprunt est ouvert, mais pas couvert."²⁴ But enough came in (£2,200,000) to meet the most pressing obligations of the government, and, even more surprising, the first market transaction took place at a premium despite all that Rothschild could do.²⁵ The remainder of the issue sold gradually over the next year at premium prices which brought into the treasury a million lire more than anticipated. Thus did Cavour issue Piedmont's declaration of financial independence of the Rothschilds.

But Cavour had no idea of doing without the services of that eminent house permanently. Indeed, in the midst of the issue, when James de Rothschild was doing his best to depress the prices, Cavour ordered his emissary in London to transmit the proceeds of the loan to Paris, where they would be used to settle the Austrian indemnity, through the intermediary of the Rothschilds, "in order not to alienate altogether that great financial power."²⁶ Such was the way of Cavour; and it was characteristic of Rothschild, as well, to bear no malice in money matters once the issue was settled. Cavour continued to use Rothschild whenever the occasion demanded and the price was right—as it usually was, after that affair—particularly for transmitting bills on London to pay interest and amortization on the Anglo-Sard, as the Hambro issue was known on the 'Change.

In 1852, after the striking success of Cavour's policy of boldness, Rothschild offered to underwrite the two million in *rentes* (nominal capital forty million) remaining from the authorization of 1850 at the exceptionally favorable price of ninety-two.²⁷ Cavour had no intention of raising another loan so quickly, as he was still raking in the proceeds of the Anglo-Sard; but in order not to give offense to Rothschild, he submitted the proposal to the Sardinian parliament with the observation that he would probably be able to get along without it until the following year. His parliamentarians took the hint, and the proposal was rejected.²⁸ In January, 1853, he offered these same *rentes* to Rothschild at a price of ninety-five; Rothschild countered with eighty-eight. In the end, they agreed upon a price of ninety-two, but with the first coupon detached, which actually gave the Sardinian treasury a yield of 94.50—four points above the highest quotation of the Anglo-Sard.²⁹ Cavour

²⁴ Cavour to Count Revel (special emissary in London), Turin, July 9, 1851, *Lettere*, I, 198.

²⁵ *The Times* (London), July 8, 1851.

²⁶ Cavour to Revel, Turin, July 5, 1851, *Lettere*, I, 193-94.

²⁷ Cavour to De La Ruë, Feb. 1, 1852, *Nouvelles lettres*, p. 434; cf. Corti, *Reign of the House of Rothschild*, p. 308.

²⁸ Corti, p. 309.

²⁹ Cavour to Revel, Turin, Jan. 8, 1853, *Lettere*, II, 8.

had thus come full circle in his financial dealings, and Piedmont was no longer a beggar at the doors of *la haute banque*.

V

Determined to make Sardinia into a modern nation in the shortest possible time, Cavour continued to push economic development and make large expenditures on public works. By the end of 1854, the state had spent more than two hundred million lire on railways alone.³⁰ Completion of the line from Turin to Genoa required another loan in 1853, but owing to the greatly improved credit standing of Piedmont, Cavour decided that an issue of 3 per cent *rentes* would be preferable to the fives then outstanding.³¹ In the event that it became desirable at some future date to convert the fives into threes, it would be essential to issue the new *rentes* on the Continent rather than in England, in order that the interest on the new loan might be payable in Paris, where the bulk of the outstanding debt was already held. Cavour did not, however, advise Rothschild of this possibility but continued to encourage bids from England, and particularly from Hambro. At the same time, to ensure competition on Rothschild's home ground, he entered into preliminary negotiations with B. F. Fould & Fould-Oppenheim of Paris, associates of the *Crédit Mobilier*. As a result, Rothschild gave the best price ever received by Piedmont for a loan: seventy, less 2 per cent commission, for an issue of 3 per cent *rentes*, thus making the effective interest rate less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In writing to a friend concerning the outcome of the negotiations, Cavour stated: "You will note that the rivalry with Fould was worth several millions to us."³²

Cavour's economic and financial policies succeeded beyond all expectation. The "Cavourian decade" was one of continually mounting prosperity as well as diplomatic triumph for Piedmont. Foreign trade increased, new industries were established, and individual wealth grew apace. In 1854, Cavour decided to raise internally a small loan (L.44,000,000) for public works, although Rothschild was given a share and agreed to stand behind it in case the public subscription should be disappointing. Actually, the public response was so great that not all subscriptions could be filled. They came in from every province and from towns and villages of all sizes; there were few large takers

³⁰ Duke de Guiche to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Turin, Feb. 21, 1855, Archives Nationales (France), F¹⁴.8627.

³¹ Cavour to De La Ruë, Feb. 27, 1853, *Nouvelles lettres*, p. 451.

³² *Ibid.*, Mar. 2, 1853, pp. 452-53.

(the average subscription amounted to only 250 francs of *rentes*), but the many small ones more than made up for their absence.³³

Despite the gratifying results of his policies, further evidenced by the fact that, apart from the Crimean War loan from the English government, no more borrowing was necessary until 1858, Cavour insisted on maintaining personal control of the nation's finances. He retained for himself the post of minister of finance after assuming the presidency of the cabinet in 1852. For a time in 1855, after the resignation of his minister for foreign affairs, he carried all three posts simultaneously, but the strain was too great. A cabinet reorganization permitted him to drop the newest of his responsibilities, thereby leaving him free to devote his efforts to "financial affairs, which, in the final analysis, are the most important."³⁴ Except for short periods, he continued to carry the posts of minister of finance and prime minister until after the successful conclusion of the war against Austria in 1859.

VI

In the spring of 1858, with the war clouds already gathering, Cavour called for a new loan to strengthen the military and naval establishments. When his parliament finally approved the bill, after long and tiresome debates, Cavour immediately entered into negotiations with Rothschild.³⁵ The loan consisted of 5 per cent *rentes* issued at an average price of 86.38, for a net yield of slightly more than 39 million on a nominal capital of 45.4 million.³⁶

At the very time Cavour negotiated the loan contract with Rothschild, he was preparing himself for his famous secret rendezvous with Napoleon III at Plombières. Among the questions he wished to discuss were: "In what proportions will the costs of the war be supported?" and "Will France furnish Piedmont the means for raising a loan?"³⁷ He found the French emperor as concerned with finances as he himself was. In reporting to Victor Emmanuel on the outcome of the conference, he stated: "Agreed on the military question, we were as well on the financial question, which, I should inform Your Majesty, was the one which especially preoccupied the Emperor. He consented, nevertheless, to furnish us the war material which we will need and

³³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1854, and May 3, 1854, pp. 471-72, 473.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1855, p. 489.

³⁵ Corti states that "on that occasion [Cavour] felt that Rothschild was too high and mighty," and does not indicate that the loan was actually issued (*Reign of the House of Rothschild*, p. 374).

³⁶ Achille Plebano, *Storia della finanza italiana dalla costituzione del nuovo regno alla fine del secolo XIX*, 3 vols. (Turin, 1899-1902), I, 57; Sachs, *Italie*, p. 442.

³⁷ "Memorie diverse portata a Plombières da S. E. il Conte di Cavour," *Il Carteggio Cavour-Nigra dal 1858 al 1861*, 5 vols. (Bologna, 1926), I, 98.

to facilitate the negotiation of a loan in Paris."³⁸ Napoleon further emphasized his concern with finance and logistics in a letter to Cavour dealing with preparations for the war: "I recommend that you pay great attention to two essentials: (1) the financial question; (2) the question of supplies. One cannot prepare himself too carefully."³⁹

A man as meticulous in his attention to details as Cavour scarcely needed this bit of fatherly advice. As winter approached, he got down to the specifics of raising the money. He interpreted the agreement that Napoleon would "facilitate" a Sardinian loan in Paris to mean a guarantee by the French government to the investors, thus granting Piedmont the same credit standing as France. But Costantino Nigra, his special envoy in Paris, informed him that such a thing was out of the question, as Napoleon did not yet wish to tip his hand to Austria. Instead, Prince Napoleon, with the approval of the emperor, proposed selling the Piedmont state railways to a French company and promised the influence of the French government with the *Crédit Mobilier* or any other likely combination.⁴⁰

This proposal astonished Cavour; he did not object in principle to selling the railways, but time did not permit such a complex transaction. Besides, the holders of the Hambro loan had a mortgage on the railways with an option to buy them if the state wished to sell. Cavour reiterated his demand for a loan but modified the amount; if France would furnish thirty million, Piedmont itself would give fifty.⁴¹ Still Napoleon would not consent to a direct appeal for funds in France, but he had three new suggestions: the establishment of a land bank on the model of the French *Crédit Foncier*, which would make loans to Piedmont and issue its own bonds in France and England; the fusion of the Turin *Mobilier* (Rothschild's weak facsimile of the great French institution established in 1856 to keep the *Crédit Mobilier* out of Italy) with the Paris original; or the raising of a loan in London.⁴²

Of the emperor's three suggestions, only the second struck Cavour as feasible, but he reacted to this notion with mild enthusiasm and soon began to work out a scheme in his own mind. The *Crédit Mobilier*, in addition to absorbing the Turin bank, would make an advance of thirty million francs

³⁸ Cavour to Victor Emmanuel, Baden, July 24, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 108; see also I, 313-15. In the definitive secret treaty of alliance, drawn up in December, 1858, but not finally ratified until January, 1859, it was provided that the "costs of the war will be supported by the Kingdom of Upper Italy," which was to reimburse French expenditures by allocating one tenth of each annual budget until the charges were liquidated. The unexpected conclusion of the war necessitated a modification of this provision.

³⁹ Compiègne, Nov. 2, 1858, *Carteggio Cavour-Nigra*, I, 197.

⁴⁰ Nigra to Cavour, Paris, Dec. 4, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 231.

⁴¹ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Dec. 9, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 234-36.

⁴² Nigra to Cavour, Paris, Dec. 13 and 15, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 241-42, 246-47.

to Piedmont with the understanding that it would eventually have the privilege of buying all the state railways and the majority of the privately-owned lines as well. No difficulty would arise in getting the consent of the stockholders of the Turin Mobilier, for it had fallen into hard times and might have to be liquidated in any case. Cavour felt less certain about the willingness of the directors of the *Crédit Mobilier*, as he had collaborated with Rothschild in sidetracking their earlier ambitions for expansion in Italy. "I fear that Messieurs Pereire may have retained their rancor against me for not having granted them the privilege which they requested. For quite a while they were altogether furious with me. . . . For my part I have forgotten all, and I would be charmed to deal with them. . . . Prince Napoleon should have a great influence [with them]; urge him to use it at once. . . . M. d'Eichthal I know well. . . . Bixio, who is very close to those gentlemen of the Place Vendôme, could aid us greatly."⁴³

This scheme inevitably affected the Victor Emmanuel Railway, the largest private railway company in the kingdom and one which was already 90 per cent French. Cavour's original plan, which had the backing of Prince Napoleon, would allow the *Crédit Mobilier* to purchase control of the Victor Emmanuel. However, the directors of the railway, presided over by Cavour's close friend, Charles Laffitte, rejected this scheme outright. Bixio, a director of both the *Crédit Mobilier* and the Victor Emmanuel, served as mediator and proposed as an alternative that the Victor Emmanuel issue bonds guaranteed by Piedmont and underwritten in France by the *Crédit Mobilier*;⁴⁴ but the Pereires did not even consider that proposal.

The negotiations dragged through the latter part of December and the first half of January with no satisfactory results. The protagonists worked at cross purposes, each with his own variant of the scheme; and as yet no one had persuaded the Pereires to agree even in principle.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, a fortuitous event changed the complexion of the entire situation: Austria reenforced

⁴³ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Dec. 17, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 251-52. Adolphe d'Eichthal, the same whose advice on railway matters Cavour requested in 1850, was an associate of the Pereires in the *Crédit Mobilier* and many other enterprises. Alexander Bixio, an Italian by birth and a close friend of Cavour, was also a director of several Pereire enterprises. Cavour had already attempted to reestablish contact with the Pereires for the construction of a railway from Genoa to La Spezia (Bixio to Cavour, Paris, Oct. 28, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 172).

⁴⁴ Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Turin, Dec. 23, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 256-57; Cavour to Napoleon III, Turin, Dec. 29, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 263-64. In 1857, when the Victor Emmanuel added two lines in Piedmont proper to its network in Savoy, a new law authorizing the construction of a tunnel through the Alps at Mont Cenis allowed forty million francs for the job—one half to be furnished by the railway and one half by the government. Presumably, if the scheme had worked out, the proceeds of the bond issue would have been made temporarily available to the Sardinian government.

⁴⁵ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Jan. 9 and 11, 1859, *ibid.*, I, 291-92, 298.

its troops in Lombardy. No longer under the necessity of hiding the true purpose of the loan, Napoleon sent word that Cavour might "openly request the authorization of his Chambers to contract a loan" and be assured that the emperor would "facilitate by all means in his power the execution of the project"⁴⁶—which was exactly what Cavour had wanted in the first place.

The situation changed, but not all for the better. The problem of finding takers for the loan remained. This was temporarily shelved for the celebration of the marriage of Prince Napoleon and Princess Mathilde and the completion of the final conventions of the alliance,⁴⁷ but on February 4, 1859, Cavour presented to his parliament a bill authorizing a loan of fifty million lire. He had originally intended to ask for only forty million, but in light of an announced Austrian loan of 150 million, he felt safe in pushing his request to the larger figure.⁴⁸

The obvious possible underwriters for the loan—Rothschild, the Crédit Mobilier, and Fould—all wanted a very high price for their services. Rothschild, who had already undertaken to issue the Austrian loan, tried to play both ends against the middle—and keep all the pawns in place. Bixio reported to Cavour in January: "They are making a great effort here [in Paris] to persuade themselves that war will be avoided. Rothschild [*sic*] who, they say, wants to issue the Austrian loan, is playing for a rise, but there is no faith in it [the rumor]. The worm is in the fruit."⁴⁹

Bixio negotiated with the Pereires on Cavour's behalf. They were willing, if they could get authorization from the French government to double the capital of the Crédit Mobilier, to advance up to fifty million francs on current account, the sum to be repaid within one year on the guarantee of the French government. They would also submit, "at an opportune moment," an offer to underwrite a long-term loan of fifty million to liquidate the short-term advances, but Piedmont would not be bound to accept the offer. Or, they would sell the loan in a public subscription for a commission, but they would not commit themselves to underwrite immediately and at a fixed price a long-term loan. Rothschild's attempted issue of the Austrian loan in early February failed miserably, and the Pereires feared that a public subscription in Paris for

⁴⁶ Nigra to Cavour, Paris, Jan. 10, 1859, *ibid.*, I, 296.

⁴⁷ Cavour to Villamarina, Turin, Jan. 23, 1859, *ibid.*, I, 306: "We have signed the treaty and the military convention; there remains the financial convention, which presents a few light difficulties, but I expect to surmount them." Cavour to Nigra, same date, *ibid.*, I, 307: "I have concluded the financial convention. . . ."

⁴⁸ Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Turin, Feb. 5, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 3.

⁴⁹ Paris, Jan. 19, 1859, *ibid.*, I, 305.

the Piedmont loan would be the signal for a "general debacle which nothing could prevent."⁵⁰

Cavour himself did not favor a public subscription without a firm commitment by the underwriters but persevered in thinking that his customary game of bluff might pay another dividend. "Rothschild [*sic*] . . . has called to Paris in all haste his correspondent in Turin, and everything leads me to believe that he is afraid of losing the monopoly with regard to our *rentes* which he has exercised for a number of years."⁵¹ If Rothschild had offered to take the loan at a fixed price, it would have been his, but he could not be drawn into that. As a last resort, Cavour decided to let the Cr dit Mobilier issue the securities on a commission basis, if they would agree to take at least ten or fifteen million of the long-term securities in order to support the price. "If after having divorced Rothschild [*sic*] we marry Messieurs Perreire [*sic*], I believe we would get along very well together."⁵² The Pereires countered with a final offer to underwrite the entire loan, but at a price of seventy-five for 5 per cent *rentes*, which even Prince Napoleon felt was too low. He complained to Victor Emmanuel that "the money is in the hands of the partisans of peace, and it will not be easy to make them give it up for armaments in Italy."⁵³

Cavour, having bluffed to the limit, prepared to lay his hand on the table and face the consequences. Throughout the winter, encouraging reports came in from his agents in other parts of Italy, and he decided to raise the loan "with the aid of the Lombards and Tuscans." France and England would lend their money more readily after the war began than "at this moment when the bankers of all countries are organized in a kind of conspiracy in favor of peace."⁵⁴

On March 3, 1859, Cavour offered one half the authorized amount of the loan for public subscription throughout Piedmont at a price of seventy-nine; various bankers in Italy and abroad took the remainder on contract. After the refusal of the great French banks to go along on acceptable terms, Cavour did not dare open a public subscription in Paris but solicited subscriptions from France as a means of counteracting the unfavorable effects of the bankers'

⁵⁰ Bixio to Cavour, Paris, Feb. 9, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 5-6.

⁵¹ Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Turin, Feb. 13, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 13.

⁵² Cavour to Bixio, Turin, Feb. 13, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 11. Cavour, even in this hour of tension, was looking ahead to opportunities for developing Italian industry. As late as January, 1861, he was still trying to persuade the Pereires to assist in his program by establishing a bank in recently conquered Naples (Cavour to Bixio, Jan. 9, 1861, *ibid.*, IV, 352).

⁵³ Prince Napoleon to Victor Emmanuel, Paris, Feb. 18, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 23.

⁵⁴ Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Turin, Feb. 25, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 25.

obstinacy; he even suggested that Prince Napoleon use his young wife's dowry to purchase *rentes*.⁵⁵

Cavour's hand was good. Subscriptions poured in for small amounts but in great numbers from all over the kingdom, from Paris, Leghorn, Florence, the States of the Pope, and even from under the heel of the archenemy in Milan. The public oversubscribed its allotment within a few days, and Cavour exulted: "We could have gathered 80 million in place of 50 . . . I daresay that is the proof that our policy is eminently national [i.e., Italian]." Nor could he refrain from taunting the bankers: "The finance minister had the satisfaction of refusing the demands of the Great Barons of Paris banking. I hope the Prince [Napoleon] sees now that we did right in not submitting to the yoke of the Pereires and Foulds."⁵⁶ Losing no chance to magnify the success of his policy, Cavour had his journalistic friends and henchmen in Paris emphasize both the refusal of the bankers and the great success of the public subscription.

The cost of unity, however, exceeded even Cavour's shrewd estimates. The direct cost of the war, as short as it was, came to eighty-nine million lire; to this it was necessary to add the indemnities paid to Austria and to France for its participation, along with three fifths of the debt of Lombardy-Venetia, assumed by Sardinia. The total came to almost four hundred million lire, of which about one half was raised in Paris.⁵⁷ That was for extraordinary expenses in 1859 alone; and Italy was not yet a nation.

To help close the deficit, the government asked the Italian public to subscribe for a capital of one hundred million lire in November, 1859; it replied with subscriptions for four times that amount, almost half of them coming from the newly-liberated provinces of Lombardy, Tuscany, and Romagna.⁵⁸ In June, 1860, with Garibaldi in Sicily and Piedmontese troops on the verge of crossing into Umbria and the Marches, a new call for 150 million elicited subscriptions for more than 500 million lire.⁵⁹ Such was the patriotic appeal of a successful policy of unification.

⁵⁵ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Mar. 1 and 4, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 46, 50. See also Plebano, *Finanza italiana*, I, 58, and Sachs, *Italie*, p. 443.

⁵⁶ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Mar. 9, 1859, *Carteggio Cavour-Nigra*, II, 71; Cavour to D'Azeglio, Turin, Mar. 8 and 10, 1859, *Politique du Comte Cavour*, pp. 313, 316; see also *The Economist* (London), Mar. 12, 1859.

⁵⁷ Sachs, *Italie*, pp. 443-44. In accordance with the treaty of Zurich, Sardinia transmitted to France, for sale in Paris, new securities with a nominal capital of 183,249,160 francs. Sixty million represented payments for France's contribution to the war, the remainder an indemnity to Austria.

⁵⁸ Tour d'Auvergne to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Turin, Nov. 22, 1859, Archives de la Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (France), *Correspondance Commerciale*, Turin, T. 15, fols. 467-69.

⁵⁹ Sachs, *Italie*, p. 445.

VII

On the eve of 1848, the public debt of the Kingdom of Sardinia amounted to 135 million lire. Between 1848 and 1860, new securities with a face value of almost 1,200 million lire yielded the Sardinian treasury approximately 950 million; more than half of this sum came from France.⁶⁰ To the 500 million lire invested by Frenchmen in public securities should be added a like amount to account for French investments in private enterprises in the kingdom. This represented approximately one half of the newly-created capital employed in industry, foreign commerce, transport, banking, insurance, and public utilities—in short, in every economic activity except agriculture, handicrafts, and retail trade. In 1860, there were in all of Italy 281 *societe anonime* (limited liability joint stock companies) and 96 *accomandite* (limited partnerships with shares) with a combined capital of roughly 1,350 million lire. More than two thirds of these were located in Piedmont, and the greater part both there and elsewhere were “due to French initiative and formed with the assistance of French capital.”⁶¹ The Victor Emmanuel Railway, the largest private undertaking in the kingdom, alone employed some ninety million francs in French capital; banking and insurance used almost exclusively foreign capital, mainly French; in industry, French capital was employed in silk, cotton, mining, metallurgy, and public utilities.

In 1848, the government of Carlo Alberto, its foreign credit negligible, could scarcely raise fifty million lire by means of a forced loan. In 1860, the government of Victor Emmanuel could easily raise ten times that amount without utilizing its substantial credit abroad. The changed situation resulted in large measure from the wise policies and skilled diplomacy of Cavour, but he could not have done the job without the prosperity induced by French investments and French enterprise in Sardinia.

Cavour, as the architect of Italian unity, built with the materials at hand and used the forces of the age to achieve his structure. The military support

⁶⁰ All of the figures cited here are estimates, based as far as possible on the details of the actual issues and supplemented by such information as is available in Plebano, *Finanza italiana*, and Sachs, *Italie*, neither of which is entirely reliable. Care has been taken not to overestimate the proportion of French capital. Britain, the only other important foreign creditor, contributed approximately 12 per cent of the total. The nominal capital of outstanding securities on January 1, 1860, was 1,045 million lire, but this does not account for debts retired between 1848 and 1860. Some indications of the difficulties of accurate accounting are shown by the fact that L. S. Sackville-West, a special agent of the British Foreign Office, on the spot in Italy in 1860, reported that Sardinia had raised a total of 2,150 million (including 750 million in France) since 1848, and his tabulations omitted several of the more important loans. See *British State Papers*, 1860, LXVI (Cd. 2716), 59.

⁶¹ Tour d'Auvergne to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Turin, Apr. 19, 1858, *Corrèspodance Commerciale*, Turin, T. 15, fol. 145; see also Tremelloni, *Industria italiana*, pp. 136-37, and Sachs, *Italie*, pp. 741-42.

of Napoleon III and the French army raised the roof-tree over the edifice of united Italy; but thousands of Frenchmen from all walks of life had already helped lay the solid foundations of material progress and financial stability without which the superstructure would shortly have crumbled.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Assistance Available for Post-Doctoral Historical Research and Publication

LOUISE CARROLL WADE

IN 1929, *The American Historical Review* published a summary of fellowships and grants-in-aid that were currently available for historians engaged in research or seeking aid in publication.¹ At that time, only three foundations and a handful of other organizations were interested in financing historians. During the intervening years, and especially since the end of World War II, the picture has changed drastically. Inflation now forces most scholars to seek financial aid of some type in order to carry on research,² and changes in the tax structure, if not a sudden surge in altruism, have produced a staggering postwar crop of philanthropic foundations. For example, in 1929 there were eighteen bona fide philanthropic foundations in the United States, with a total capitalization of \$36,590,000. By 1944 the number had risen to 505. Today there are approximately 5,000 foundations, with total assets amounting to \$5,450,800,000. Many of these organizations contribute generously to educational institutions and support broad research programs in the social sciences and humanities as well as the physical sciences.³

In addition to this mushrooming of philanthropic foundations, other forms of financial aid for historical research and publication have been developed. Many societies and associations now offer grants-in-aid or sponsor awards to promote and encourage historical writing. Some publishing firms have met the postwar economic challenge by providing subsidies for the publication of scholarly manuscripts that otherwise might never be printed.

The purpose of this survey has been to investigate the current sources of

¹ Dexter Perkins, "Aids to Historical Research and Publication," *AHR*, XXXIV, 274-80.

² See Elbridge Sibley, *Support for Independent Scholarship and Research* (New York, 1951), chaps. v and vi.

³ Ernest V. Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* (New York, 1938), p. 23; F. Emerson Andrews, *Philanthropic Foundations* (New York, 1956), pp. 11-37; "Foundation Gains Since 1944 Noted," *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1956.

aid and to set forth the types and amounts of financial assistance available for historical research and publication today. The information presented here was collected for the most part by correspondence. Approximately 1,000 letters were sent to a selected list of foundations, learned societies and other associations, research libraries, and publishers. The letters requested information about "funds available for post-doctoral research in all fields of history," descriptions of awards or prizes for manuscripts, and statements about assistance in publication. It should be noted that the financial and other assistance reported in this survey is not restricted exclusively to holders of the Ph.D. degree; however, the project sought primarily to discover opportunities for aid in post-doctoral historical research and publication.

There are a number of difficulties about this type of survey which must be mentioned at the outset. Three quarters of the inquiries were answered, but the unanswered letters represent foundations, societies, or organizations that may or may not have financial aid available. Many of the correspondents replied in such vague terms, or their organizations had such indefinite fields of interest, that inclusion of their information would have been misleading rather than helpful to scholars. A *caveat emptor* is thus in order. Furthermore, it was necessary to omit organizations that at one time gave substantial support to historical research but whose programs are now suspended, even though some of these organizations intend to resume their grants in the near future.⁴ It is hoped that they will send official announcements to the *Review* at the appropriate time, and the same holds true for any organizations which have grants or awards now in the planning stage. Any organization that has been overlooked is urged to send information to the "Historical News" section of this journal.

Still other shortcomings stem from the formulation of the original list of organizations contacted. Limitations of time and money made it impossible to question all foundations with a possible interest in historical research. Only 380 of the foundations listed in *American Foundations and Their Fields*⁵ could be included. Furthermore, any foundation, society, or organization that restricted its grants, prizes, or awards to scholars living in, or coming from, a particular city, county, or state was automatically excluded. Insti-

⁴ We make an exception to note that the American Council of Learned Societies (1219 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.), beginning July 1, 1957, will again be able to offer fellowships and grants-in-aid in the humanities. At this time, final arrangements have not been concluded, but it is expected that these might carry stipends of \$10,000 for senior faculty fellowships, \$5,000 for junior faculty fellowships, and up to \$3,000 for grants-in-aid.

⁵ Wilmer Shields Rich (7th ed.; New York, 1955). More than 1,000 of the 4,162 foundations indicated an interest in "Higher Education," "Fellowships and Scholarships," "Social Sciences," and "Humanities."

tutional research programs designed specifically for the faculty or graduates of that institution were also omitted, for presumably historians eligible for such grants already know about them. Nor was it possible to investigate the many social science research projects that are administered by educational institutions and financed by grants from foundations, government, or industry—even though these programs often involve fellowships and grants-in-aid for historical research.⁶ Another type of financial aid not covered is the open fellowship, or research fellowship, maintained by a college or university for full-time research in its library or manuscript collection and usually available to graduates of any institution without restriction.

Fellowships and grants sponsored by foreign governments or institutions for research in countries other than the United States are not listed in this report because the information is readily accessible in an excellent UNESCO publication, *Study Abroad* (see page 580). Finally, no attempt has been made to catalogue the numerous societies or institutes which publish quarterlies, journals, collections, publications, or reports in which historical manuscripts are printed without cost to the author.

Information about the financial aid now available, which is considerable despite the limitations in the scope of the survey, has been organized in four sections: fellowships, grants-in-aid, awards and prizes, and assistance in publication. *Fellowships* are interpreted here as substantial sums enabling a scholar to devote his full time to research for a period of four to six months or longer. Smaller awards designed to support a scholar for only two or three months of full-time research, to supplement remuneration for a lighter teaching load, or to meet the expenses of travel, microfilm, secretarial assistance, etc., are considered *Grants-in-Aid*. When recipients of fellowships and grants-in-aid are also given assistance in publication, this is mentioned and is not repeated in the section on assistance in publication. *Awards and Prizes* are, for the most part, outright cash gifts for distinguished articles or books, either in manuscript or printed form. Some, however, are awards for the best article appearing in a given magazine within a certain period of time. Some carry not only a cash award but also a guarantee of publication, in which cases the information is not repeated in the section on assistance in publication. The listings under *Assistance in Publication* are intended to make known to historians those organizations willing to underwrite or subsidize historical manuscripts which presumably would not have wide enough sale to merit regular com-

⁶ See American Council on Education, *Sponsored Research Policy of Colleges and Universities, A Report of the Committee on Institutional Research Policy* (Washington, D. C., 1954) and Erin Hubbert and Herbert H. Rosenberg, *Opportunities for Federally Sponsored Social Science Research* (Washington, D. C., 1951).

mercial publication. Few organizations, however, could state any definite, clear-cut policy, for the terms of each transaction differ widely. Since most of the university presses subsidize a number of historical manuscripts each year, the reader has been referred to the *Directory* of the Association of American University Presses (see page 591).

Whenever possible, the specific terms and conditions of the financial aid are quoted from the organization's announcement or reply to the questionnaire. Some material in the section on awards and prizes has been taken from the *Literary Market Place*.⁷

In the early years of this century, when Andrew Carnegie was devoting himself to the arduous task of distributing his fortune, he decided to follow a rule which had proved useful in his business career: "Find the efficient man, and give him what he needs." Today there are many efficient historians who need—or at least could use—a great deal of financial aid. But alas, there are very few Carnegies searching them out. It is hoped that this modest survey, which is highly selective and illustrative rather than complete, will help historians locate some financial assistance for their research and publication in coming years.

I. FELLOWSHIPS

American Academy in Rome (101 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York) maintains a School of Classical Studies intended to promote "the study of (1) classical literature and its relation to antiquities and history; (2) classical, Etruscan and Italian art and archaeology . . . ; (3) through a fellowship in art history, the art and archaeology of the early Christian, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods in Italy." Special research fellowships are offered in the School of Classical Studies, each carrying a stipend of \$2,500 a year and residence at the Academy. The senior classical fellowships "are generally awarded to senior instructors or assistant professors who have a special project which requires research in Italy."

American Association of University Women (1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.) has a program of National Fellowships "open to American women who show promise of distinction for advanced study or research." Preference is given to candidates who have received the Ph.D., or have fulfilled all requirements for the degree except the dissertation. There are eighteen fellowships valued at \$2,000 each, unrestricted as to subject and place of study; two fellowships, each amounting to \$2,000, are specifically for study outside the United States. Also included in the National Fellowship program are three fellowships at \$2,500; three at \$3,000; and one fellowship of \$3,500, all unrestricted as to subject and place of study.

⁷ "Literary Prizes and Awards," *Literary Market Place 1956-1957* (New York, 1956), pp. 277-91.

International Fellowships are open to all members of branch organizations of the International Federation of University Women (thus including members of the AAUW) and "are offered to enable the holders to carry on a year's research in some country other than their own." The following awards are available under this program: five fellowships at \$2,000; two fellowships valued at \$1,500; one fellowship worth 2,700 guilders, tenable only in the Netherlands; one fellowship worth 12,500 Icelandic kroner, tenable at the University of Iceland; one fellowship worth 2,100 Swedish kroner, tenable in Sweden; one fellowship of £600; one fellowship of £506 to be used in Ireland; one fellowship worth 20,000 Belgian francs; one fellowship amounting to 3,000 DM, tenable only in Germany; one award of 1,000 Danish kroner to be used for a short-term study project in Denmark.

Belgian American Educational Foundation, Inc. (420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York) offers a limited number of advanced fellowships for work in "a field of study for which Belgium [or Belgian Congo] offers special advantages." These awards are open to members "of the faculty of an American college, university or research institute, intending to continue in academic teaching or research." Preference is given to candidates under thirty-five years of age. The basic fellowship stipend is \$200 monthly, with allowances for necessary travel expenses. Tenure of the fellowship depends upon the individual project, but appointments are usually made "for periods of from three to ten months in Belgium."

Bollingen Foundation, Inc. (140 East 62nd Street, New York 21, New York) awards a limited number of fellowships to qualified scholars for research and writing in several fields, including cultural history. "The work supported has been largely of an interpretative, analytical, or critical nature. . . . The fellowships are generally for a term of from one to three years and carry a stipend ranging from \$1,200 to \$3,600 a year." In some cases, a manuscript prepared under a fellowship has been published by the Foundation in its Bollingen Series (see page 591).

Council on Foreign Relations (58 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York) offers Carnegie Research Fellowships for the study of "some aspect of United States foreign policy or of international affairs affecting the United States." The holders of these fellowships are expected to spend a year in New York devoted "to study, reflection and writing," to undertake "original research with a view to publication," and to participate to some extent in Council activities. Preference is given to candidates between the ages of thirty and forty-five years and "to persons who have already had several years of teaching experience in American colleges and universities and who intend to continue in that line of work." Stipends are adjusted to match the fellow's present salary. In exceptional cases, fellowships may be granted for two years. Books and articles resulting from the fellowships must be offered first to the Council for possible publication.

Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation, Inc. (Doherty Fellowship Committee, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey) offers a limited number of fellowships for advanced study or research in Latin America in the field of social studies. Preference will be given to projects that "involve study in Chile, but not to the exclusion of grants for study in other Latin American countries." All fellowships will cover the cost of travel and living expenses for one year, the actual amount of the stipends varying between \$3,000 and \$5,000.

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (1703 32nd Street, Washington 7, D. C.) offers "a small number of Research Fellowships at the post-doctoral level for work on a late classical, Early Christian or Byzantine subject. Projects in the Western medieval and Near Eastern fields are also acceptable if they involve relationships with Byzantium." The fellowships carry a stipend of \$1,500 plus room and board for the academic year, adjustments being made for fellows with families. The Research Fellowships are renewable twice.

Ford Foundation (477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York) maintains a few International Relations Training Fellowships for special graduate training related to international and foreign affairs. They "are intended primarily for persons who wish to broaden their background for teaching and research by combining training in international relations with training in economics, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology or related fields, or with training in the history and culture of one or more nations of Asia, the Near East, Africa, or the Soviet and East European areas." Applicants should be under forty years of age and should have completed at least all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation, or have had the equivalent training and experience. "More specifically, applications are invited" from persons now studying or teaching international relations, a social science, or one of the related humanities, and persons "who have had specialized foreign area training who wish to supplement this with a year's training in international relations." The International Relations Training Fellowships are granted for programs of up to two years. Stipends depend upon "the applicant's qualifications, experience, present position, family status, and special expenses, including transportation, which would be incurred in carrying out the proposal submitted."

The Ford Foundation also maintains Foreign Area Training Fellowships for graduate training in the social sciences and humanities related to Asia, the Near East, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Africa. "The purpose of these Fellowships is to help increase the number of American men and women who understand and can interpret the cultures, histories and current problems of these areas." The fellowships are designed "to encourage the combination of foreign area knowledge with training in a discipline. They are not designed to support the research projects of mature and established scholars." In general, applicants should

be under forty years of age, and they need not have had previous training relating to the foreign area of interest. Projects involving interdisciplinary or intercultural research will be considered. The Asian and Near Eastern and African programs may be undertaken in the United States or abroad or both. Programs involving study abroad, however, will ordinarily be considered only if the applicant has already acquired the necessary language facility and at least a minimum knowledge of the culture and history of his area of interest. In the Soviet Union and East European program, "post-doctoral applicants may include plans for the study of supplemental languages, disciplines and culture areas in or pertinent to the study of the Soviet Union and East European area." Fellowships are generally granted for a period of one year only. Stipends depend upon "the applicant's qualifications, experience, present position, family status, and special expenses, including transportation, which would be incurred in carrying out his program."

Foundation for Social Research (Freedom Center Building, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California) "Applications for research in social sciences are considered on their merits."

Fund for the Republic, Inc. (60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York) will grant fellowships for projects dealing primarily "in the area of civil liberties. The amounts vary considerably, depending on the time and research assistance required."

General Federation of Women's Clubs (1734 N Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.) supports a variety of fellowships and scholarships through its individual state federations. Inquiries should be sent to the state organization's headquarters, the addresses of which are available at the General Federation office.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York) awards fellowships to candidates "of high intellectual and personal qualifications who have already demonstrated unusual capacity for productive scholarship." The recipients are usually between thirty and forty years of age; their appointments are made ordinarily for one year; the stipends are "adjusted to the needs of the Fellows, considering their other resources and the purpose and scope of their studies. Members of the teaching profession who have received sabbatical leave on full or part salary are eligible for appointment." In some cases, the Foundation "may subsidize the publication of important contributions to knowledge produced by holders of Fellowships, but it does not undertake to aid in publishing all works so produced."

George A. and Eliza Gardner Howard Foundation (c/o R. B. Lindsay, 433 Westminster Street, Providence, Rhode Island) annually awards fellowships (usually four) "for work, study, or research in a chosen field in any portion of the world."

Applicants must have "demonstrated unusual capacity for productive scholarship, with marked talent or ability in one or more of the liberal arts." They must be "nominated by their institution or by an outstanding person in their field." Preference will be given to candidates between twenty-five and forty-five years of age. Appointments are made for an academic year; grants range between \$1,500 and \$5,000, depending upon the needs of the individual.

Cordell Hull Foundation for International Education (International House, 611 Gravier Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana) provides scholarships for "professors from the United States" to study in Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia.

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (San Marino 9, California) awards fellowships to "mature scholars who are bringing significant research to completion" and whose project requires the use of the Library's resources, preference being given to "research in the general field of Anglo-American civilization." The stipend is \$4,000, and the fellowship is awarded for a one-year period. Unless other arrangements are made in advance, "the recipient of a Fellowship will be expected to offer the Library the results of his study for publication."

Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton, New Jersey), through the agency of its School of Historical Studies, elects each year a limited number of temporary members. Mature scholars who hold regular academic positions are eligible for consideration. Election to membership "depends upon the previous accomplishment of the candidate, the scholarly promise of his program of research, and the interest in his project of some member or members of the faculty of the Institute. Membership may be voted for one term or for a full academic year and may in certain cases be renewed for a term or a year." The amount of each stipend varies. The Institute has no regular program of publication, but it does possess limited funds "to assist in the publication of a specially significant work done at the Institute."

Institute of International Education (1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York) administers a number of awards granted by foreign governments, foreign universities, private foundations, and educational organizations. These are primarily for graduate study in foreign institutions, not for post-doctoral research, but anyone interested in conducting historical research abroad should examine the conditions and terms of each award. These are set forth in the pamphlet *Foreign Study Grants*, issued annually and available upon request from the Institute. The IIE also publishes regularly a comprehensive *Handbook on International Study, A Guide for Foreign Students on Study in the United States and for U.S. Students on Study Abroad*. Although this is not intended "to provide information to individuals planning post-doctoral or advanced research projects . . . some material on these programs has been included where it seemed related to the basic content of the handbook." The IIE also receives applications for United States

government grants for graduate study abroad under the provisions of the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts.

Michigan Historical Commission (Lewis Case Building, Lansing 13, Michigan) grants John M. Munson Fellowships to authors of "satisfactory manuscripts in broad fields in the history of education. . . . Manuscripts accepted by the Commission will be published as a book in a series of volumes to be published by the Michigan Historical Commission on the history of education in the state. Fellowship will be in lieu of royalty and the ownership of the manuscript will be in the Commission. To supplement the fellowship and to enable the fellow to complete a manuscript in a reasonable time, grants-in-aid, in variable amounts, will be given to help bear the expenses of research and writing."

National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. (261 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York) invites two or three "promising young men or women holding university positions as Research Associates for one year." They work at the Bureau on "studies along the lines of their interest," but their projects should "complement and be complemented by investigations already under way or recently completed at the Bureau." Sometimes the project is "of a historical nature, but it is always a study in the field of economics." Stipends for the Research Associates are designed "to match the individual's income, taking account of such extra costs as he may be put to by moving to New York for a year."

National Science Foundation (Washington 25, D. C.) now includes in its program of financial support "basic research in the history, philosophy, and sociology of science." Postdoctoral Fellowships carry an annual stipend of \$3,400; tenure varies between six months and two years. A Fellow may pursue his research "at any accredited non-profit institution of higher education in the United States, or any similar institution abroad approved by the National Science Foundation."

Senior Postdoctoral Fellowships are granted "to individuals planning additional study and/or research with a view to (a) increasing their competence in their specialized fields of science or (b) broadening their experience in related fields of science. The primary purpose of these awards is to provide an opportunity for individuals several years past the doctoral degree to supplement their training; the fellowships are therefore not thought of as designed to provide support for research projects as such." Senior Postdoctoral Fellowships are available to United States citizens who have "demonstrated ability and special aptitude for advanced training and productive scholarship in the sciences" and convergent fields and who have held a doctoral degree for a minimum of five years or have had the equivalent in research experience and training. The annual stipend ranges between \$4,000 and \$10,000, the actual amount being individually determined and "based on the Fellow's normal salary . . . and on other support expected during the tenure of his National Science Foundation fellowship."

Newberry Library (Chicago 10, Illinois) has a "limited number of Staff Fellowships for mature scholars. Consult the Librarian."

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (applications handled by Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.) has established eight Research Fellowships "to encourage the study of historical, political, constitutional, legal, social, cultural, linguistic, economic and strategic problems that will reveal the common traditions, historical experience and give insight into the present needs and future development of the North Atlantic area considered as a Community." The NATO Research Fellowships are intended for established scholars, nationals of a member state, who are selected on the basis of their research projects and their special knowledge and experience. The amount of each fellowship is "French frs. 150,000 per month (or the equivalent in the currency of any other member state). The duration of the grant may be from two to four months. Research must be undertaken in one or more member countries and, in general, preference will be given to those planning to work on the other side of the Atlantic. First class travel by air will be provided."

Rockefeller Foundation (49 West 49th Street, New York 20, New York) has "no precise categories for assistance for historical projects," but the Foundation will "consider requests as they are received." Its grants "run from substantial appropriations to universities for large scale projects down to more modest fellowship allocations to individuals. Each request is decided on its merits and if a grant is made each project is supported to the extent of its needs."

Lessing J. Rosenwald Foundation (Packard Building, 12th Floor, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania) "has never had any set pattern for granting aid," but individual requests for funds are discussed by all the trustees and each case is decided upon its merits. The size and duration of grants vary widely.

Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust (Harper & Bros., 49 East 33rd Street, New York, New York) offers fellowships "to creative writers who need financial assistance not otherwise available to complete work definitely projected. They are designed to encourage distinguished writing" in several fields, including history, as well as "outstanding jobs of reporting, needed popularizations of knowledge and original interpretations of cultural trends. . . . Works of pedantic scholarship . . . will not qualify." The fellowships are generally granted for a one-year period; the amount of financial aid depends upon "the applicant's need, the merits of his project and the funds available. As a general rule, no award of more than \$2,500 will be made to any applicant in any one year."

Leopold Schepp Foundation (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York) has "no set program" but "is prepared to give fellowships . . . for research. Each application is considered on its own merits."

Social Science Research Council (726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.) offers Research Training Fellowships "to persons who have demonstrated exceptional aptitude for research in social science and who wish to obtain more advanced research training than that provided in the usual Ph.D. program." In general, the age limit for these post-doctoral fellowships is thirty-five years. Their duration is normally one year, and "the basic stipend of \$2,500 per year . . . may be increased to not more than \$3,500 per year for post-doctoral fellows of some years' standing. . . . Fellowship stipends may be supplemented by allowances for partial support of dependents and for travel or other expenses incidental to the training program."

Fellowships in Political Theory and Legal Philosophy are "designed to encourage young scholars who are pursuing theoretical and philosophic studies to secure training through research or further study of legal and political thought and institutions." They are available for Ph.D. candidates and to those who have obtained the degree or a degree in law within the last three years. The stipend and other terms of the fellowships are similar to the Research Training Fellowships.

Faculty Research Fellowships "have a threefold purpose: to give recognition to young social scientists who early in their careers have demonstrated conspicuous research ability and promise; to provide opportunity for the greater realization of this promise; and to demonstrate the compatibility of good teaching and significant research activity in a variety of academic settings." A Faculty Research Fellowship "normally provides somewhat more than one-half of a faculty member's support for a period of three years, during which he will devote his released time to independent research while continuing to teach either intermittently or on a reduced schedule during the same period." These fellowships are open to regular faculty members of any accredited four-year college or university in the United States. In general, an upper age limit of thirty-five years at the time of appointment will be observed; candidates who have reached forty years of age are not eligible. "The specific conditions of each award will be arranged by negotiation with the fellow and his university or college."

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (19, avenue Kléber, Paris XVI, France) publishes *Study Abroad, International Handbook Fellowships, Scholarships, Educational Exchange*, which lists over 50,000 fellowships, scholarships, travel grants, internship programs, and other subsidized opportunities for study and research outside the United States. These awards, covering all fields of learning, are sponsored by the United Nations, by other international organizations, by governments, national institutions, and associations. Full details as to eligibility, field of study or research, duration, stipend, and place to apply are given for each award. *Study Abroad* is revised annually and is available in a paperbound edition through Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York.

United States Government, International Educational Exchange Program awards grants for graduate study, teaching, lecturing, advanced research, and specialized training and observation under authorization of the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act. Three different agencies have been designated by the Department of State to handle the applications for these government awards: the Institute of International Education (1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York) receives applications for graduate study; the United States Office of Education (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C.) processes applications for teaching in elementary and secondary schools; and applications for university lecturing and advanced research are handled by the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils (Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.).

At the present time, about 500 awards are offered annually for university lecturing and advanced research under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts. Approximately three fourths are for lecturing and one fourth are for advanced research. "In most of the countries of Western Europe, and in Australia and New Zealand, the responsibilities of the visiting lecturer are such that considerable time may be available for independent research. The scholar who wishes to conduct research but who has teaching experience which would qualify him for a specific lecturing assignment may find it advantageous to apply in the lecturing category or to indicate his willingness to serve in that capacity. In a number of the countries of the Near and Far East the visiting scholar may be expected to undertake a full teaching schedule but, in general, time is available for some research."

Applicants for visiting lectureships "are expected to have had at least one year of college or university teaching experience in the United States or abroad at a level equivalent to that for which application is made." Ordinarily they may lecture in English, but "in Austria, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and in certain Latin American countries lectures in English are usually acceptable only in the field of American language and literature." Applicants for awards as research scholars "are expected to have a doctoral degree from a recognized institution of higher learning in the United States or abroad *at the time of application*, or recognized standing in their respective professions." The research scholars should be proficient enough in the language of the host country to carry out their projects effectively. United States citizenship is a condition of eligibility.

Awards under the Fulbright Act are determined by the cost of living in the participating countries and vary from country to country. In general, the awards for university lecturers and research scholars include: round-trip transportation for the grantee (not for members of his family), a maintenance allowance which may be adjusted to take into account the living expenses of up to four accompanying dependents, and an incidental allowance. Grants in both the lecturer and research scholar categories are divided into two groups, one for those who have been professionally established for several years and one for relatively young

scholars. The awards are ordinarily made to coincide with the full academic year of the host country. The minimum period for which research awards will be granted is six months; for lecturing awards, one semester or the full session of an established summer school. Awards are issued for one country only. A lecturing or research award, particularly for a European country, is rarely renewed for a second year.

Details of these awards are described in pamphlets available from the Conference Board.

United States Naval Academy (Annapolis, Maryland) maintains the James Forrestal Fellowships in Naval History, open to candidates who have an interest in naval and military history and have demonstrated ability in research. "While fellows are expected to carry on their research chiefly at the Naval Academy, they are allowed appropriate freedom for travel in connection with their research projects. Fellows are provided office space and clerical assistance at the Naval Academy." The appointments are for one year, but they can be renewed. Stipends are adjusted to the needs of the fellows and generally range between \$3,000 and \$6,000 per year.

II. GRANTS-IN-AID

American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Permanent Science Fund Committee, 77 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts) disperses the income from its Permanent Science Fund in the form of grants "to aid in the advancement of knowledge through support of research in any field of science whatsoever." It should be noted that "history may be considered as among the sciences. The Committee distinguishes between those activities of scholars which are primarily problems of communication (such as publication) and those which are problems of uncovering new knowledge, and favors the latter in interpreting the term 'research.'" The average size of grants is about \$1,000; normally grants-in-aid do not exceed \$1,500.

American Folklore Society, Inc. (c/o MacEdward Leach, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania) offers a grant of \$100 "for the collection of folksongs."

American Numismatic Society (Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32, New York) offers ten grants-in-aid for summer study at its Seminar in Numismatics held at its museum. The study-grants carry a stipend of \$500 and are open to "junior university or college instructors" with a doctorate degree.

American Philosophical Association (c/o William H. Hay, Bascom Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin) supports research in philosophy, "espe-

cially political and social philosophy," through grants which cover two thirds of an individual's salary, provided that the institution employing him pays the other third. "None of these grants could be said to be for research in history beyond the history of philosophy."

American Philosophical Society (104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania) provides grants-in-aid "for research in all fields of scholarship, including expenses in connection with the collection of material for research."

Bollingen Foundation, Inc. (140 East 62nd Street, New York 21, New York) awards "a limited number of grants-in-aid to qualified scholars for research and writing" in several fields, including cultural history. The grants do not exceed \$1,200 and "are awarded for special purposes."

Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington 3, D. C.) "offers a limited number of grants-in-aid for historical research in the Tudor and Stuart periods. These grants usually amount to about \$200 per month and rarely extend for more than six months. They are for the most part for post-doctoral candidates who have already demonstrated their capacity to do serious research. . . . Grants are for research to be conducted in the Folger Library and are not for research elsewhere."

Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York) grants fellowships to college and university staff members "who are making a career in the academic field" and "who wish to devote six weeks to an on-the-spot study of a business firm." The six-week period generally is arranged in July and August; transportation costs plus a stipend of \$100 a week are paid to the fellow by the business firm.

Fund for the Republic, Inc. (60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York) maintains a grant-in-aid program to assist research projects dealing primarily "with current problems in the area of civil liberties. . . . The amounts vary considerably, depending on the time and research assistance required." In general, the duration of these grants-in-aid is one year.

John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation (916 Consolidated Building, 607 South Hill Street, Los Angeles 14, California) supports a program of summer grants for instructors and assistant professors in seven southern California institutions. "These awards are in the amount of \$750 each, and are to be used to complete an almost completed manuscript embodying a significant piece of research." Publication assistance is given for manuscripts prepared under a research grant from the Foundation.

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (San Marino 9, California) awards grants-in-aid "to enable mature scholars to bring significant research to completion. Therefore, grants are not usually given for initial or exploratory research. . . .

Awards are normally made to scholars whose subjects require the use of the Library's resources. Scholars carrying on research in the general field of Anglo-American civilization will be given preference." Amounts and duration of the grants-in-aid vary with each individual case. Unless other arrangements are made in advance, recipients of a "substantial Grant-in-Aid" will be expected to offer the Library the results of their studies for publication.

New York State Historical Association (Cooperstown, New York) awards Dixon Ryan Fox Fellowship Grants "to encourage the publication of books of importance in the fields of social, political and military history and the folklore of New York State." Each grant is "tailor-made" to meet the special needs of the author, but "no more than \$1000 will be invested in any book and in each instance the grants are devised so as to create a revolving fund."

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (State Museum Building, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) has no regular program of grants-in-aid, but "from time to time, it has aided individual scholars directly by the payment of traveling expenses, or indirectly by obtaining microfilms, photostats, and other materials for their research."

Robert Schalkenback Foundation (50 East 69th Street, New York 21, New York), organized for the specific purpose of promoting the principles of Henry George, has occasionally given grants-in-aid for research projects, though usually these are awarded to economists or economic historians.

Leopold Schepp Foundation (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York) awards grants-in-aid, but it has no set program and each application is considered on its merits.

Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc. (420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania) gives grants-in-aid for research dealing "with American-German cultural relations in the broadest sense of the word." The grants seldom exceed \$1,000, and each application is considered on its merits.

Social Science Research Council (726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.) offers Grants-in-Aid of Research for the completion of small research projects that are already well under way. "Grants are available only to mature social scientists who are not candidates for academic degrees and whose capacity for effective research has been demonstrated by their publications." In general, these grants-in-aid are designed "to defray direct costs of research, including wages of clerical or technical assistants, collection and analysis of data, and travel expenses. Maintenance for a period of not more than a few months may also be provided in a limited number of cases." No grants under this program will exceed \$2,500.

The Council maintains a program of "Grants for Research on the History of American Military Policy and related technological, economic, or other factors

either here or abroad, for any period between 1750 and 1939 except the Civil War period." These awards are made only to historians and other social scientists possessing the doctoral degree or its equivalent, and no definite policy has been set as to the duration, nature, or amount of financial aid.

SSRC also awards Grants for Slavic and East European Studies. "Funds have been secured for grants for research, publication and conferences for scholars engaged in research in the social sciences or in the humanities relating to the U.S. S.R., the Baltic states, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia." The grants-in-aid under this program are offered on the same basis as the SSRC Grants-in-Aid of Research. Particular emphasis is placed on aid to scholars whose normal places of work are remote from the centers for study of these areas.

The SSRC sponsors a three-year program of Grants for Research on State Politics. These grants are available "to individual scholars possessing the doctoral degree or its equivalent, for research on political processes in a state or states of the United States. Preference will be given to projects that give promise of findings comparable with those of similar studies which have been or may be made in other states" and to studies of the legislative process in several states. "The grants may provide for research expenses, for maintenance of research workers, or both. The maximum grant may be approximately equivalent to the recipient's salary for an aggregate period of not more than twelve months, which may be either continuous or intermittent."

State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City, Iowa) occasionally awards "honorariums" to scholars working on a biography or historical study in which the Society is particularly interested.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin (816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin), through its American History Research Center, annually makes a few grants for works in localized history anywhere in the nation. (Localized history means "state, local, or regional history treating significant local subjects which are relevant to the main stream of American development, avoiding mere antiquarianism and provincialism.") Awards are made "to those projects giving promise of producing significant interpretive studies in localized history. The amounts vary in accordance with the needs of the applicant and in no case cover salary."

III. AWARDS AND PRIZES

Abingdon Press (150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York) offers an Abingdon Award at approximately two-year intervals to the author of a book-length manuscript which "will accomplish the greatest good for the Christian faith and Christian living among all people." The contest is open "to manuscripts distinguished by technical research and scholarly application" as well as to those "in-



tended for popular consumption." Abingdon Press pays \$7,500 to the winner of the Award; \$5,000 of this amount constitutes an outright prize, the remaining \$2,500 is an advance against royalties.

Agricultural History Society (Room 3905, South Agriculture Building, U. S. Agricultural Marketing Service, Washington 25, D. C.) presents the Everett Eugene Edwards Awards each year to the authors of the two best articles published in *Agricultural History*, a magazine devoted "to the history of agriculture in all its phases." Both awards are worth \$50; one is offered for the best manuscript presented by a graduate student, the other is for the best article submitted by a more advanced scholar.

American Catholic Historical Association (The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.) established the John Gilmary Shea Prize "to stimulate and encourage historical writing by Catholics." The \$200 prize is awarded annually "for the published volume or completed manuscript which . . . has made the most original and distinguished contribution to knowledge." Preference is given to those works which deal with the history of the Catholic Church, although outstanding works by Catholics in other fields of history also receive consideration.

American Historical Association (400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.) sponsors the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of \$200, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph, in manuscript or in print, in the field of European history. The George Louis Beer Prize of about \$200 is awarded annually for the best work, in print or manuscript, on European international history since 1895.

The Albert J. Beveridge Award is given each year for the best complete original manuscript of 50,000 to 125,000 words on the history of the Western Hemisphere—American, Latin American, or Canadian history. The award carries a cash prize of \$1,000 and publication in the Beveridge series. Manuscripts cited for honorable mention are usually given free publication in the same series.

The John H. Dunning Prize of about \$140 is awarded in even-numbered years for a monograph, in print or manuscript, on any subject relating to American history. The Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize of \$100 is awarded by the Taraknath Das Foundation at five-year periods for the best work in the field of British and British imperial and Commonwealth history written by an American citizen. The next award will be made in 1961. In 1957, the Association, through funds made available by the Cornell University Press, will award the Moses Coit Tyler Prize of \$1,500 plus publication for the best manuscript submitted in the field of American intellectual history and biography. The Watumull Prize of \$500 is awarded biennially in even-numbered years for the best work on the history of India originally published in the United States.

American Military Institute (1529 18th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.) offers biennially a \$200 Moncado Prize for an original book-length manuscript in "any



field of United States military (including naval and air) history." Manuscripts are judged on the basis of thoroughness of research and quality of presentation as well as originality of contribution.

American Society of Church History (c/o Winthrop S. Hudson, 1100 South Goodman Street, Rochester 20, New York) awards biennially the Brewer Prize of \$1,000 for a "book-length manuscript in the field of church history, and if the competing essays are otherwise of equal quality, preference is given to those dealing with topics related to the history of Congregationalism."

Arkansas Historical Association (c/o Ted R. Worley, Old State House, Little Rock, Arkansas) annually offers the Stebbins Prize of \$100 for the best article-length manuscript (usually not more than 7,500 words) in the field of Arkansas history. All interested in Arkansas history are eligible, and any subject pertaining to Arkansas history is acceptable. The winning entry as well as others with special merit are published in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*.

Atlantic Monthly Press (8 Arlington Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts), in association with Little, Brown and Company, conducts the biennial Atlantic Non-Fiction Contest. All nonfiction manuscripts between 70,000 and 150,000 words in length, written in English, "typed, unpublished and distinctive" are eligible—including "historical subjects . . . provided they are not of so specialized and technical a nature as to be unsuitable for publication on the general trade list." The \$5,000 award is granted half as an outright prize and half as an advance against royalties.

B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations (165 West 46th Street, New York 36, New York) sponsor the Abram Leon Sacher Award of \$1,000, granted biennially to the author of "a significant unpublished, creative work of Jewish content." The winning manuscript is published as a Hillel Library Edition volume.

Bross Foundation (Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois) awards every ten years the Bross Prize of approximately \$7,500 for the purpose of encouraging research and writing "on the connection, relation, and mutual bearing on any practical science, or the history of our race, or the facts in any department of knowledge, with and upon the Christian Religion." The scope of the Bross Prize is so comprehensive "that any phase of science, of literature, of human history, or of modern life that may throw light upon the Christian Religion . . . would be a fitting theme for a book offered in the competition." Next award will be made in 1960.

Columbia University (New York 27, New York) awards annually two Bancroft Prizes of \$2,000 each "to the authors of the best works in American history in its broadest sense, American diplomacy, or American international relations. . . .

The word 'American' is interpreted to include the history, diplomacy, or international relations of all the Americas, North, Central, and South."

Two Loubat Prizes are awarded every five years "in recognition of the best works printed and published in the English language on the History, Geography, Archaeology, Ethnology, Philology, or Numismatics of North America." First prize is \$1,000; second prize, \$500.

The Pulitzer Prizes in Letters, awarded annually by the Trustees of Columbia University, include a \$500 prize for "a distinguished book of the year upon the history of the United States" and a \$500 prize for "a distinguished American biography or autobiography teaching patriotic and unselfish services to the people, illustrated by an eminent example."

Conference on Latin American History (c/o Charles C. Cumberland, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan) sponsors an annual award of \$100, known as the James Alexander Robertson Memorial Award, for the best manuscript article submitted to the prize committee. The winning article is published in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*.

East Tennessee Historical Society (Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville 2, Tennessee) offers an annual award of \$50 to the author of the best article published in the Society's *Publications*. "Papers must relate to some phase of the history of Tennessee—social, economic, political, constitutional, legal, religious, military, or biographical."

Elsevier Press (402 Lovett Boulevard, Houston, Texas) grants annually the Elsevier Southwest Literary Award of \$1,000 plus royalties for the best biography or history submitted by an author who is a legal resident of Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, or Arizona.

Friends of American Writers Federation (c/o Mrs. Harry Davidson, 730 Park Avenue, River Forest, Illinois) gives an annual Midwest Literary Prize of \$1,000 to an author who is a native or resident of the Middle West or an author who has published a book, fiction or nonfiction, with a Midwestern locale.

Sidney Hillman Foundation (15 Union Square, New York 3, New York) presents annually a \$500 Sidney Hillman Foundation Award for a "work of fiction or non-fiction dealing with race relations, civil liberties, trade union development, world understanding and related issues."

Houghton Mifflin Company (2 Park Street, Boston 7, Massachusetts) maintains the Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship Awards for "projects in either fiction or nonfiction." At least fifty pages of the actual project, with an informal description of its theme and intention, must be submitted. The awards are \$2,400 each, one half of the total to be considered an advance against royalties.

Institute of Early American History and Culture (Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia) gives an annual prize of \$500 for the best nonfiction book published during the previous calendar year "in the field of early American history and culture up to 1815."

Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. (501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York) sponsors the Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize of \$500 plus a contract for publication. In even-numbered years, the award is given for books in political science; in odd-numbered years, for books in American history. In both cases, the manuscripts should be intended for lay readers rather than specialists. Any United States citizen under forty years of age is eligible.

Maryland Historical Society (201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland) sponsors the Sumner and Dudrea Parker Genealogical Awards. Three prizes, worth \$25, \$20, and \$15 respectively, are awarded "for the best papers on the pedigrees of Maryland families."

Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul 1, Minnesota) offers annually a \$50 prize, the Solon J. Buck Award, for the outstanding article published in *Minnesota History*.

Pacific Coast Branch, American Historical Association (c/o John A. Schutz, Secretary-Treasurer, Whittier College, Whittier, California) offers the Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award of \$100 annually for the most deserving contribution to the *Pacific Historical Review*.

The Branch also awards \$100 annually for the best volumes submitted in the fields of American, European, and Pacific history by young scholars (preferably under thirty-five years of age), who reside in the states, provinces, and territories from which the Branch draws its membership and who have not previously published a book-length study. Entries may be in manuscript or printed form but must be of book length and of recent completion or publication, preferably within a year of the date of submission.

Philosophical Library (15 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York) sponsors the Philosophical Library Contest for the best essay, ranging in length between 75,000 and 150,000 words, on the philosophic and religious foundations of Americanism. The winner of the contest receives \$1,000 as an advance against royalties.

Royal Historical Society (96 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London S.W. 10, England) offers a triennial David Berry Prize for the best essay dealing with Scottish history within the reign of James I to James VI inclusive. Winner of the contest receives a Gold Medal and a Prize of £50.

Society of American Historians, Inc. (Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey) has inaugurated the Francis Parkman Prize of \$500 to be awarded annually "for a book in history or biography which has the highest literary distinction for that year."

Southern Historical Association (c/o Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky) offers in even-numbered years the Charles S. Sydnor Award of \$500 "for the best book in the field of Southern History." The Charles W. Ramsdell Award of \$100 is given in the odd-numbered years to the author of the best article published in the *Journal of Southern History* during that two-year period.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin (816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin) offers each year the David Clark Everest Prize in Wisconsin Economic History. The award of \$1,000 is made to the author of the best book-length manuscript contributing to the economic history of Wisconsin.

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (P. O. Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina) administers the Robert D. W. Connor Award sponsored by the Historical Society of North Carolina. The \$25 award is given to the author of the best article in *The North Carolina Historical Review* in the field of North Carolina history or biography.

Tamiment Institute (7 East 15th Street, New York 3, New York) offers annually a \$500 Tamiment Award for a "biography best exemplifying the invincibility of the free spirit and democracy."

United Daughters of the Confederacy (5530 Pershing Avenue, St. Louis 12, Missouri) awards triennially the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Award of \$1,000 "for the best unpublished book or monograph of high merit in the field of Southern history in or near the period of the Confederacy or bearing upon the causes that led to secession and the War between the States. The life of any individual, or policy, or phase of life may be treated." The contest is open to college or university graduates of not more than ten years standing. The recipient of the Baruch Award must agree to use the money "as a grant-in-aid of publication," the full amount of the award to be paid only upon completion of publication arrangements.

University of London, Institute of Historical Research (Senate House, London W.C.1, England) sponsors a biennial award of £50 known as the Julian Corbett Prize for Research in Modern Naval History. The award will be made to the author of a manuscript not to exceed 15,000 words not previously published.

Woodrow Wilson Foundation (Woodrow Wilson House, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York), in cooperation with the American Political Science Association, grants a Woodrow Wilson Award of \$1,000 for "the best book of the year in the field of government and democracy."

IV. ASSISTANCE IN PUBLICATION

American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc. (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York) publishes *American Heritage*, *The Magazine of History* and will purchase suitable articles which run between 3,500 and 4,000 words in length. "Fees range from \$100 to \$250 depending on contents and length."

American Historical Association (400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.) has a Carnegie Revolving Fund to be used for the publication of a book-length manuscript in any field of history or historical biography. This fund is almost exhausted, however, and no award was made in 1956. The Littleton-Griswold Fund is used to publish volumes of legal documents selected by the committee in charge.

Association of American University Presses (c/o Mary D. Alexander, University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Illinois) publishes a *Directory* giving the addresses, names of officers, types of books published, and titles of journals printed by the member university presses and affiliated organizations. Almost all of these organizations underwrite, or subsidize, scholarly manuscripts. The terms and conditions of each contract are different, however; one quotation from the correspondence will suffice: "Books are taken under varying terms: at one extreme are those we pay for *in toto*; at the other are those on which we ask for a subsidy equal to the printer's bill." Those interested in the university presses should correspond directly.

Binfords & Mort, Publishers (Binfords & Mort Building, 124 N.W. 9th Avenue, Portland 9, Oregon), through the aid of the Peter Binfords Foundation, is able "to assist in the publication of books of historical and scientific interest to the people of the Pacific Northwest, providing these books would not otherwise be published."

Bollingen Foundation, Inc. (140 East 62nd Street, New York 21, New York) sponsors a program of publication under the name of Bollingen Series. These books include "original contributions, translation of works heretofore unavailable in English, and new editions of classics. Among its fields of interest are comparative religion, symbolism, mythology, philosophy, psychology, social anthropology, archaeology, cultural history, literary criticism, and aesthetics. In the selection of the volumes to be published in the Series, special consideration is given to scholarly works that would probably not be undertaken by other publishers." Although the fields in which the Foundation awards fellowships and grants-in-aid are in general the same as those with which the Bollingen Series is concerned, "there is no direct connection between the two programs, and there is no commitment to publish the results of research done under these awards" (see page 574).

Bookman Associates, Inc. (31 Union Square West, New York 3, New York) has a Scholarly Books Program in which volumes requiring a subsidy can defer a

portion of that subsidy out of sales. The amount varies with each book. The Bookman Monograph Series for Historical Studies is a recently inaugurated "program for the publication of scholarly and specialized studies in editions of 500 copies. Contracts require a subsidy, earnings from sales being used to repay the author. This generally takes the form of 25% royalty . . . until the return of the author's investment and for subsequent editions. Titles are kept in circulation for a minimum of three years after publication." If sales exceed five hundred copies, Bookman Associates will keep the book in print without cost to the author.

Connecticut Historical Society (1 Elizabeth Street, Hartford 5, Connecticut) is at present helping finance the publication of several volumes dealing with Connecticut history. The Society hopes to secure sufficient funds so that it can annually publish a work on Connecticut.

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (1703 32nd Street, Washington 7, D. C.) will accept manuscripts on historical subjects in its special field of interest (late classical, early Christian, and Byzantine, plus western medieval and Near Eastern if they involve relationship with Byzantium). Such manuscripts will be considered "for possible publication by Dumbarton Oaks regardless of whether the work was done at Dumbarton Oaks or not."

Far Eastern Association, Inc. (P. O. Box 2067, Ann Arbor, Michigan) has a monograph fund to bear the cost of publishing worthwhile monographs in the Far Eastern field. Inquiries should be addressed to the monograph editor, E. A. Kracke, Jr., 5716 Harper Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Friends Historical Association (c/o Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania) has a small fund from which occasional grants are made "to assist in the publication of books on some phase of Quaker history." Grants generally range between \$100 and \$200.

Rutherford B. Hayes and Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation (Fremont, Ohio), for special projects in which it is particularly interested, "will give a royalty or award on publication of a book manuscript, and in some cases will assist with the costs of publication." The amount involved may range from \$1,000 to \$5,000. The primary field of interest of the Foundation and its Rutherford B. Hayes Library is "American history for the period 1865-1900."

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (University of Cincinnati Library Building, Cincinnati 21, Ohio) occasionally underwrites the publication of books within its special field of interest.

Institute of Early American History and Culture (Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia) selects book manuscripts for publication and pays whatever subsidy is required. "Each book is published under an individual contract. Most of these con-

tracts provide that after the Institute has recovered its subsidy through the sale of the book, whatever royalties accrue beyond that point are paid to the author."

Institute of Pacific Relations (1 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York) gives financial assistance "in arranging publication of research on Asian and Far Eastern affairs, mainly contemporary economic, political and social problems." The amount of each grant "varies considerably and depends on how a particular study fits into the Institute's own research program."

Jewish Publication Society of America (222 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania) "through the Jacob R. Schiff Fund is able to offer advanced royalties and full assistance in publication to any author submitting an acceptable outline or completed manuscript on American Jewish History."

Mediaeval Academy of America (1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts) publishes "occasional books; in such cases, the Academy's investment is ordinarily limited to half the cost of publication."

Mennonite Historical Society (Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana) "has a fund reserved for use in subsidizing the publication of monographs relating to Anabaptist and Mennonite history. The subsidy is usually in the form of a loan, to be paid back to the Society when the sales of the book are sufficient to pay for the publication costs. . . . The amount of the loan varies with individual cases."

New-York Historical Society (170 Central Park West, New York 24, New York) occasionally publishes at its own expense a manuscript in American history.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (State Museum Building, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) has published manuscripts on Pennsylvania history, but each project "has been judged on its own individual merits, its interest to the members of the Commission, and its value in filling a gap in the literature of Pennsylvania history."

Public Affairs Press (2162 Florida Avenue, Washington 8, D. C.) publishes "authoritative works which promote in some degree the advancement of knowledge and better understanding of the complex world in which we live." It invites relatively unknown scholars to submit their work and will from time to time make advances in connection with the preparation of manuscripts or arrange for special grants.

Vermont Historical Society (Montpelier, Vermont) assists in the publication of special books, "such as histories of towns in Vermont and Vermont subjects."

University of Rochester

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

HISTORY IN A CHANGING WORLD. By *Geoffrey Barraclough*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 246. \$4.00.)

BECAUSE of its importance to all historians, this book deserves more space than is available for its review in the profession's leading American journal. Since the author is English, Arnold Toynbee's successor in the Stevenson Chair of International History in London, and a special student in the medieval field, it is doubtful that the book should have been sent to a reviewer whose major interest is American history. It is even more doubtful that I should have accepted the assignment, because Professor Barraclough saw fit to deal at some length with my attempt in *The Great Frontier* to say "what it is all about," to do, not perfectly he admits, the sort of thing he thinks ought to be done better and by more historians.

The book is important to historians because Barraclough tells them what a predicament they are in and how blind they are to their unfortunate situation. When the professors returned from the Second World War, they not only found their civilization in ruins, but they found that the verities and the concepts on which they had based their teaching and writing had perished and could not even be used as low common denominators in solving the problems of history. One of the verities accepted by historians was the balance of power formula, with its center in Europe. But "in 1945, when the dust of battle began to clear," there was no longer a balance of power. "Instead of a concert, there were two Great Powers, Russia and the United States, neither essentially European. . . ." What was the returned historian who had been so sure of his balance of power formula to do now that the platform which he thought so sturdy had fallen from under him?

This one example illustrates what many suspect, and what the author believes—that modern civilization has come to an ending and must perforce make a beginning. The historians have been caught in the crisis and are faced both with the task of explaining in terms that have not been discredited why it came about, to them so unexpectedly, and with the more difficult task of explaining the new age we are entering, which they did not foresee and do not yet understand. This crisis, which incidentally revealed the colossal failure of the historians, became apparent in 1945 and is followed by the author for the ensuing ten years.

Barraclough makes it pretty clear that the historians had abdicated before the

calamity happened. They had fallen deep into the "poverty of historicism." The author does not wrap this word historicism in a neat definition, but he develops a concept of it at some length. It results from the belief that history has continuity, that it evolves in an orderly manner, thus leaving out of account the fortuitous and catastrophic. It has some of Leopold von Ranke and much of Darwin in it. It explains best those periods in which little is happening. It leads directly to relativism, to the idea that everything is of equal importance and that nothing has much importance. It relieves the historian of taking a chance; it enables him to be objective because he would not be caught with an original idea or a suggestive hypothesis if he had one that would illuminate the dark wood wherein he is lost. Into the breach left by the historians afflicted with historicism have come such men as H. G. Wells, Spengler, and Toynbee, the last two trying to say what it all means. Barracrough does not accept them whole, or anyone else for that matter, but he does give them credit for trying, and he apparently believes that others should also try, in order to restore history's relation to reality and its usefulness to mankind. The book will hearten those who have not succumbed to historicism; it may cure some who have not progressed too far; and it will be of interest to all who are not in the last stages.

University of Texas

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

TOYNBEE AND HISTORY: CRITICAL ESSAYS AND REVIEWS. Edited by *M. F. Ashley Montagu*. (Boston: Porter Sargent, Extending Horizons Books, 1956. Pp. xvi, 385. \$5.00.)

ONE of the most interesting things about Toynbeean criticism is the dichotomy that has developed between the amateurs and the professionals. On the one hand, *A Study of History* has achieved a great popular success, especially in the United States, and has received a great many favorable and even ecstatic notices in the newspapers and popular journals. On the other hand, it has been subjected to severe criticism by the experts, especially the historians. *Toynbee and History*, which consists of some thirty essays and reviews of Toynbee's magnum opus written during the last ten years, is devoted mainly to this second type of criticism. Not all of these pieces are unfavorable to Toynbee, and scarcely one of them fails to pay tribute to his vast erudition, insights, and architectonic genius. But taken all together, they add up to a truly formidable indictment of the book which the editor rightly describes as "the most widely known work of contemporary historical scholarship."

The central count of the indictment concerns Toynbee's methodology. Reviews by Pieter Geyl, A. J. Taylor, Geoffrey Barracrough, and other historians charge him with system-building in the manner of St. Augustine, Herder, and Hegel. They repudiate his claim to be an empirical historian. On the contrary, they say, he imposes patterns on history, patterns which he had in his head from

the beginning; he bends the facts to fit his patterns, he oversimplifies, he does not weigh the evidence as an objective historian should. Toynbee's castigation of the "Modern Historians" as "antinomians" in his ninth volume has invited further criticism of his "schematism," his failure to appreciate the real complexity of historical data. Thus, *A Study of History* is a metaphysic perhaps, a theodicy, a prophecy—anything but history.

Other essays, notably the group dealing with Toynbee's treatment of geography and classical, Chinese, and Islamic history, question his facts in special areas and his use of Greco-Roman civilization as a pattern for all the others. Three concern themselves particularly with his representation of modern Judaism as a "fossil." Still others object to his antinationalistic bias and his "over-critical attitude to modern Western civilization." Geyl, for example, believes that Toynbee has been so carried away by his worship of "the idol Unity" that he has seriously underestimated nationalism as a factor in cultural construction. Both Geyl and Hans Kohn rise to the defense of Western civilization which Toynbee, following a modern fashion, so much laments. "Mr. Toynbee," says Kohn, "underrates the newness and greatness of Western civilization" (p. 357). Underlying many of these criticisms is a fundamental disagreement with Toynbee's recently developed thesis that civilizations exist not as ends in themselves, but as preludes to the birthing of "higher religions."

I am reminded at this point of what Geoffrey Barraclough says about Toynbee in another place. "However severely we may judge the particular reconstructions of a Spengler or a Toynbee," he observes in *History in a Changing World*, "they remain significant as the first positive reaction in the writing of history against the excesses of historicism. . . . Hence I find it hard to participate in the attitude of deprecation with which historians have greeted such work." Very few of his critics, Barraclough included, suggest that Toynbee is not worth reading. At the very least he can be read, as O. H. K. Spate suggests, as "an irritant stimulus to rethinking [our] own postulates" (p. 304). An intellectual historian might add that he can also be studied profitably as a symptom of new mental attitudes in a "changing world": the attempt to see the world as a whole and not in part, the disenchantment with modern Western man, and the new religiosity. The danger is, of course, that *A Study of History* will be read too literally, and not as philosophy of history, which it primarily is, or as a tract for the times.

Yale University

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

BÜCHERKUNDE ZUR WELTGESCHICHTE VOM UNTERGANG DES
RÖMISCHEN WELTREICHES BIS ZUR GEGENWART. Edited by
Günther Franz. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 544. DM 64.)

PROFESSOR FRANZ and twenty-two collaborators, each a specialist in the field of history he treats, provide in this volume a valuable supplement to the comparable

Herre-Hofmeister-Stübe bibliography of 1910 and the American *Guide to Historical Literature* of 1931. By editorial decisions, certain limits were placed at the outset upon the attempt to catalogue the literature of world history. The most basic of these decisions was to omit treatment of ancient history; a second, to include titles in all European languages—a bold and wise forward step—but to emphasize German-language titles and to omit titles in Asiatic languages; a third, the wisdom of which may be questioned, to give relatively little space to the historical literature of those countries, including Germany, for which well-known national bibliographies exist; a fourth, to regard the year 1952 as a terminal date in compiling the volume (this limit has occasionally been transcended); and a fifth decision was to include fewer and briefer evaluative annotations than those of the *Guide to Historical Literature*. Within these limits, the compilers have produced a highly valuable guide. A copy of it should be on the shelf of every serious reference library; in many colleges and universities it may profitably be used as a check list in evaluating library holdings in history and planning their expansion; academic historians, even specialists in United States and Latin American history, will find it a useful piece of office equipment; and graduate students who are just beginning research projects might well be sent first to this bibliography. But they should also be urged to look beyond it, for in spite of comprehensive and careful effort it is not complete, even within its announced limits. It may be indicative of the limitations of the volume to note that some or all of the works of the following authors are not included: R. A. Billington, Herbert Bolton, and Stow Persons in United States history; Alejandro Marure, Lorenzo Montúfar, and Bernard Moses in Latin American history; and, in various periods and areas of European history, Waldo Chamberlin, E. Garin, Louis Gottschalk, Philip Grierson, F. W. Maitland, Sir John Maynard, Charles Morley, Giulio Santangelo, and A. J. P. Taylor. These and some other omissions appear to have resulted from oversight rather than from a consistent policy of selection. But the over-all quality of this volume makes it certain that the scholars who produced it will receive the most lasting form of praise, widespread use of their work by fellow historians. Students should be encouraged to think of "Franz and others" along with the *Guide to Historical Literature* as part of their bibliographical baggage.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

MODERN SCIENCE AND HUMAN VALUES: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *Everett W. Hall*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1956. Pp. x, 483. \$8.00; text edition available.)

ONE of the very legitimate concerns of many intellectuals is that science in its modern phase is not concerned with values. Professor Hall raises the question: "Hasn't physical science advanced too far, not in itself, but in its relation to our

knowledge of values?" A question such as this is well worth the asking, but the answers set forth in Hall's book will be of little value to the audience the author is attempting to reach.

A book must always be considered in relation to the author's aims. This book was not written for historians or scientists but for "inquisitive laymen in these fields, who, bewildered by the crosscurrents of contemporary thought, wish to get some perspective by means of an historical approach." The author also has in mind medical and engineering students and students in the humanities "who wanted an outlook on modern scientific method and its relations to human values other than that offered from the stony and narrow path of some actual scientific pursuit." The task is a difficult one, and this reviewer feels that the audience described above will not benefit too much from the reading of this work. Why? The author attempts to do too much at one time.

He proposes the thesis that there is a basic distinction between physical science and the study of values. Medieval man, he states rightly, studied physics as basically a study of values, "of goal behavior on nature's part." Medieval science and ethics were shattered by the scientific revolution, and Hall thinks that the study of values has been misunderstood by the logical positivists. Although he concedes that values cannot be investigated by the method of modern science, he does believe that "there are values and that, by a different method, they can be known." Such study is organized on the basis of examining the achievement of modern scientific method with material "drawn largely from the histories of dynamics and economics." The author hopes that his work will have the same place in the study of the "distinction of fact and value and its replacement of the amalgam of the two in men's thinking" that J. B. Bury's *The Idea of Progress* had in the study of the idea of progress. This admirable aim has been missed.

A basic problem is that the reader, who is not expected to have any specific knowledge of the subject, albeit he is intelligent, first has to embrace the author's own ideas on value theory. After absorbing this, the reader not only has to learn the new descriptive materials put forth by the author but also has to apply the analysis of fact and value constantly to the material. There might be no argument if the author cooperated with the reader, for such rigorous reading can be a delight. But just the opposite is true; the author is constantly in the reader's way, looking over his shoulder, so to speak. "If I may presume that the reader is not too weary of hearing what the Copernican revolution did not consist in . . ." and "I hope that I have made my point sufficiently clear . . ." are two samples. These interruptions are exasperating in and of themselves; but at the same time, the author, even though well aware of the many pitfalls of the study of the history of science, makes so many tentative statements that the reader becomes confused. The various phases of intellectual history are discussed; occasionally it becomes obvious that the author is attempting to illustrate his thesis, but again the reader becomes bogged

down in superfluous material. Some of the historical interpretation is open to question, and it is interesting to learn that "the seven liberal arts were all literary" (p. 18).

The author's contention becomes clear in the following statement: "We have not had to wait for 'the revolution of centuries' to find the optimism of 'unending progress' become old-fashioned if not completely obsolete. Whether the idea of value-free scientific knowledge has or will climb as high in the intellectual heavens may be doubted, but however high it climbs, it will, we may rest assured, sink again to be surmounted by some other star. What will that star be?—that there are values and that there is a way of finding them out?"

If the author is attempting to guide the general reader in the study of the development of science, it would have been of great help to supply a list of pertinent books to aid the reader in further investigation. Such a list is not to be found. This reviewer thinks that the works of Randall, Whitehead, and Butterfield are still the best material for the intelligent laymen. From these works, and many others as well, the reader will find a much more lucid account of the development of science.

Goucher College

GEORGE A. FOOTE

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF MEDICINE. By *Otto L. Bettmann*. With a Foreword by *Philip S. Hench*. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher. 1956. Pp. xiii, 318. \$9.50.)

TIME was when it was taken for granted that a picture book was for children who could not read. Fortunately, we now recognize the value of adult visual education. In *Bettmann's Pictorial History*, the pictures themselves present the evolution of medicine, even without reference to the brief textual accounts on each page; but the book is no child's play.

Text and pictures (over nine hundred) occupy approximately equal portions of the 318 pages, which are divided into eleven chapters, starting with Egypt and the ancient East and ending with the nineteenth century. Each chapter consists of several topical sections, e.g., "Moses: Public Health Leader," "The Black Death," "Colonial America: Priest-Physicians Pray and Cure," "Osler: Giant of the Wards." Many of the pictures are from originals: ancient bas reliefs, medieval manuscript miniatures, renaissance paintings, museum relics, and ads or cartoons from modern journals. All reproductions are in black and white, and in some cases they are regrettably small or indistinct. This reader could have been spared the portraits of doctors (except for modern photographs, portraits are inaccurate indications of a man's actual appearance), to give space for more activity pictures. The captions are excellent, and I would have preferred more of them and longer ones, even to the exclusion of the descriptive sections. To be sure, the text, couched in readable,

popular language, is sprightly and interesting, but is so condensed as to present a journalistic type of history that fails to do justice to Dr. (Ph.D.) Bettmann's scholarship. Outstanding men often appear as supermen, reminiscent of the now outdated "great man" historiography. For example: "Paré salvaged his chosen profession from quacks on the one hand, and academicians on the other" (p. 124). Paracelsus is praised for having supplanted the "complicated herbal remedies" (which were relatively harmless) with "simple (metallic) substances" (which were sometimes dangerous).

Bettmann, the Ph.D., disapproves throughout of the booklearning and theorizing of academicians, whether they were medieval scholastics or modern scholars. To him, Albertus Magnus' ideas on sex are a "plethora of nonsense" (p. 83) and "how many angels could sit on the point of a pin" (p. 76) is typical of scholasticism. "Arabic-Aristotelian influence on medicine" made Salerno's progressively-practical healing art into "a bookish science. And of course that is no science at all" (p. 76). Such dicta have been relegated to the realm of modern historical legend by recent "bookish scientists" such as Lynn Thorndike and George Corner (M.D.). We could wish that M.D.'s might be weaned from historical legends more completely than is done in Bettmann's textual descriptions.

But the book deserves more than carping criticism. It is a popular book, intentionally so, as Bettmann once wrote me; and it is a useful and attractive one which will be widely read and will lead medical historians to avail themselves of the much greater pictorial resources of the Bettmann Archive.

University of North Carolina

LOREN C. MACKINNEY

MEN IN ARMS: A HISTORY OF WARFARE AND ITS INTERRELATIONSHIPS WITH WESTERN SOCIETY. By *Richard A. Preston, Sydney F. Wise, and Herman O. Werner.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1956. Pp. viii, 376. \$6.50.)

THE subtitle of this excellent work states accurately and succinctly the ambitious goal set for themselves by the authors. It must be said that they have succeeded admirably in their task—and in less than four hundred readable and informative pages. What distinguishes this work from its numerous predecessors and enhances its value is the emphasis placed on war as a social institution, as an expression of the political, social, and economic organization of society in each age. Thus, the Greek phalanx—a solid rectangle of infantrymen eight deep and armed with long spears—is shown to be a natural outgrowth of the institutions developed by the Greek city-states and the topography of the Greek peninsula. Similarly, the Roman legionary, the feudal knight on horseback, the condottiere, the sea dog of Elizabethan England, the redcoat of Cromwell's model army, the militiaman of colonial America, and the G.I. of World War II—each in his own way was an embodiment of the society in which he lived. The military organization to which he belonged, the way he was clothed, fed, armed, and transported to battle,

the formations he adopted, the way he fought, and even his morale, reflected the political beliefs, social structure, economic resources, and industrial development of his day and age.

As war has been shaped by society, so it in turn has shaped the political and social structure in every period. It was the military success of Athens that was responsible in large degree for the Golden Age of Pericles, the Roman Legion that laid the basis for the Pax Romana, and sea power that spread the civilization of Western Europe to all parts of the world and made possible the conquest of America and Africa.

From earliest times, the demands of war have had a direct effect on economy and technology; in more recent times, the industrial and scientific resources of nations have been so closely harnessed to warfare as to constitute the basis of military power. Political and social organization, too, has been profoundly influenced by war, and few will deny the role of gunpowder and professional armies in the decline of feudalism and the rise of the national state.

Viewed thus as a social institution shaped by and shaping the civilization that gave it birth, warfare takes its rightful place as one of the great forces in the history of mankind. It is to the credit of the authors that they have taken this broad view of their subject, thereby reminding us of the validity and importance of the study of military history. This is a book that both the professional military man and the interested citizen will read with pleasure and profit.

Arlington, Virginia

LOUIS MORTON

DEFENSE AND DIPLOMACY: THE SOLDIER AND THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS. By *Alfred Vagts*. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 547. \$8.75.)

THERE has long been an imbalance in the historiography of international relations in favor of the diplomat and in neglect of the soldier. Dr. Vagts's task has been to take a first step toward redressing the balance, and there is no question that he has done so. Since he has not intended to write a definitive account of the diplomatic-military relationship but only a counterweight to the past, there can be no justified criticism if he has swung too far in the opposite direction by emphasizing the military factors. In this series of historical essays, he has undertaken to describe the role of the military expert in the exceedingly complex business of framing and conducting foreign relations. Nineteenth-century Europe receives major attention, but the general formula for each chapter is to deal with Western civilization from the Age of Absolutism to the present with occasional reference to other areas and earlier times. Continental Europe prior to the First World War provides rich documentation for Vagts, and he has made good use of it. The modern period, however, contains valuable materials which were not tapped. As a result, there is serious doubt that the soldier's role in the last twenty-five years has been accurately portrayed.

The various parts that military experts have played in international affairs are treated topically. Soldiers as diplomats, as advisers for and against war, and as peacemakers are given separate chapters. Military intelligence, military missions, and military staff conversations all receive separate historical treatment. The place of mobilization and the value of military demonstrations in diplomacy are similarly covered. The topical approach naturally leads to a certain qualitative and quantitative unevenness arising out of the nature of the subject matter and the source material. Each reader will make his own assessment, but this reviewer found most informative the discussions of military conventions, preventive war, and mobilization, particularly as they apply to the present. On the other hand, the most provocative chapter is that dealing with strategy and diplomacy.

In discussing the sensitive relationship between the soldier and the diplomat, objectivity is essential. Despite an occasional unsupported statement attributing individual sins to the military as a whole, there is little of civil or of military bias in this book. It is only in dealing with Franklin D. Roosevelt as a "war-dictator" and in employing a Beardian concept of America's entry into World War II that the author lapses from a high standard of objectiveness.

In view of the variety of ways in which democratic and authoritarian nations have met the problems and rivalries of diplomats and soldiers, the author has correctly avoided sweeping generalizations, and for the most part he has refrained from drawing conclusions of his own. His facts, however, and there are an astonishing number of them, will make it possible for the careful student to cull valuable historical judgments from this work.

This reviewer has reached the conclusion that the author sees only one way to attain proper coordination between strategy and policy. There must be, even in a parliamentary system of government, a strong executive, with comprehensive views, who knows how to make full use of his civilian ministers and military advisers. In no other way can specialization and compartmentalization be overcome. Although soldiers and diplomats have not been free of error in the past, both have frequently had sound advice to offer, and both must be heard. There is no question that policy makers and strategists who are struggling to understand the nature of the cold war, and to meet the problems which it raises, would profit from the clear look at the historical perspectives which *Defense and Diplomacy* reveals.

Princeton University

GORDON B. TURNER

LA DISPUTA DEL NUOVO MONDO: STORIA DI UNA POLEMICA, 1750-1900. By *Antonello Gerbi*. (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore. 1955. Pp. x, 783. L. 4,500.)

For obvious reasons, the historians of our generation have turned to the relations between Europe and America as a historical problem of the first rank. It is a

problem which is forbiddingly complicated by its magnitude—since it extends into the fields of geology, biology, and anthropology as well as into the more familiar spheres of economic, social, and cultural connections. It is further obfuscated by the familiar gulf between the facts and what men thought were the facts, for the views which Europeans and Americans have held on the relationship between their continents have been both all-encompassing and—as the personal experience of travelers can still attest—incompatible. The historian, then, is confronted with the enormous task of establishing the relationships while treating much of the overt testimony not as direct evidence but as an additional historical problem. It is this problem which is the subject of Gerbi's book. His stimulus has been precisely "the hyperbolies and the calumnies" which have bulked so large in the comparisons of the New World with the Old, and his objective has been to clear this ground by a historical analysis of the genesis and development of such ideas. He has succeeded admirably, and in so doing he has created a model for the writing of intellectual history.

The central theme—which doubles as Gerbi's canon of selection from the voluminous material—is the complex of ideas first propounded in the middle of the eighteenth century by Buffon about America's natural environment and its fauna and extended by De Pauw shortly thereafter to American men and societies. This Buffon-De Pauw thesis, which was built around the notions of the physical "immaturity" of the New World and the "weakness" and "decadence" of its denizens, gave a system and an identifiable form to the antipathetic attitudes toward the Americas. It provided, thereby, a focus which crystallized sympathetic and hostile views alike into a running debate. Using this thesis as his organizing principle, Gerbi follows the "polemic" through the whole galaxy of writers—familiar and unfamiliar, American and European, Anglo-Saxon and Latin—who participated on either side of it. The argument developed until it reached its apogee in Hegel, and, appropriately, Gerbi concentrates on the period between 1750 and 1830. After Hegel, the issues unraveled into discrete prejudices and the debate lost its coherence. For Gerbi's purposes, consequently, the bulk of the nineteenth century is simply an epilogue.

The strength of the work, however, lies not in the specific story of the polemic but in the skillful weaving of the general movement of ideas around it. The hermeneutical advantage of the debate on the Buffon-De Pauw theme is that it involved views on nature, history, and culture; and Gerbi makes full use of this many-sided issue to follow its roots into the philosophy, the science, the politics, and the personalia of its antagonists. So full, indeed, is Gerbi's intellectual analysis that it frequently seems to transcend his avowed purpose of explaining the ideas on America by their context; the ideas on America seem at times to provide merely the thread of continuity for a general intellectual history.

The book is organized around individual writers, a method which has the defects of its virtues. It affords large scope for Gerbi's masterful, intensive analysis

of ideas, his feeling for the humanity in history, and his graceful, urbane style; at the same time, however, it leads to repetition and looseness of organization which contribute to the inconvenient bulk of the book. But these are only minor weaknesses in an altogether admirable study. The net result is a work that is part monograph, part synthesis, and partly a series of vignettes. Common to all these parts is a notable achievement. The subjective side of European-American relations now has the pilot study which integrates it into the unified framework of an Atlantic civilization. This is a giant stride in the direction that historiography must take.

Yale University

LEONARD KRIEGER

CHINA AND SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Henry Wei*. With an Introduction by *Quincy Wright*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1956. Pp. xvi, 379. \$7.75.)

DR. WEI examines the "long course of Sino-Soviet relations" with a view to finding an answer to such questions as: "How did Soviet Russia transform weakness into strength and rise from an impotent to a dominant position in China? What were the policies and tactics of Soviet diplomacy? How did China react to these policies and tactics? What initiatives did China take in dealing with Russia? How did the attitudes and policies of third powers affect Sino-Soviet relations? How did Sino-Soviet relations affect, and how were they affected by, the internal developments of the two countries? What is the nature and scope of the cooperation between Communist China and Soviet Russia? Is there any sign that the cooperation may not last?" (pp. ix-x). The data on which the author's conclusions are based are presented, as he says, in a "clear and orderly account of the significant diplomatic motives, tactics, setbacks, and successes" of the past thirty-five years of relationship. This account is preceded by a brief description of the 1911 Chinese revolution and the Russian revolution of 1917 and a short treatment of the attempts made by the Soviet Union to enter into diplomatic relations with the northern military regimes in control at Peking in the 1920's. Chapters iii and iv ("The Rise of Soviet Influence in China" and "The Eclipse of Soviet Influence in China") cover the first phase of Kuomintang-Communist relations. Here, as also in the introductory chapters, the treatment would have been strengthened if the author had dealt more extensively with internal developments in China from the point of view of interparty relations and had examined in more detail the structure of international Communism and the position of the national Communist party in that structure.

Chapters v-xi follow relationships through the Manchurian and North China crises of the 1930's and the war period to the victory of the Communist party on the mainland. The chief emphasis is on Russian policy toward Manchuria, Outer Mongolia, and Sinkiang province, as that policy affected Sino-Soviet relations, and

on Japanese and American policy as it affected those relations and was affected by them. In chapter xii ("China's Accusation of the USSR in the United Nations"), Wei brings into the open and examines acutely the problem facing the Nationalist government in securing an international examination of its case against the USSR. He analyzes the 1950 treaty and agreements concluded between the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union and appraises the results of Sino-Soviet cooperation during the past five years. In the concluding chapter ("Summation and Interpretation"), the author gives an admirable summary of the record presented and draws his own conclusions. Ten appendixes, a detailed bibliography, and an index add to the value of the volume.

This is a book which, as Professor Quincy Wright states in his introduction, "all who have views on Far Eastern policy" should read. It also has importance for the student and statesman who are "interested in the world problems centering in the Far East."

University of Cincinnati

HAROLD M. VINACKE

Medieval History

MUHAMMAD AT MEDINA. By *W. Montgomery Watt*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 418. \$6.75.)

THIS is a fresh, careful—perhaps too careful in parts—study of the Medinese period (A.D. 622–632) in the life of Muhammad. It is issued as a sequel to *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953) by the same author, professor of Arabic at Edinburgh. Based on original sources, such as ibn-Hisham, ibn-Sa'd, al-Waqidi, al-Baladhuri, al-Tabari, the work takes due consideration of the researches of modern critical scholars including Caetani, Lammens, Wellhausen, and Wüstenfeld; but Caussin de Perceval (Paris, 1847), repeatedly cited (pp. 85, 92, 110, 133, 138), is out of place in this company. A seemingly disproportionate part of the volume is devoted to the battles and expeditions of the Prophet, the internal politics of Medina, and the unifying of the Arabian tribes, but the justification is obvious. The new religion established by Muhammad at Medina has been the subject of much more intensive research than the politico-military community established conjointly. Even in connection with the much studied koranic legislation of Muhammad, Watt makes a contribution by throwing fresh light on somewhat obscure points or illuminating entirely dark ones. The legislation against usury was not due to the wrong attitude toward wealth exhibited by the rich merchants of Mecca; it was directed primarily against the Jews of Medina (p. 296). Gambling was prohibited not so much for its economic evils as for its association with the pagan religion; the same may have been true of the prohibition of wine (p. 299). That curious passage in the Koran (4:6) which is usually taken to mean "You shall not marry more than four" may be construed as encouragement

for men who had only one wife to marry as many as four and to establish multiple virilocal families. Muhammad's own marriages were virilocal, though each of his wives had her own apartment (pp. 274-75). Watt finds no solid ground for thinking that Muhammad's character declined after the Hegira.

On the whole, the image of the Prophet that emerges from this new study does not vary radically from the one hitherto held by critical scholars.

The more one reflects on the history of Muhammad and of early Islam, the more one is amazed at the vastness of his achievement. Circumstances presented him with an opportunity such as few men have had, but the man was fully matched with the hour. Had it not been for his gifts as seer, statesman, and administrator and, behind these, his trust in God and firm belief that God had sent him, a notable chapter in the history of mankind would have remained unwritten (p. 335).

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT

THE LATIN CHARTERS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD. By F. M. Stenton. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 103. \$1.70.)

SIR Frank M. Stenton's latest book, composed of three lectures delivered at Kings College of the University of London in 1954, is a plea both for a modern edition of all extant Latin charters of Anglo-Saxon England and for a new appreciation of what these records tell about Old English society. In three chapters, this eminent historian has distilled a number of pithy reflections on those solemn documents that recorded royal grants of land and privileges. The first chapter, dealing with charters and their criticism, is a fine résumé of the scholarly editorial work thus far accomplished, from Kemble on through Harmer, Whitelock, and Robertson. Special tribute is rendered to W. H. Stevenson, who is credited with initiating the modern study of Anglo-Saxon diplomatics. This leads to a learned discussion of the methods by which the authenticity of a charter is established. Thrown in here is the warning, excellently documented, that inflexible scientific standards of diplomatics often result in labeling authentic charters as spurious. It is, for example, unwise to find a charter false merely because it contains formulas not found in "authentic instruments of its reputed date."

The second chapter traces the development of the charter in form and in substance. Stenton shows that the Anglo-Saxon diploma was introduced into England during the age of Theodore of Tarsus and Wilfrid and that by the ninth century its customary form was established. For the student of administrative institutions, it should be noted that Offa, king of Mercia, seems to have been the first king who employed a group of clerks to accomplish the royal writing and that under Athelstan there was a staff of trained writers well versed in an insular script. The third chapter treats the last century of the charter, roughly from 950 to 1066. During this period the solemn charter was replaced by the writ which, appropriated by the Normans, became a key instrument in the development of their efficient government. Studying all the pertinent charters scholars have employed

to show the existence of a chancellor under Edward the Confessor, Stenton proves beyond doubt the spuriousness of the principal evidence and thus removes the Old English chancellor from pre-Norman history.

The historian will read with most interest and profit what Stenton writes about the value of the charter for Anglo-Saxon history in the tenth and eleventh centuries. From his intensive study, he shows that the charters permit the historian to plot the settlements which developed in southern England a century before 1066. He contends that concentrations of settlements described by Domesday Book were well established in the midlands and the south by 975, and that, furthermore, for taxation they had been brought into a fiscal organization resembling that used for assessing the Danegeld in the eleventh century. Behind the round numbers of hides assigned to various regions of England by such documents as the Tribal Hidage, there were undoubtedly round numbers of *mansae* or *cassati* denoting the agrarian capacity of an estate. In 944, for example, King Edmund donated eight *mansae* at Brimpton in Berkshire to one of his officers. In 1066 this estate was divided into two manors, one assessed at four and a half hides and the other at three and a half hides. Less convincing is the observation that when charters described boundaries of land, it was in terms of village communities. In the light of what Stenton has previously said about Anglo-Saxon communities, he is undoubtedly thinking here of his beloved agrarian villages of free farmers. But simply because peasants lived in communities does not prove that they were free and ordered their communal affairs.

Packed with erudition and meaning, this little book reminds us once again that the small books of the most mature scholars are often the most significant.

University of Illinois

BRYCE LYON

ALFRED THE GREAT. By *Eleanor Shipley Duckett*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 220. \$3.75.)

THIS brief and readable "life and times" of Alfred the Great is a valuable addition to historical literature. Miss Duckett has skillfully made the most of our meagre knowledge of King Alfred's career. While she has not neglected the cluster of legends which adorn his name, she has carefully distinguished between legend and history. The last twenty years have seen a great advance in our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon period and Miss Duckett has fully utilized this research. She has been peculiarly successful in placing Alfred in his historical background. The England of his day is depicted with colorful simplicity. An account of the culture which produced the Vikings precedes the story of their raids, and the Norse attacks on England are seen in their proper perspective as a part of a widespread assault on Western Christendom. While the Norsemen ravaged Northwestern Europe, Saracens menaced Rome.

Perhaps the most valuable part of this little book is the discussion of Alfred as a student and scholar. Miss Duckett tells us of the men of learning whom

Alfred gathered at his court. She gives highly effective brief accounts of the works Alfred and his scholars translated into Anglo-Saxon and indicates their relevance to the problems of Alfred's England. Here, however, one omission leaves the historian a little perplexed—there is no discussion of Alfred's connection with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles.

This reviewer suspects that Miss Duckett is deluded in one respect—her belief that this is a very simple book for people who know nothing of Alfred except that he burned some cakes. Miss Duckett's style is simple and direct, but her mind ranges far. The reader with an inadequate knowledge of the history of Europe in Alfred's time is likely to be thoroughly baffled by her very compact account of a most complicated subject. For the historian or the well-read layman, this book is a stimulating summary of the career of an important historical figure carefully and skillfully placed in its proper setting, but I fear it may be confusing to one who has no idea how the Saracens got to Rome or who Arnulf or St. Cuthbert were. Moreover, Miss Duckett lays an additional trap for the unwary reader. She is a little casual in her use of terms. Charles the Bald certainly did not live in what most historians think of as a castle, and *serf* is not a safe term to use in connection with Anglo-Saxon society. Even the "knighting of Athelstan" seems a rather odd expression in reference to Alfred's day. These are, however, very minor criticisms. Miss Duckett has produced a charming and useful book which her colleagues and their students will read with both pleasure and profit.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

LES FONDEMENTS DU RÉGIME FONCIER AU MOYEN AGE, DEPUIS LA CHUTE DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN EN OCCIDENT. ETUDE DE DOGMATIQUE ET D'HISTOIRE DU DROIT. By *Joseph Balon*. [Etudes Publiées par la Section Belge de la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Assemblées d'Etats, VII.] (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts. 1954. Pp. 198. \$3.00.)

THIS slim book advances a revolutionary thesis: the *allod*, instead of being a marginal, occasional, or even exceptional type of property right in medieval law, should be understood as the most important and central type, the major right to which all others, *fief*, *benefice*, *censive*, etc., were relative or from which they derived. So understood, the *allod* would give system and unity hitherto missing in the history of the medieval law of property; further, it would force readjustment of our views on the domain or *seigneurie* and on other main institutions of feudal society. All this, because the legal concept claimed here as the meaning of *allod* included not only complete powers of disposition over the subject of the *allodial* right but powers of jurisdiction over the land concerned and its inhabitants.

The crux of the thesis lies in a number of contentions as to what the *allod* was in the period from Clovis to the tenth century: the *allod* began as rights in land

of Salian Frank *potentes*, rights that affected extensive domains or complexes of domains; the allod carried with it, from the sixth century, all the powers of jurisdiction that we connect with the later *seigneurie*, *haute justice* apparently included; and the Salian allod became the prevailing, general form of large property holdings over the territory of the Carolingian empire, even before the Carolingian period. For this reader, these contentions are not supported to a sufficient degree by positive evidence. They start from a bold interpretation of the famous clause in Salic law: *de terra vero salica nulla portio hereditatis mulieri veniat*. Balon claims that this *salica terra* is the allod in the full sense of the concept as stated above, that the concept of allod involved something more in rights than either *hereditas* or *proprietas* of Roman Law (which is why a German word was used), and that this something more was seignorial powers (jurisdiction essentially) over large estates or territory. But I find, in the long and diffuse argument (chapters v and vi), more defensive polemic against other interpretations than substantial evidence that an allod with these characteristics came to be a prevailing western type of large landholding, as a result of the extension of Merovingian power and conquest. Even if we admit (as I am not disposed to) that the Salian Franks exerted effective political control and influence over territory that included the Pyrenees region, northern Italy, and German territory as far as Denmark, this is not in itself proof that they spread their particular type of allod (*salica terra*) all through these lands as a means of bringing administrative order. We may accept as reasonable Balon's explanation as to why, if allod was the term that applied to nearly all large landholdings, the sources so rarely mention the term in that connection—but we still lack source evidence on the positive side. The fact that place names possibly derived from *allod* or *salica* can be found in most of these regions tells us nothing as to the size or character of the original holdings related to these names and hardly seems to prove that the territory concerned was *terra salica* or allod in a technical sense. Above all, I find only conjecture and inference to support the theory that allods or *terra salica* involved the powers of the later *seigneurie*, above all *haute justice*.

If the foundation of the theory—the character of the Merovingian-Carolingian allod—remains hypothesis, so does the evolution of such an allod in later centuries as the basic form from which to start discussion of feudal and domainial property rights. Balon rightly claims that his concept of the allod can given coherence hitherto lacking to the medieval history of property law. But will many readers accept the implication that such coherence is in itself a strong ground for accepting the theory? Or share his opening premise of faith that men, as intelligent beings, should be expected to develop a coherent system ("oeuvre de raison") in any period of history?

THE SLAVS: THEIR EARLY HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. By *Francis Dvornik*. [Survey of Slavic Civilization, Volume II.] (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences. 1956. Pp. 394. \$6.00.)

FRANCIS DVORNIK's new book grew out of a course of lectures given in the Slavic Department of Harvard University in 1951. At the suggestion of Roman Jakobson, the author, as he says in his preface, decided to develop the lectures "quite extensively in order to make the book useful also to scholars not familiar with early Slavic history." In its present form, the work "is intended to be a handbook on early Slavic history and civilization for students in history, as well as for a larger public, and, at the same time, to give to specialists in Slavic studies a succinct account of the present state of research on the many problems connected with the historical and cultural development of the Slavic nations, from their origins to the middle of the thirteenth century, when an important phase in their history came to a close." In his bibliography, the author has limited himself "to works in non-Slavic languages, on the assumption that it will be easy for any student desiring to consult works in Slavic to complete his bibliography from the works indicated." There is also a list of main sources for each chapter.

Dvornik's new work partly overlaps the field covered in his previous book, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (1949). These two books supplement each other, but the new book is wider in scope and more systematically arranged. It begins with chapters on the "Origins and Migration of the Slavs" and "Primitive Slavic Civilization." The historical narrative starts with the period of the Avar Empire (sixth to the early ninth centuries) in "The Franks, Byzantium and the First Slavic States," followed by two chapters on the Moravian Empire and its destruction and chapters entitled "The Southern Slavs, the Franks, Byzantium and Rome" (ninth to the early eleventh centuries), "Old Slavonic Culture and Literature and Their Byzantine Background," and "The Russia of Kiev." In "The Slavs at the Crossroads," the author discusses the possibilities of the formation of a great Slavic state in Central and Eastern Europe in the late tenth and the early eleventh centuries in connection with Emperor Otto III's new conception of the Roman Empire. The last three chapters deal with "The Slavs, the Empire, and the Papacy" (eleventh and twelfth centuries), "The Baltic and Polabian Slavs" (and their Germanization), and "The Downfall of Poland and Bohemia" (twelfth and early thirteenth centuries).

The outline of early Slavic history and civilization is presented against the background of the Byzantine and general European history; the Slavs appear—as they should—as an important factor in the making of the medieval European society. Less attention is paid by the author to the Oriental background of the early Slavic, and especially Russian, history. The author's main theme is the important role played by Byzantium and Byzantine civilization in the history of Central and Eastern Europe. In his opinion, a blending of Byzantine and West-

ern cultures seemed quite feasible in the ninth and the tenth centuries. That it did not materialize is one of the "missed opportunities" of European history.

There are many points in Dvornik's book to which the reviewer would take exception (as, for example, the approach to the problem of the original home and migrations of the Slavs, as well as of the origin of the name Rus). The reviewer has recently presented his interpretation of these problems in his study "Das frühe Slawentum: Das Ostslawentum bis zum Mongolensturm," *Historia Mundi*, V (1956).

Yale University

GEORGE VERNADSKY

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Numbers 9 and 10. Edited for the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Washington, D. C., by the Committee on Publications. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 316. \$10.00.)

THOUGH it bears numbers nine and ten in the series to which it belongs, this is a single volume which contains eight major and three minor studies. Dedicated to the late Alexander A. Vasiliev, it includes a biographical sketch of that distinguished scholar by Sirarpie Der Nersessian. The subjects covered by the studies fall into a number of categories—historical, literary, liturgical, and archaeological. Vasiliev offers two articles, published posthumously. In the first, he brings together the sources relating to the edict of the Caliph Yazid II, issued in 721, outlawing icons in the churches of his realm. In the other, edited by Marius Canard, he delves into the problem of Arab-Byzantine relations before Islam. Canard himself makes public, in French, an interesting Arabic tale, the story of the experiences of an Arab prisoner in Byzantium and a Byzantine prisoner in Bulgaria. An article by Francis Dvornik examines the problem of the transmission of Byzantine political ideas to Russia, analyzes the sources, and comes to the conclusion that the Byzantine "basic ideas on the relationship between the church and rulers, and on the rights and duties of rulers, were accepted by the Russians and put into practice from the end of the tenth century onward." Dvornik's observations are very reasonable, but his statement that in Byzantium the patriarch's role in the coronation ceremony "was limited to the blessing of the imperial vestments, and of the imperial diadem which the emperor placed on his own head" is inaccurate.

H. J. H. Jenkins and Cyril A. Mango offer convincing proof that the tenth homily of Photius was delivered about 864 at the dedication of the reconstructed Church of Our Lady of the Pharos, located in the Great Palace, and not in 880, at the dedication of the New Church built by Basil I. The homily is significant because it has some bearing on the history of Byzantine art in the ninth century. Egon Wellesz, the foremost authority on Byzantine music, investigates the history of the "Akathistos" (one of the most famous hymns of the Eastern Church), its poetical structure, and its music and comes to the conclusion that it must have

been composed by the great Byzantine hymnographer, Romanus. The tradition attributing the authorship of the poem to Romanus is so slight, however, that this conclusion may be questioned. One is also surprised to find that the besiegers of Constantinople in 626 were Persians. Drawing on new sources, Oliver Strunk seeks to reconstruct the Byzantine Office as it was celebrated in the great Church of Saint Sophia. His work, however, is somewhat lacking in clarity. Ernst H. Kantorowicz attempts to answer the question whether the ritual feet-washing on Maundy Thursday had any significance other than that of humility and charity. Texts and objects of art concerned with, or depicting, the Laving of the Feet and antiphones sung during the ceremony itself indicate the existence of two traditions. The one held by Rome gave to it only the significance of humility and charity; the other, developed in the East and in Milan, added baptismal significance and tended to associate it with the baptism of the Apostles. The author has delved into his problem with characteristic thoroughness, but some of the material which he introduces seems to be irrelevant.

Paul A. Underwood describes the paraclesion of Kariye Čamii (the Chora), the state of the paintings of its walls before they were cleaned, the process and the technic of cleaning, and the paintings themselves; the cleaned paintings are reproduced in black and white. In a minor report, he gives us an account of the work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul for 1954. A note by Glanville Downey, in which he seeks to clear the confusion which contradictory texts concerning the Church of All Saints in Constantinople have created, completes the volume.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

Modern European History

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

By *E. Harris Harbison*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1956. Pp xi, 177. \$3.00.)

THE Christian scholar has been little heralded in comparison with the prophet and the saint. These too often have looked upon him askance, and he has had his own misgivings as to his calling. Is Christianity compatible with pagan learning? Is Christianity compatible with learning of any sort? Does not learning engender pride and may not delving in documents dampen zeal? Yet despite inner conflicts the Christian scholar has had a conviction with regard to his vocation. Granted that Christian truth is unattainable by human reason, yet revelation itself poses problems for the scholar. If revelation be given in sacred books, their text must be determined and their content disseminated in manuscript and by the printed page. Here is the justification for the life work of Erasmus the editor. The Scriptures must be translated—work for Jerome and Luther. Critical problems of

text and content must be faced—a task for Valla. The truths implicit in Scripture must be extracted and formulated, and contradictions real or apparent must be resolved—a challenge to Abelard, Aquinas, and Calvin. Christian revelation and the truths attainable by reason and adumbrated in other religions must be brought into relation—the endeavor of Augustine, Aquinas, and Pico. Surely the Christian scholar need not be ashamed of his calling.

The type of the Christian scholar exhibits subtypes, also. There is the variety concerned primarily with the factual—texts, languages, grammar, and the like. There is the variety attracted primarily to ideas, the theologians proper. There are those who seek truth dispassionately through linguistic and literary tools and those who repristinate truth by reliving the experiences which occasioned its first formulation. Here we have the difference between Jerome and Augustine, between Erasmus and Luther.

The book ends with Calvin and therefore has no example of the Christian scholar in confrontation with modern science, but one cannot have everything within this small compass. The work is marked by penetrating and sensitive insights. It contains many points of distinctly contemporary relevance, including a brief discussion of the relation of theological to university education. The bibliographical references to recent books and articles are very helpful.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE CHURCH FROM ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT TO THE LONG PARLIAMENT. By *Christopher Hill*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 367. \$5.60.)

If any defense of the learned monograph were required, surely it would be abundantly supplied by this excellent book. Mr. Hill has dealt in a masterly fashion with the whole range of financial problems confronting the church during a most critical half century and has shown that these increasingly grave difficulties were insoluble short of an unacceptable return to medievalism, on the one hand, and the revolutionary triumph of Puritanism, merging into Presbyterianism and sectarianism, on the other. This crisis in the affairs of the church was heightened quite as much by the fumbling efforts of the first two Stuarts to assist the hierarchy as by the cold secularism of Elizabeth. The hierarchy found itself without substantial support in 1640 in no small measure because Archbishop Laud, in a valiant but foredoomed effort to secure the restoration of medievalism, had offended every important segment of English opinion.

Hill has treated the development of this great crisis with care and with a wealth of documentation. Never, it may be safely suggested, have the tangled problems of tithes, impropriations, and augmentations been more skillfully and definitively discussed, particularly since the treatment is placed so relevantly in the whole consideration of the state of the church and its mounting problems.

The author has much to say, too, of the social and economic status of the parochial clergy of the realm, while emphasizing the widening gulf separating them from the great prelates and, perhaps as importantly, from the learned and intensely evangelical Puritan wing of the clergy which gained its support, political and economic, from a rich burgher class which was quite prepared to pay, and that handsomely, for the gospel, if preached in the pure accents of Geneva.

This work is marked by many virtues. The reader is impressed, above all, by the author's great fairness and charity. Hill moves easily, with good humor, and without evident bias through this complex and controversial period in which, it is not too much to say, the whole structure of the liberal society was in process of rapid evolution. It may perhaps be suggested that the ultimate test of any historian's good sense and objectivity is his treatment of Archbishop Laud. Even this the author manages with dispassion, fairness, and a sympathetic understanding that proceeds from a full appreciation of the immense risks which Laud was prepared to take in his effort to regain a world that was forever gone.

Hill has discharged his difficult and important task so well that critical comment may be very briefly stated indeed. The whole subject of the augmentation of clerical stipends is too briefly and perhaps too thinly covered, and further research in the manuscript materials would have disclosed an even more impressive effort on the part of Puritan donors to repair the injuries and the insufficiencies of the medieval and Tudor past. Nor, it may be suggested, is the vast subject of the neglect of the church fabric, which for a generation under Elizabeth was all but complete, more than cursorily noted, though it would seem to be quite central to the author's consideration. It may be argued, too, that Elizabethan policy toward the church was much less consciously economic than Hill suggests; there is every evidence that this great sovereign was moved by a secularism quite as cold as it was complete. But these are minor flaws indeed. Mr. Hill has written an admirable and an important book which throws great light on a period in which England was moving toward reluctant revolution.

Harvard University

W. K. JORDAN

COUNTRY BANKING IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By L. S. Pressnell. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 591. \$11.20.)

To take up a vast subject deserves respect; to report on it successfully merits high admiration. Like most students of modern social and economic history, Dr. Pressnell was confronted by mountains of documents, located in dozens of city and university libraries, county record offices, and private collections. Anyone familiar with this glut of material will appreciate how prodigious his labors have been. He has somehow managed to turn over much of what came before him, to digest it, and to put together a lucid analysis of an important part of England's financial machinery that has hitherto gone unexamined.

Pressnell examines country banking, from 1760 to 1844, under four heads: its

origins and growth, its place in the national banking system, its work of supplying notes and credit, and its responsibility for economic fluctuations. Under each of these heads, he describes much of interest: how the remittance activities of the various collectors of government revenue throw light on the origins of country banking, how bill-broking was related to early country banking, how country banks helped to finance the roads and canals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the part they played in financial crises, especially the crisis of 1825. Many of these things need statistical measurement, and Pressnell has valiantly grappled with the difficulties of such measurement, at the same time displaying a refreshing candor about the limitations of his material, limitations sometimes imposed by its very profusion. Here and there he has caught a glimpse of an avenue to new research, impossible or unnecessary for him to follow but which might profitably be explored by others.

That part of the book which deals with economic fluctuations is perhaps the most interesting. Although Pressnell modestly calls it "a superficial view," economic historians will likely be persuaded that country banks ought to be spared much of the discredit that has been heaped upon them. Of the crisis of 1825 Pressnell writes: "It may be possible to give the country bankers a somewhat cleaner book—provisionally at any rate—than their failures seem to suggest. This cannot be done for the government and the Bank of England" (p. 496). Incidentally, the story of 1825 is told with a verve that is not commonly associated with the writing of economic history.

Not that the book is uniformly well written. There are places where the author might better have denied himself the satisfaction of producing every example he has collected, and his habit of long parenthetical statement might also have been curbed. But these are slight faults in a work which may take a not undeserved place on the shelf alongside Sir John Clapham's *The Bank of England*.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID SPRING

THE POLITICS OF ENGLISH DISSENT: THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF LIBERAL AND HUMANITARIAN REFORM MOVEMENTS FROM 1815 TO 1848. By *Raymond G. Cowherd*. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. 242. \$5.00.)

No nineteenth-century historian would deny the importance of the theme of this volume, unless he were prepared to challenge the magisterial authority of Halévy himself. Even the casual student can hardly fail to notice the number of times when political decisions were critically affected by the hosts who gathered in the bleak little Sions, Bethels, and Bethesdas, as well as in the more prosperous urban chapels. The "Nonconformist conscience" has long since achieved the status of a commonplace among historians of the Victorian Age. But, save for two or three studies of the social and political influence of the Wesleyans, there has been no systematic examination of the role of the Dissenters in politics.

Professor Cowherd has attempted to make good the omission for the first half of the century. He has sought to isolate the religious factor in such characteristic movements as parliamentary reform, Chartism, education, free trade, factory regulation, and the abolition of slavery. There can be no complaint about the terrain covered by the author's researches. He has not only consulted the familiar official sources, reports of the various dissenting organizations, and a sheaf of biographies and memoirs, but he has also conscientiously examined a mass of denominational periodicals. Although it would be too much to say that strikingly new conclusions emerge from the study, Cowherd has documented, in certain respects, what have hitherto been little more than assumptions and inferences and has suggested certain new points of emphasis. He finds significance, for example, in the election of 1837 as marking the dissolution of the old but increasingly uneasy alliance of Whigs and Dissenters and the movement of the latter into the Radical orbit.

The complexities in such a subject are formidable, perhaps more so than the author's treatment suggests. To abstract from a tangled social and political movement the contribution of particular groups calls for a special kind of historical sense. What makes it uncommonly difficult in the present case is that, except with respect to slavery, the Dissenters rarely acted either unitedly or independently. The Wesleyans, for example, often stood aside, while Independents, Unitarians, and others found themselves allied with Whigs, Benthamites, or working-class radicals. Indeed, it is not altogether clear whether in the realm of political action one can properly speak of a "Dissenting community."

The book would have been more satisfying if Cowherd, while detailing the action of Dissenters on behalf of specific causes, had recognized some of these broader issues and had dealt with them at greater length. He has not, I think, adequately explored such fundamental questions as the roots— theological, social, psychological—of the reformism of the Dissenting groups. How, for example, did the approach to reform of the Dissenters differ from that of the Utilitarians or other middle-class reformers? In other words, how far was the *ethos* of the Dissenters distinctively their own and how far was it shared by the middle classes generally? These are troublesome, perhaps unanswerable, questions, but they are not irrelevant to an estimate of the Dissenters' achievements as reformers.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

PARIS ET ÎLE-DE-FRANCE: MÉMOIRES. Tomes V-VI (1953-1954), L'ORIGINE DES MAGISTRATS DU PARLEMENT DE PARIS AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE, by J. François Bluche. Tome VII (1955). (Paris: Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France. 1956. Pp. 412; 266.)

CARL Becker once upon a time remarked that perhaps the only calculable reward for studying the past was to be a little less surprised at the present and the

future. But Carl Becker's own addiction demonstrated the power of the fascinations attending The Historian's Progress: the winnowing out and pressing down, the mining and recasting, all the facets of this occupation compelling beyond any duty of predictable utility.

Centered in Paris and the Ile-de-France, thirty-nine historical and archaeological societies are presently cooperating in joint efforts to promote studies of their region's past and to publish "volumes of *Mémoires* relating to the history of Paris and of the areas round about Paris." The number of groups engaged in fortifying public knowledge about Paris and its environs brings one up with a start. A chronological concordance of these divers societies would in itself be an enlightening contribution toward an understanding of this key area. Since May, 1949, when the Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France was constituted, seven *Tomes* of *Mémoires*, in six volumes, have been published. (Upon the first, appearing in 1952, the Académie française bestowed its Prize Jean-Jacques Berger.) All but one of the volumes have been composed of from five to ten articles—some short accounts, others longer monographic studies.

Bluche's *L'Origine des Magistrats*, in contradistinction to the rule of presenting collections of short studies, stands unique in the series thus far. *L'Origine* is his *petite thèse*, the supporting documentary or axiomatic volume that in France customarily accompanies a major dissertation for the *doctorat d'état*; he explains that he has already set forth his conclusions in his principal thesis, *Les Magistrats du parlement de Paris au XVIII^e siècle*. The entire 412 pages of *L'Origine* are filled with genealogical information concerning members of the Parlement of Paris in the eighteenth century (1715-1771). The names are alphabetically arranged, and the quite short sketches deal with origins and accretions of the quality of nobility in the families represented. Although slanted toward sociological analyses, it could very well help the more strictly political interpreter pick up lost trails of research and avoid errors of judgment regarding personal and family status and relations. In his introduction, Bluche includes a brief critical appraisal of his sources.

The most recent volume in the series (*Tome VII*), carrying eight articles, begins with a consideration by Marius Barroux of sources for the perennial subject, the origins of the city of Paris, and ends with Bertrand Gille's exploratory note on business records of Paris department stores. In between, the studies treat mostly of public sites and buildings, with variety added by an account of the Jansenist *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* by Françoise Bontoux and the presentation by Richard Cobb of evidence relating to the revolutionary revolt of Ventôse, 1794.

This series stands as an excellent bulletin board, not to be missed by those interested or actively engaged in the writing of the history of France. It could serve to promote personal connections as well as exchange of materials.

FORESTS AND FRENCH SEA POWER, 1660-1789. By *Paul Walden Bamford*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 240. \$5.00.)

R. G. ALBION, in his superb study, *Forests and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862*, left one question open. If the task of supplying timber to build Britain's fighting ships faced such corruption, inefficiency, and wooden-headed thinking as Albion described, how did Britannia manage to rule the waves? There is more to the answer than Mahan's dictum, which Albion cites, about the superiority of good men in poor ships. The greater difficulties of the French in meeting the same needs must also be described; and this is what Bamford does in his new study, which forms the necessary pendant to Albion's work. *Forests and French Sea Power* is institutional history of a high order. It is intelligently conceived, based on wide and deep researches, especially in the archives of Rochefort, Toulon, and Paris, and presented with clarity, perception, and skill.

Transport routes between the French woodlands and the shipyards on the coast away from the river mouths were open to attack. Importation of masts from distant lands proved vastly more difficult for France than for England. Thus the English were able to cut off the French from timber supplies in wartime, when they were most needed. But questions of high policy were also involved. Colbert, Bamford tells us, could lay down an exemplary forest law; he could even keep the slow rot of venal office out of the French naval administration and thus assure an unusually high level of efficiency in its work. But he could not make the sea France's vocation. The navy, as Bamford emphasizes, usually came off second best to the army in the allotment of French resources; as a result, it usually came off second best to the British fleet, as well.

Bamford finds fault with the landward direction of French policy. It might be objected that if France had been satisfied to remain a land power and had avoided war with the United Provinces, Dutch ships would have continued to serve French interests in the contest with England; but the weight of historical opinion on this question is strongly on Bamford's side. In any event, this is no more than an issue arising from the implications of Bamford's study. Further debate must take his excellent monograph on the basis of French sea power into account.

State University of Iowa

HERBERT H. ROWEN

THE PARIS COMMUNE IN FRENCH POLITICS, 1871-1880: THE HISTORY OF THE AMNESTY OF 1880. Volume I, THE PARTIAL AMNESTY. Volume II, THE FINAL AMNESTY. By *Jean T. Joughin*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXIII, Numbers 1 and 2.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1955. Pp. 226; 300, ix. \$7.50 the set.)

THIS is a unique contribution to the study of the evolution of political usages

during the first decade of the Third Republic, for it relates such developments to a practical political issue, namely, the changing character of the demands for an amnesty for the Communards. Volume I deals with the period from the Commune to the enactment of the partial amnesty of 1879 (the Andrieux Law), and Dr. Joughin traces the change in majority sentiment "from a categorical rejection of any kind of amnesty to the acceptance of a carefully delimited measure." By 1879 the Republican leadership had come to "recognize that some kind of amnesty law was necessary," not only for humanitarian purposes but also as a practical political measure to obtain workingman support. Perhaps even more significant was the confidence implied by the granting of an amnesty; the Republic was secure enough to afford such generosity and was no longer associated in men's minds with violence, instability, and social peril—difficulties which had long hindered the acceptance of the Republic by many moderates. As an attempt to reconcile the workingman with other elements of French society, the Andrieux Law did not go far enough. The demand for a full amnesty had, by 1879, been taken up by the re-nascent social movement in France as a means "for winning political support for the party of social revolution."

In Volume II, Dr. Joughin shows how (but not *why*) the resurgence of socialism, the glorification of the Commune, and the demand for a total amnesty combined to create political pressure which forced the majority Republicans to about-face and to adopt, in July, 1880, an almost complete amnesty. Although early in the book, she states that the Republicans' delay in enacting a full amnesty "deprived the amnesty of any meaning as an act of social reconciliation," her later interpretations of its significance (pp. 481-86, 502) indicate that it "served Gambetta well" and that the socialist parties immediately lost what ground they had gained by espousing the full amnesty. Perhaps, therefore, the majority Republicans were not "too little and too late" in granting the final amnesty.

Indeed, perhaps the amnesty controversy did less than the author suggests in building up the workers' party in France, preventing the formation of a unified Republican party, and transforming the historical facts of the Commune into socialist mythology. Dr. Joughin has written a "biography" of the amnesty of 1880, with the "hero" playing a more prominent role in great events than a broader view might indicate. The author is not unaware of this, and she herself suggests that "the interaction of social forces" rather than the amnesty question accounts for the strides made in organizing an effective workers' political party at Marseilles in 1879 (p. 287) and also that "the first real introduction of Marxist ideas in France" coincided with the closing years of the amnesty controversy to produce the socialist myth of the Commune (p. 499).

But this is not to detract from the major importance of Dr. Joughin's work. She has used a wealth of documentation drawn from newspapers, party brochures, and, especially, parliamentary debates. Her concentration on the last is such as to make one believe that the amnesty question had little life outside the Chambers or public meeting-halls. Yet, for this subject, this type of treatment is valuable, for,

as Dr. Joughin asserts: "During the years when the ultimate fate of the Communards was a matter for political transactioning, certain major lines of development of the Third Republic became clearly drawn. . . . More than anything else, the story of the amnesty of 1880 demonstrates the drift toward parliamentary government [i.e., the abandonment of the doctrine of the separation of powers] which marked those early years. . . . In sum, the legislative prerogative of amnesty had been taken over by an executive power which itself had been subordinated to the parliamentary majority."

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRANZBERG

DIE AUFLÖSUNG DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK: EINE STUDIE ZUM PROBLEM DES MACHTVERFALLS IN DER DEMOKRATIE. By *Karl Dietrich Bracher*. [Schriften des Instituts für politische Wissenschaft, Band 4.] (Stuttgart and Düsseldorf: Ring Verlag. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 754. DM 27.80.)

THE experiences and fate of the Weimar Republic have exercised a far-reaching influence upon German political life since 1945. Dr. Bracher was swayed by this fact when he fixed the area of his research. He was also swayed by the belief that the story of the dissolution of the Weimar Republic offers unique opportunities for a study of the vicissitudes to which political power is subject. Thus motivated, he set out to analyze the ensemble of factors which helped in one way or another to undermine the republic and to ready it for the catastrophe which ultimately befell it. He wished, against the backdrop furnished by such an analysis, to trace the actual sequence of events which culminated in the advent of Hitler. The result of his endeavors is a solid, searching, and well-documented work that should prove extremely useful to all students of recent German history.

The initial portion of the book—considerably more than a third—serves its avowed purpose admirably. It consists of several analytical essays, the common denominator of which is a dynamic and broadly conceived approach to the interrelated subjects they treat. They contain many perceptive observations and point up some of the general implications of the problems that the author has chosen to pose. Among the topics covered are the weaknesses of the democratic party system, the advance of the totalitarian parties, the multiplication of militant movements and leagues that stood outside the party system, the outlook and behavior of the bureaucracy, the impact of certain economic realities upon the political life of the country, and the role of the Reichswehr. The last is the work of the author's assistant, Wolfgang Sauer. It is highlighted, one might add, by a penetrating appraisal of the activities of General von Seeckt.

The second part of the volume contains a detailed chronological account of what happened in the German political arena during the last years of the Weimar Republic. The somber march of events and the accompanying intrigues and crises are painstakingly reconstructed on the basis of copious evidence. Particularly note-

worthy is the care with which the author portrays the problems, policies, and tactics of the various political parties. Arresting, too, is the acuteness with which he delineates the motives and maneuvers of some of the key figures. He has obviously mastered his material; he has also fashioned an absorbing and trenchant narrative.

According to Bracher, a discussion of the terminal phase of the Weimar Republic must begin with the formation of the Bruening government in March, 1930. However, he rejects as a distortion of the facts the thesis that Bruening's tenure of office was merely an authoritarian prelude to the coming of the Nazi dictatorship. To be sure, presidential government became a reality during this excruciatingly difficult period; but Bruening, the author avers, clung steadfastly to the idea of a parliamentary solution. It was only after he had been ousted that control of the power of the state fell entirely into the hands of a small coterie around Hindenburg. This monopoly cleared the way for the chain of developments that ultimately resulted in the accession of Hitler to the chancellorship of the Reich.

University of Chicago

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

THE RISE AND FALL OF NAZI GERMANY. By *T. L. Jarman*. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. 388. \$4.95.)

DIRECTED to an English audience, well-organized, neatly trimmed, and cleanly written, this work will serve the general reader rather than the scholar. On this level, it has real merit. In twenty-seven brief chapters grouped in six parts, the author presents the historical background of Nazism; the origins, organization, and arrival of the party in power; Hitler's foreign policy; the war and the final collapse; and the residue of Nazi ideas and attitudes, as manifested in Germany today. Statements of fact are generally accurate, sources and authorities are carefully cited, and interpretations, if somewhat conventional and oversimplified, are well sustained. Jarman has done a competent job of surveying and summarizing the main aspects of the subject; for the student and nonspecialist seeking a compact and comprehensive survey, the work can be recommended.

The specialist, however, will find little that is new, original, or suggestive, and he will probably entertain a number of reservations as he checks through the chapters. Part I, for example, is composed of chapters entitled "The German Enigma," "The Influence of History," and "The Beginnings of Megalomania." They represent another attempt to explain the "German mind" or the "German soul" in terms of the ideas of Hegel, Nietzsche, Treitschke, Wagner, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and Bernhardt. The result is a conventional and derivative explanation of Nazism which does not really explain. Other developments and aspects of the Nazi period are treated so sketchily as to be unsatisfactory. This was the reviewer's reaction to the chapters on "Versailles and Weimar," "The Begin-

nings of the Party," and "The Personality and Ideas of Hitler" (the latter is based almost entirely upon selections from *Mein Kampf*). Footnotes and bibliography indicate a wide acquaintance with the published documents, memoirs, and literature of the Nazi period. However, the materials cited are not exploited in depth but are drawn upon mainly for illustrative purposes and apt quotation. The memoirs are used uncritically.

Jarman recognizes four main factors that made possible the Nazi regime and the catastrophe of World War II: the historic development of the German people and their acceptance of nationalistic leadership, the personality of Adolf Hitler, the economic depression of the 1930's, and the failure of the Western powers to call Hitler's bluff before it was too late. This is the familiar explanation of the circumstances and the man. The circumstances cannot be denied, but it has always seemed to this reviewer, both as observer and student, that what really explains Hitlerism in Germany is Hitler and that Alan Bullock's excellent biography of the Austrian political adventurer remains the most satisfactory explanation of "the rise and fall of Nazi Germany."

University of Virginia

ORON JAMES HALE

- DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series D (1937-1945). Volume VI, THE LAST MONTHS OF PEACE, MARCH-AUGUST, 1939. Volume IX, THE WAR YEARS, MARCH 18-JUNE 22, 1940. (Washington, D. C.: Department of State; London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1956. Pp. xciii, 1149; lxxii, 729. \$4.25; \$3.25.)

VOLUME VI opens in mid-March, 1939, as Bohemia and Moravia were being occupied. Its first document is Ambassador Schulenburg's report of Stalin's address of March 10 ("irony and criticism . . . directed in considerably sharper degree against Britain . . . than against the so-called aggressor states . . ."), and its next-to-last document tells of Hitler, on August 8, assuring the Hungarian foreign minister that he did not fear "a reckoning with France and Britain. There would never be a more favourable moment than the present." The abundant *British Documents* published in 1951-1953 overlap this period; the corresponding publication of *Documenti Diplomatici Italiani*, however, begins only with May 23, 1939, and the "Pact of Steel."

The German documents on Britain and—much less numerous—on France are not rich in disclosures. There is confirmation, if that is needed, of the fundamental change in attitude in the West produced when the Germans seized "Czechia" and junked the familiar *Ein Volk—Ein Reich* thesis. France appears in the role of second fiddler to a hesitant Britain, where, according to Dirksen's information (July 24), the Government could as well wage an autumn electoral campaign on a platform of Anglo-German agreement as on one of preparedness for the coming war. There are reports on the Hudson-Wohlthat talks and a

Stimmungsbericht on Britain in early June by Adam von Trott zu Solz, later one of the victims of July 20, 1944. Unfortunately, the guidelines from Berlin do not appear clearly in relation to Britain or, generally, to other countries. There are hardly any really full statements of Ribbentrop's, or Hitler's, bases of policy; the memoranda and instructions published usually were composed by State Secretary Weizsäcker or lesser officials, not by the foreign minister.

For Italy, the familiar picture is filled in a little, with Ribbentrop and Ciano agreeing on an immediate alliance at Milan on May 6-7, though Ciano made clear Italy's unreadiness for war for the next three years. Occupying much space are such problems as coal deliveries and the treatment of the German minority in South Tyrol—the *Volksdeutsche* there as elsewhere in Central Europe remaining as a usable relic, in German arguments, of earlier Nazi "principles." Relations with Poland and Rumania naturally are prominent in this period when the intermittent German pressure on Poland was rising sharply and when both the smaller powers—as evidenced in their attitudes toward a guarantee directed against Germany and in Rumanian Foreign Minister Gafencu's tour in April and May—were desperately endeavoring to hold off Germany without concessions to Russia.

The most interesting documents are those dealing with German-Soviet negotiations. Over eighty documents concerning Russia are printed, compared with some thirty (for the shorter period from April 17 to August 7) in the State Department's *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*. Mutual suspicion and the effort to squeeze out all possible advantages before a commitment dominate the scene on both sides. Late in May—as Gerhard Weinberg indicates in *Germany and the Soviet Union, 1939-1941*—after much uncertainty in interpreting Molotov's comment to Schulenburg on May 20 on the need of preceding economic negotiations by a "political basis," came a German decision to move for both a political and an economic settlement. The long and frank set of instructions drafted by Ribbentrop at that time for Schulenburg, though not sent, showed this readiness; but German overtures were initially cautious, and another "period of waiting" developed in the first three weeks of July. Then suddenly, following a Soviet move to resume economic discussions, and as signs of Anglo-French activity in Moscow increased, a note of urgency appeared. The Germans—forgetting even their concern with the effects on Japan—followed up in earnest the ample evidence that the Russians were willing; Weizsäcker telegraphed to Schulenburg on July 22 instructing him "to pick up the threads again" of political discussions. The documents published here contribute substantially to the story of the progress of the negotiations at Berlin and Moscow.

Volume IX opens with the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner on March 18, 1940. Naturally, the Norwegian campaign and Norwegian internal difficulties following it, the offensive in the West, and the negotiations for the armistice with France in June occupy much of the volume, accompanied by the sordid tale of Mussolini's intervention. Japan's suspicions of German-Russian

rapprochement in 1939 echoed in Japanese concern about the Netherlands East Indies in May, 1940; the Germans countered in June with a distinctly cool response to requests for support in Indochina and to a hint from the Japanese Ambassador on June 19 regarding German mediation with China. The uneasy Russo-German partnership was frequently strained; this volume includes numerous documents, not published in *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, pertaining especially to the long-drawn-out attempts to normalize Soviet-Italian relations and to economic problems, disputes about deliveries of raw materials, and the like.

Documents concerning relations with the United States receive considerable space in both volumes, particularly reports from the chargé at Washington, Hans Thomsen. These describe governmental and popular attitudes here, and one of them, in April, 1940, guardedly criticizes the Military Attaché Bötticher for overestimating the influence of high military circles on American foreign policy. Several documents concern German attempts in June to make use of isolationist politicians and to subsidize "literary counter-measures against pro-Allied propaganda activities."

Both volumes arrange the documents chronologically, with analytical subject lists at the beginning. Would not at least a subdivision by chapters like that in the *British Documents* be preferable?

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

MAZZINI AND THE SECRET SOCIETIES: THE MAKING OF A MYTH.

By E. E. Y. Hales. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1956. Pp. xi, 13-226. \$4.95.)

AN interesting addition to the ever growing literature on Giuseppe Mazzini is Mr. Hales's brief, lucidly written study of the Italian patriot's life until 1837, when his English exile began. Hales chose to concentrate on this early period because he felt "it was the creative, and in that sense the decisive part. . . . It was also the period of his life when he evolved the faith from which he never departed" (p. 15).

There never was any doubt in the mind of Mazzini's mother that her son was destined for great things. She supervised every step of his education and instilled in him that sense of duty and devotion to his chosen mission which characterized him throughout life. Mazzini's dedication to the cause of Italian independence started at an early age. In 1821, when only sixteen, he joined the student rioting at the University of Genoa in support of the Carbonari. Then followed membership and conspiratorial activity in the Carbonari, until treachery from within led to his arrest, imprisonment, and finally exile in 1831. The years 1831 to 1837 saw the evolution of Mazzini as the leader of revolt. From France and Switzerland he wove the threads of what time and again he futilely hoped would be a national uprising to drive out the many rulers of Italy and unite the peninsula into a

republic. The ramifications of Young Italy and the many plots culminating in the ill-fated, abortive attempt to invade Savoy in January, 1834, made Mazzini a marked man in police dossiers throughout Europe. In describing this period of Mazzini's life, Hales has not limited himself to Mazzini's political activities but has tried to give some insight into Mazzini's personal relations with such close friends as the Ruffini family, Luigi A. Melegari, and Giuditta Sidoli.

Documented gracefully with selections from Mazzini's letters, the book shows the author's acquaintance with the best and latest in Mazzini scholarship, to which, however, he makes no new contribution, except perhaps an attempt to fix the dates of the birth and death of the son borne to Mazzini by Giuditta Sidoli. But Hales captures for his reader the essence of the young Mazzini who thought that dedication and faith could move the mountains of established authority and public inertia and create the Italian state. Alone, Mazzini's idealism did not succeed. Without it, the Risorgimento would have been a prosaic affair. As an introduction to the "myth" of Mazzini, Hales's book, which concludes with a chapter on what the author calls "Mazzini's Theology," is excellent.

Weston, Massachusetts

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

CHIESA E STATO IN ITALIA DAL RISORGIMENTO AD OGGI. By *Arturo Carlo Jemolo*. [Piccola Biblioteca Scientifico-letteraria, Numero 69.] (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore. 1955. Pp. 495. L. 800.)

THIS book by the eminent and respected lay Catholic historian, jurist, and professor of ecclesiastical law at the University of Rome, Arturo Carlo Jemolo, is at the same time an unofficial revision and an uncompromising synthesis of his almost classic *Chiesa e Stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni*, first published in 1948. Space permitting, it would be interesting to compare the two texts. Be it sufficient to mention that format, style, and in some cases even the emphasis in Jemolo's "second" *Chiesa e Stato* are obviously designed to attract a larger reading public. What is more evident is Jemolo's consistently courageous and inspiring effort to maintain and reiterate his position on the necessity of reconciling the spiritual mission of the church and the historic function of liberal democracy in contemporary Italy. In this attempt to clarify the basis for a reconciliation may be said to lie the inner thread of the historical analysis of church and state (and Italian society and culture) relations from the Risorgimento, particularly from the eve of 1848, through the first decade of the Italian Republic to 1955.

The volume, which is essentially historical in the method of presentation of details—strewn throughout with the abundant and masterly generosity which only long immersion and deep understanding can give—is characterized by certain unmistakable, larger programmatic ideals. This is particularly obvious in Jemolo's treatment of the recent period. The entire fascist era is seen as an involution, even in the relations between church and state and apparently in spite of the officializa-

tion of "peace" in the Lateran Accords of 1929. For Jemolo, fascism in all its forms, like communism, is "the antithesis of the Christian doctrine." His liberal sympathies at that point in his narrative, as again when he details the historic debate in the Italian Constituent Assembly of 1946 on the inclusion of the Lateran Accords in the new Constitution, are clearly predominant over his Catholic position. His vast juridical knowledge and acute historical sense suggest a critical approach which the politicians of neither political situation found expedient. The last chapter of this volume—itsself a precious document on contemporary Italy—is at once a summation and a critique of both the unrealized fruits of the quasi-permanent victory of Christian Democracy in Italy through the last decade and the not-yet-fully implemented promise contained in the new Italian Constitution.

Professor Jemolo is no Cassandra of contemporary Italy but neither is he its Pangloss. The Christian faith and Catholic doctrine in him are live and intense. But they are also inextricably fused with his unswerving loyalty to the finer values of the European tradition since the Renaissance and in a special way to the message of freedom he reads in the history of the Risorgimento. One vote is hereby cast to postpone for a time the translation of the next Italian novel and to suggest that instead Jemolo's *Chiesa e Stato* be made available in English.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

THE EMERGENCE OF RUSSIAN PANSLAVISM, 1856-1870. By *Michael Boro Petrovich*. [Studies of the Russian Institute of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 312. \$5.00.)

THIS study by Mr. Petrovich on the early development of Russian Pan Slavism testifies to the rapid growth in the United States of distinguished writing on Slavic history. The book is the first detailed survey, at least in Western languages, of Russian Pan Slav ideology and its political program, as it developed from the Slavophil background of the 1830's and 1840's. It is based upon a careful study of all available sources, and the judgments of the author are sound and discerning. The book will be helpful to any student of Russian history in the decisive period of the middle nineteenth century.

Petrovich has rightly treated his subject from the point of view of the historian of ideas rather than from that of the diplomatic historian. Russian Pan Slavism, which did not assert itself as a movement of any importance until the Crimean War, played a major role in Russian foreign policy for a brief time in the 1870's, thanks to the fact that Count Nikolai Ignatyev, a fervent Pan Slavist, was Russian ambassador to Turkey from 1864 to 1877. Even this moment of political Pan Slavism was fleeting, and the period is outside the scope of this book, which in essence deals only with the emergence of Russian Pan Slavism and ends its narrative around 1870. This was the year when General Rostislav Fadeyev published his *Opinion on the Eastern Question*, which in the following year appeared in an

English translation. There he wrote: "When the idea of Pan Slavism becomes a state idea, it will dazzle all like lightning." It did not dazzle like lightning; in fact, it failed and faded after 1880, until revived by Stalin during the "Great Patriotic War."

It is true, as the foremost Western historian of the political Pan Slavism of the 1870's, the late B. H. Sumner, observed, that what had begun as a religious and intellectual movement of a small group of educated noblemen in Moscow ended by being transformed into crude appeals to nationalist mass emotion. Russian Pan Slavism offered a mystique to restless and aggressive Russian nationalism in the 1870's and again in the 1940's. But up to 1870, Pan Slavism was no more than an idea, first rejected outright by the Russian government and later on only reluctantly supported. The Pan Slavs of the 1860's were above all interested in establishing cultural relations with the non-Russian Slavs, but they hardly succeeded even in this limited goal, because their strong Russian nationalism conflicted with the nationalism of the other Slavs and because the Russian language was largely unknown to Western Slav intellectuals.

Russian Pan Slav ideology started from the Slavophil premise that Europe was divided into two incompatible civilizations, the Romano-Germanic and the Byzantine-Slavic, different not only in degree but in substance. The Pan Slavs added the conviction that this incompatibility of civilization led necessarily to ineradicable hostility. Slavophiles and Pan Slavs were firmly convinced of Russian superiority and both simply transferred, without due acknowledgment, concepts of German anti-Western romantic historiography, or rather *Weltanschauung*, to the Russians. All this is clearly brought out in Petrovich's excellent study. Its discussion of Russian linguistic Pan Slavism and of the Russian attitude toward the Polish question in 1863 does not lack an element of lively interest for the student of the present-day situation in Central Eastern Europe.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE RUSSIAN STRUGGLE FOR POWER, 1914-1917: A STUDY OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By C. Jay Smith, Jr. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. xv, 553. \$4.75.)

ALTHOUGH some forty years have passed since the First World War, a comprehensive study of its diplomatic history still awaits the opening of the archives of the principal belligerents. Fortunately, however, the desire to expose the iniquities of the old regime prompted the Bolsheviks to publish in several collections a large number of documents from the Imperial Foreign Office. Drawing heavily on these surprisingly little-used materials and on other relevant sources, Professor Smith has written the first connected and detailed account of tsarist diplomacy during the war. It is an important addition to the literature on the war and is especially

significant as a contribution to the neglected history of Russian foreign policy before 1917.

The major objects of Russian interest or ambition during this period were the Straits and Constantinople, the Balkans, Poland, and the eastern, particularly the Slavic, areas of the Habsburg empire. The sections dealing with Poland reveal a fascinating chapter in the long and tortured history of the relations between these two nations. The Balkan story is a sordid record of unscrupulous diplomatic bargaining. The crumbling Austro-Hungarian Empire presented the tsar and his ministers with the problem of encouraging nationalistic ambitions in the enemy camp without infecting their own non-Russian subjects. But acquisition of the Straits and Constantinople was by far the most ubiquitous and persistent aim of tsarist diplomacy. Soon after Sazonov gained from the Allies the promise of their cession, the long and tragic decline of Russian military power began. Until the resignation of Miliukov as minister of foreign affairs in the Provisional Government in May, 1917, and the subsequent renunciation by Russia of annexations, Sazonov and his successors lived in daily dread that Russia's fading military strength would persuade the Allies to overtly or covertly repudiate their earlier promise.

Smith's narrative can be considered a definitive treatment of Russian wartime diplomacy, pending the availability of new material. But it is unfortunate that he did not broaden his account to include more discussion of economic factors and of the attitudes of Russian society on foreign policy. The consequence of this rather narrow scope is to give an overly mechanistic and perhaps excessively unsavory impression of the totality of Russian actions and aspirations. Also, a more extensive and discriminating exposition in the preface of the author's comparison of Russian policy in the two world wars would have added weight to his thesis and obviated the criticisms which it will undoubtedly evoke. His contention that there is "more than a passing resemblance between the Tsarist policies of 1914-17 and those of Stalin between 1941 and 1948" (p. xi) is certainly justified, but his minimization of the complex role of Communism in Soviet diplomacy is open to serious challenge. The statement "To be sure, the world revolution was never completely forgotten, any more than America has forgotten the dream of a world in which all peoples everywhere will recognize that the 'American way' is the right way" (pp. x-xi) is at best misleading. The absence of any maps to help the reader find his way through the extremely complicated territorial arrangements agreed upon during the war is regrettable.

University of Colorado

ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

Far Eastern History

MOSCOW AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA: A STUDY IN THE POSTWAR EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST STRATEGY. By *John H. Kautsky*. [Technology Press Books in the Social Sciences.] (Cambridge: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1956. Pp. xii, 220. \$6.00.)

AN attempt is made here to trace the evolution of the Indian Communist party's strategy and its relation with Moscow and Peking. Three broad classifications are established: the "right" strategy of the popular front; the "left" strategy against capitalism, imperialism, and feudalism; and the "neo-Maoist" strategy, now Moscow's choice for all colonial and semicolonial countries, designed to unite workers, peasants, and capitalists alike against "imperialism and feudalism."

The book's main part describes the somewhat erratic course of the shifts in these strategies since World War II, from left to right to neo-Maoist, with Moscow emerging as their originator. Long time lags between Moscow's initiative and the completion of the shifts are explained by lack of guidance resulting from Moscow's indifference to India in the early postwar years, uncertainty in Moscow regarding the neo-Maoist strategy, and the initiation of shifts by vague announcements rather than direct commands. A further reason, little discussed by the author, was the obstinacy of Indian leaders in maintaining their convictions, which resulted in more radical leadership changes and deeper rifts within the party than was normal in other countries.

The author concludes that Moscow accepted neo-Maoism as particularly suitable for Russia in the "Cold War"; that this acceptance leaves Moscow, not Peking, in command of the Indian Party; that Moscow's guidance is mostly in the form of publicly available directives (editorials, articles, etc.) and is essentially "negative" in that it criticizes strategies as wrong until the "correct" one is adopted. These conclusions are well substantiated, but the evidence is limited and they must be accepted as tentative. For reasons of scholarship, the author denies himself any but publicly available documentary sources and foregoes, for instance, any evaluation of meetings between high-ranking Indian and other Communist leaders. Furthermore, because the author is interested not in the Indian party *per se* but "in the process by which a Communist party line is formulated and finally adopted" (p. 1), he ignores almost entirely the influence of the Indian environment upon this process. Though strategy is imposed by Moscow, its formulation and adoption is, nevertheless, greatly affected by local circumstances, and the struggle accompanying each shift cannot be fully understood without reference to them. The Indian leaders are not quite the abstract theoreticians the book makes them appear to be; in adopting the party line for India, they have been aware of prevailing local conditions and have taken them into account.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF CHINA, 1840-1928. By Li Chien-nung. Translated and edited by Ssu-yu Teng and Jeremy Ingalls. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1956. Pp. xii, 545. \$7.50; text edition available.)

LI Chien-nung's work on Chinese political history, like Ch'en Kung-lu's *History of Modern China* (not yet available in translation), has long been regarded as a standard text by Chinese students and teachers. It was first published in 1930 under the title *Political History of China in the Past Thirty Years* and dealt with the period 1898-1928. Li later added three introductory chapters treating the period from 1839 forward, and it is the fuller 1948 edition which Ssu-yu Teng and Jeremy Ingalls have competently edited and translated. They have done a fine job of overcoming difficulties involved in rendering the original Chinese into English by editing out much repetition and adding systematic notations where necessary.

As in the case of the Chinese edition, the main contribution of the English version lies in the part which Li first wrote. The first three chapters (only 143 of 505 pages of text) treat in summary fashion the Opium War, the Taiping Rebellion, and the readjustment that followed and add little which is not readily available elsewhere. The remainder charts in detail the political struggles of the reform movement, the competition between reformers and revolutionaries, the overthrow of the Manchus, the growth of military cliques, the stormy career of Yüan Shih-k'ai, the period of warlord localism, and, finally, reunification under a reorganized Kuomintang. Li chronicles the fate of the successive cliques and groupings which constituted the government of China in name only. He portrays vividly three unhappy decades of the division of China among selfish leaders who had neither sufficient political or military power to unify the country nor any well-formulated program for their nation. Much of the subsequent tragedy of China has roots in the complex developments during these years, and this translation of Li's work constitutes the only detailed treatment available in one volume for Western readers.

There are, however, serious limitations. This is Chinese-style history, anecdotal and descriptive rather than analytical. Li shows little awareness of forces greater than the individuals he treats. He does not make the inductive generalizations necessary to bring out the institutional and social significance of his material. The Peiyang military clique figures prominently in the text, for example, but the reader will search in vain for an explanation of just what it was or how it operated. Again, there is practically nothing on government finance, education, and the conduct of foreign relations, all of which added continuity and some semblance of stability to the otherwise chaotic nature of Chinese politics at the national level. The division of China and the many forces involved in the struggle for power have necessitated such an abundance of Chinese names of persons and places that the work will be tough going for anyone without background knowledge of China. Despite such limitations, Li's work possesses great value not only as a basic reference work for the period but as an introduction to how the Chinese view this

critical age in their history. This value is enhanced by a detailed index and a selected bibliography.

Yale University

RICHARD L. WALKER

CHINA: NEW AGE AND NEW OUTLOOK. By *Ping-chia Kuo*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xi, 231, viii. \$3.75.)

A historian, a graduate of Harvard University, and a former high official of the Nationalist government, Dr. Kuo is no longer active in national life and now resides in California, a haven unavailable to earlier members of the Chinese gentry when involved in the change from one dynasty to another. Kuo disassociates himself from the old dynasty. He is not uncritical of the new but takes it for granted that it will grow in strength and international importance. The pre-Communist past is presented largely as the story of the successes or failures of the ruling class to control masses of the people. Dr. Kuo accepts the Marxist view that this ruling class was a landlord class (p. 57). The Chinese Communists are a new phenomenon because they work from the bottom up. "It is to their credit that they never swerved in the belief that by sticking to mass organization, they would eventually overcome all opposing forces." The Communist leaders, according to Kuo, rose from the ranks of the common man; they are "plebeian stalwarts" who champion the cause of the peasants only to construct, a few pages later in the book, a pseudo-plebeian regime which is actually imposed on the masses (pp. 84-87).

An apparent frankness in describing the Communist rise to power (for example, the admittance that the Communists had no intention of making peace with Chiang Kai-shek in the 1946 conferences) seems to give more plausibility to the thesis that Chiang failed because he could not organize mass support and that the Communists were the only ones with the ability to "lead the revolution." The "revolution" is a vague process of change, which all previous Chinese history has prepared for, and which is rather important for the argument because it is supposed to give substance to the view that the great changes going on in China today are "an integral phase in the evolution of her people." The author believes that, in spite of the international aspects of Communism, "China will remain China," whatever that means. The Chinese Communists have built up a new and different China whose strength must be accepted but whose expansionist tendencies must be limited. We must hope, the argument runs, for Peking to develop an independent policy and still remain on good terms with Moscow; then there will be a normal power relationship. All this assumes the success of the five-year plans, the political stability of the Peking government, and the "realistic" acceptance by America of Chinese leadership in Asia. This book is of no particular value to the scholar as it is full of value judgments, undocumented assertions, and wild speculations as to motive.

University of Washington

GEORGE E. TAYLOR

United States History

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1954. Edited by Peter V. Curl. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1955. Pp. xxii, 506. \$5.00.)

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1954. By Richard P. Stebbins and the Research Staff of the Council on Foreign Relations. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1956. Pp. xii, 498. \$6.00.)

THESE companion volumes for 1954, like their predecessors, will be indispensable to students of recent American foreign policy. The seven chapters in the *Documents*, which have their approximate counterparts in the *World Affairs* volume, are entitled: "The United States: Principles and Policies"; "The Western Community"; "East-West Problems in Europe"; "The Far East and Southeast Asia"; "The Near and Middle East and Africa"; "The Western Hemisphere"; "The United Nations, Disarmament and Peaceful Uses of the Atom." The *World Affairs* volume lagged a year behind the *Documents*, and although the treatment gained perspective from the extra time, the author regrets the delay and assures "readers who depend on these annual volumes for immediate reference" that "the current delays in their appearance are in the process of being overcome." The *World Affairs* volume is cross-referenced to the *Documents*, but not vice versa. A more liberal use of footnotes replaces the selected bibliography included in earlier *World Affairs* volumes; there are three maps and a "Chronology of World Events."

The year 1954 was an eventful one in most parts of the world. It witnessed the defeat of the European defense community and the substitution of Western European union; the Berlin and Geneva conferences; the French collapse in Indochina; the crisis over Quemoy; the overthrow of Communist rule in Guatemala; the British-Iranian agreement on oil; and the British-Egyptian agreement on Suez. In the light of later events, it is interesting to be reminded that Anthony Eden, then Foreign Minister, characterized the Suez agreement as preserving Britain's "essential requirements" in the Middle East and added that defense arrangements must be based on consent and cooperation of the peoples concerned. Interesting also is the statement of Secretary Dulles on the same occasion. "I believe," he said, "that the removal of this deterrent to closer cooperation will open a new approach to peaceful relations between the Near Eastern states and other nations of the free world." One of Colonel Nasser's ministers, on the other hand, hailed the Suez base agreement as freeing "essential forces . . . to liberate Palestine," and Colonel Nasser himself is reported to have called Israel "an artificial state which must disappear." Englishmen who in December, 1956, were aggrieved at the failure of the United States to support their attempt to solve the Suez prob-

lem by force may in these volumes be reminded of the British refusal of support when the United States was urging joint action to save Dien Bien Phu. Alarm caused by Mr. Dulles' repeated references to "massive retaliation" was partially alleviated by the Secretary's assurance that such retaliation need not be used "in every instance of attack" and by the President's declaration that "there is no alternative to peace." Despite setbacks and unsolved problems, Mr. Dulles could say at the end of the year: "The danger of general war recedes."

University of Buffalo

JULIUS W. PRATT

MR. JUSTICE. Edited by *Allison Dunham* and *Philip B. Kurland*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 241. \$3.75.)

If, as Professor John Chipman Gray and Justice Cardozo have asserted, the constitutional law with which the Supreme Court deals is basically politics, then historians should find the lives of the justices as fascinating and indispensable a source for study as the biographies of other political figures. Of course, a judicial career, like that of an author or other person engaged in sedentary professional labor, is apt to be marked by more routine performance of exacting tasks and by less involvement in exciting adventures than would be the case in other walks of life. To be sure, justices can engage in colorful activities unconnected with their work on the Court. Thus, in the case of Marshall and Holmes, their military service significantly affected their judicial views. Other justices have traveled, climbed mountains, conducted diplomatic negotiations with foreign countries, and participated in various types of extracurricular activities. But the biography of an "intellectual" such as a judge necessarily includes an appraisal of his professional achievements as well as a chronicle of his personal experiences. In the case of a Supreme Court Justice, it must include also some account of his legal philosophy.

The present volume meets these tests. It contains nine short but significant studies, by Francis Biddle, William W. Crosskey, Allison Dunham, Charles Fairman, Paul Freund, J. Francis Paschal, Merlo J. Pusey, John Paul Stevens, and Carl B. Swisher on Holmes, Marshall, Stone, Bradley, Brandeis, Sutherland, Hughes, Rutledge, and Taney, respectively. Many of the contributors are authors of full-length judicial biographies. In this symposium they have presented basic data regarding the justices discussed. All of the sketches are well written.

It should be noted that Crosskey's unorthodox notions of constitutional law affect his interpretation of Marshall. He regards the period of Marshall's chief justiceship as "a period of constitutional decay" (p. 22). He asserts that "the usual view of John Marshall's career is hardly tenable. John Marshall did not carry on a continual frontal assault, uniformly successful, upon the subversive principles of Jeffersonianism. Instead, he fought a long and stubborn rear-guard action to defend the Constitution against those principles. And it was, on the whole, a losing fight. Time after time during his long career, Marshall was

forced into compromise or defeat; and the result was a pretty complete transformation of the Constitution by the date of his death" (pp. 38-39). Various ideas characteristic of Crosskey's view of the Constitution are attributed to Marshall as "old Federalist doctrine."

The other authors do not depart from generally accepted opinions. Perhaps most informative to the reader, because dealing with a less well-known member of the Court, is Fairman's study of Justice Joseph P. Bradley.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

THE LIBERTIES OF AN AMERICAN: THE SUPREME COURT SPEAKS.

By *Leo Pfeffer*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 309. \$5.00.)

To attempt, in one slim volume, a survey of American liberties as they are set forth in the Bill of Rights and as they have been construed by the United States Supreme Court, is to attempt that which is hardly possible. This work deserves to be judged, however, not by its all-embracing title alone but by the author's declared intention, which is, as stated in his preface, "to shed some light on what the liberties of an American are and what they mean." This he certainly has succeeded in doing, and most of the criticisms of his attempt have to do with the inevitable oversimplification and resort to legal shorthand compelled by the scope of his work.

It is Pfeffer's conclusion that "the march of civil liberties in American history has been forward" and that the Bill of Rights has "played a crucial role" and has been "a beacon of light for seekers of liberty." He thinks the Supreme Court has "fulfilled its responsibilities as guardian of the Bill of Rights."

The crucial civil liberties problem of today, as the author sees it, lies in the extent to which constitutional principles and precedents are applicable to Communists and communist organization. The dilemma of the Supreme Court and the way it has divided on the issue are well described. Pfeffer gives a thumbnail review of the *Oliver* case (1948), in which the Supreme Court held firmly that "a secret trial is anathema to concepts of liberty and democracy, and does not accord the accused due process of law." The California Third District Court of Appeals last August had to reprove a lower court for holding a criminal trial in secret, and it is still not everywhere acknowledged that "secret trials have no place in a democracy."

Also very timely is the review of earlier civil rights contests and the consequences of the 1875 decision of the federal government to leave the defense of individual rights largely up to the states. To demonstrate very neatly and aptly how laws against one disliked faction may be imitated to outlaw advocates of other dissenting opinions, Pfeffer cites several state laws against the NAACP in which the techniques federally used with Communists are adopted intact for use against racial minorities.

This rapid survey of the long struggle for more perfect liberty sometimes inspires the distressing feeling that nothing is ever settled, for the same issues arise again and again; but Pfeffer's view is, on the whole, optimistic. There are some slips: the reference to the "repeal" of the Alien and Sedition Acts (which lapsed and ceased to exist without congressional action); the real importance of the Rumely case upholding Rumely's refusal to disclose his subscribers is not stated; the term "Roosevelt court" is loosely and improperly used. Apart from such criticism, the book does indeed "shed light" on American liberties and what they mean.

Washington, D. C.

J. R. WIGGINS

COLONISTS FROM SCOTLAND: EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA, 1707-1783. By *Ian Charles Cargill Graham*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1956. Pp. x, 213. \$4.50.)

IN this excellent little book that won the Beveridge award, Ian Graham, himself a Scot, educated on both sides of the Atlantic, introduces us to the story of Scottish emigration in the eighteenth century and to the role of the Scot in colonial America. Writing a cleancut, readable prose, he presents new information and fresh interpretations.

The causes of the Scottish exodus, the author maintains, and this reviewer agrees, were overwhelmingly economic. They stemmed basically from the age-old pressure of population on inadequate means of subsistence, but became active in particular years because of current ills. Estate papers and other MSS in the Scottish archives would have greatly strengthened his economic analysis, but customs records and little-exploited printed materials are used effectively. He rightly modifies the "exaggerated reports" of the numbers of Scots said to have come over (the figures of Irish emigration used for comparison also need to be modified). He agrees with and furthers the thesis that well-to-do Scots of the "tacksman" or intermediate landlord class, restive under changes that threatened their social and economic security, sought to persuade their tenants to follow them to America in the hope of setting up a new clan system with themselves as chiefs—another Old World dream destined to fade in the uncongenial air of pioneer America!

The American half of the story shows highlanders in closeknit settlements, chiefly in the Carolinas, New York, and Nova Scotia. Lowlanders were more dispersed. But in general all Scots tended, the author believes, "to act as an interest group on the basis of their nationality." It was largely this trait that brought them, in pre-Revolutionary years, to a position of commercial, political, and intellectual leadership out of all proportion to their numbers. One could wish for a fuller discussion of the intellectual and political leadership; the commercial activities are admirably dealt with. Incidentally, Graham furthers, if he does not end, the debatable question of the southern planter's "blindness to the practical side of business." It was the "Scotch-Irish," he maintains, who were the patriots in the

Revolution, while the Scots, with notable exceptions, were loyalists—a position demonstrable, as the author admits, only in the larger groups.

This book treats an important and much neglected segment of early American history critically and with imagination. It contains an excellent bibliography of printed materials. The author uses evidence in a telling way, although he sometimes does not give us enough of it. Indeed, he throws out far more interesting ideas than he attempts to develop—more than he could possibly develop in one slim volume. Clearly, Mr. Graham must write some more books; he has set a high standard for himself.

Vassar College

MILDRED CAMPBELL

MIDDLE-CLASS DEMOCRACY AND THE REVOLUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1691-1780. By *Robert E. Brown*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1955. Pp. ix, 458. \$6.00.)

IN this challenging monograph Professor Brown argues two distinct theses. He sets out to prove that the society of colonial Massachusetts on the eve of the Revolution was quite democratic, and, having buttressed his case with an impressive mass of documentation, he then makes the sweeping assertions that the Revolution was not fought for democracy because in fact there already was democracy in the colonies and that the controversy with Britain was "the direct outgrowth of colonial democracy." Strictly on the basis of evidence from Massachusetts, Brown suggests that the other colonies were not as undemocratic as tradition has painted them but that "the 'common man' in this country comes into his own long before the era of Jacksonian Democracy."

Were it not for the author's impatience to draw more sweeping and fundamental conclusions from his limited, if searching, study than the evidence warrants, this book would be less controversial and would probably win more friends and influence more people. Brown's primary thesis is neither revolutionary nor startling. It has long been a commonplace of the New England colonial scene that the home of the town meeting nurtured a considerable measure of both economic and political democracy.

Perhaps the most significant sections of this book are those dealing with representation and the franchise. Brown shows that the interior towns were adequately represented, even overrepresented. Why they could not get legislation in the Confederation period which would have given them needed economic relief without resort to insurrection still needs to be answered. It would certainly be rash to assume that in other colonies the back country areas enjoyed a similar measure of representation. The South Carolina story, to cite just one obvious case, would be precisely the reverse of that of Massachusetts.

Brown argues persuasively that the requirement of possession of a 40s. freehold to exercise the province franchise did not bar more than a fourth of the adult

males and that typical farms of "average" farmers were worth "several times" this amount. In fact, he states, the yield from one acre planted in wheat would be sufficient to satisfy this requirement. (The town voting qualifications, though higher than those of the province, were also not very restrictive.) This argument would have been more convincing had Brown disclosed the basis for his sampling of the inventories of estates of both farm and town workers. The fact is that inventories of estates provide evidence of the holdings left by superannuated persons, those who had perhaps forty or more years to accumulate substantial estates. They are not typical of "average" persons as determined by actuarial tables. We should like to know more about the average property holdings of workers in the twenty-five to forty-five year old category. Their holdings are almost certainly a good deal lower than those listed in the inventories of deceased persons.

Brown shows that men *could* vote, and he also demonstrates that most men *did* vote. But he does not deal with the question of *why* they voted as they did. He does not take into account the leadership of the elite, which was one of the marked phenomena of New England town life. He contends that substantial middle-class property holders who had long been active in town affairs determined the anti-British drift on the eve of the Revolution, not the mob. His own evidence would seem to show that the town meetings were guided, if not controlled, by such a middle-class elite—by Colonel John Ashley of Sheffield, by Samuel Phillips in Andover, and by Joseph Hawley in Northampton.

One minor error should be noted which provides some evidence that the Massachusetts land law was not quite as egalitarian in practice as Brown believes. He states that there was no change in the laws governing property holding or inheritance in Massachusetts since the Bay State "did not employ the practices of entail and primogeniture." It is true that from earliest times Massachusetts had practiced partible descent, but at the same time a double portion was reserved for the eldest son. This was not changed until 1801, when Massachusetts finally came abreast of states which by then had more egalitarian laws of descent. Entails did exist in Massachusetts and where not docked, descended according to the rules of primogeniture (*Baker v. Mattocks*, Quincy Rep. 69 [1763]).

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC, 1763-89. By *Edmund S. Morgan*. [Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 176. \$3.00.)

A one-volume study of the American Revolutionary period, 1763-1789, has long been needed, especially to make readily available the results of research in the field in recent decades. *The Birth of the Republic* handsomely supplies that need. Professor Morgan's small volume, containing only 157 pages of text, does not, of course, cover every phase of the Revolution in detail; and it may be that the armed

struggle between Britain and her American colonies is too scantily treated. In general, however, the author concisely and clearly covers the major topics, and he offers a well-organized and attractively written survey. A short bibliographical note and an index are furnished.

Limits of space imposed a heavy burden upon the author, since he was compelled to condense much information into a small scope. The "boiling down" process almost inevitably produced some phrases that will not entirely please specialists, who, to be sure, are commonly captious. Thus, statements concerning the boundaries of Quebec according to the British Act of 1774 (pp. 61, 118) seem to be not quite satisfactory, since they contain no reference to its "saving clause." The passages considered doubtful by this fallible reviewer are very few, and he finds no serious error in fact.

The Birth of the Republic is particularly to be praised because of the sensible and judicious views offered by Morgan. He is unfair neither to Britain nor to the colonies, he refuses to make too much of political and social clash among the patriots, his remarks concerning the era of the Confederation are balanced, and his analysis of the making of the new union of 1789 is warped neither by a crass economic interpretation nor by filiopietistic sentiment. Students, both undergraduate and graduate, are often devoted defenders of unproven theories and one-sided theses concerning phases of the Revolutionary period; Professor Morgan's brief volume will serve as a very helpful corrective. It will also be stimulating and useful to older scholars.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

THE FAR WESTERN FRONTIER, 1830-1860. By Ray Allen Billington. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1956. Pp. xix, 324. \$5.00.)

THE chief distinction of this excellent addition to the New American Nation Series is the author's manner of treatment rather than his outline of subject matter. The arrangement of material follows conventional and generally accepted lines. Roughly the first quarter of the book is devoted to Spanish borderlands and fur men; the middle half develops the expansionist theme culminating with the Mexican War; and the remainder of the book is given over to the Mormons, the mineral frontier, and prerailroad transportation. With this arrangement there can be little quarrel. Insofar as possible, events are presented in chronological order and the discussions move logically from one major theme to the next. Despite multitudinous events and interacting forces operating within an area of gargantuan magnitude, Professor Billington has achieved clarity in presentation and unity for the work as a whole. The substance of the book's synthesis is well expressed by the final sentence: "Man had begun his battle against nature with only his hands and his brawn to aid him; man was to continue that battle with

such efficient tools that only thirty years later the continent had been conquered and all the Far West subjected to the elevating forces of civilization" (p. 292).

Presumably it was not the intent of the editors and publisher that this and companion works were to be based upon a meticulous reexamination of manuscript sources. In the preparation of the book, Billington has followed the pattern characterized by the other published volumes of the series. He has drawn heavily on printed narratives and official documents, periodical literature, and standard secondary works. Judging from footnote documentation, the appended critical bibliography, and internal evidence revealed by the text, it is apparent that the present author has made a comprehensive examination and utilization of the printed materials pertinent to his study. The most discernible omissions are the author's own previous publications.

Unanimity in the interpretation of Far Western frontier history has never been conspicuous, and it is doubtful that Billington's book will resolve all past differences. For example, the emphasis here placed upon the quest by Americans for more cheap land and the public and Democratic clamor for extension of political boundaries to the Pacific without due weight given Whig commercial interests in the acquisition of Pacific coast ports (the latter expounded by Norman A. Graebner in *Empire on the Pacific* [1955]) sets the stage for honest differences of opinion about interpretation of American expansionism. And now even the slogan "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" as an 1844 battle cry (p. 155) appears to belong in the limbo of American political myths. Also subject to dispute is such a matter as when and why Brigham Young decided that the Great Salt Lake valley was to be the "right place" for the Saints (p. 198). For the most part the book is a straightforward narrative in which persons, events, dates, and places are presented accurately and with agreeable spice.

It could fairly be said of this volume that its flavor, or style, provides a rather familiar theme with a new and refreshing aura. Heedless of the seminar admonition to thesis writers—"be sparing of adjectives"—Billington uses them freely, with obvious delight, and with a certain degree of abandonment. He has likewise provided his readers with a very generous sprinkling of colorful contemporary quips, epithets, and Western jargon. Very descriptive, for example, is a chapter, "The Era of the Mountain Men," in which life "in the raw" is described as being anything but genteel. Raw, cruel, precarious, and concerned with bare survival as life has been here represented, one is perhaps justified in asking the question: Was there not, as Louis B. Wright has indicated there was, culture on this moving frontier? Billington does not completely ignore the humane and the urbane aspects of frontier civilization, but more than he has presented would have been appropriate.

Students given this book as reference reading (presumably the purpose of the New American Nation Series) will find their assignments agreeable. They will like the format, be aided by excellent maps, edified by the illustrations, and

informed and delighted by the text. Their professors will doubtless confirm these reactions and will, in addition, be grateful for the excellent documentation, bibliography, and index.

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

FRONTIER POLITICS AND THE SECTIONAL CONFLICT: THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Robert W. Johannsen*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 240. \$5.00.)

THIS is a study of political alignments in the Oregon country from 1841 to 1861 in relation to population origins, economic interests, and national policies. Settlers from the Old Northwest and bordering slave states predominated in the early migration, representing Jeffersonianism and frontier democracy in their devotion to decentralization, popular elections, the virtues of an agrarian civilization, self-government, and manifest destiny—the whole conditioned by strong patriotism. One must regret that the author did not deal more fully with the period of the social compact in Oregon, emphasis being entirely upon the relation of these characteristics to events after 1849.

The story here presented begins with the organization of Oregon Territory in the midst of the renewed sectional controversy over slavery in the territories during the Mexican War. It presupposes a broader knowledge of the ensuing decade of sectional strife by the reader than is justified. The congress, in 1848, passed a bill organizing Oregon Territory and extending to it the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. The author includes at this point a quotation (p. 18) from Senator Butler's speech urging his constituents to go there in armed bands, with their slaves, in defiance of congressional law. This was the senator in defense of whose honor the assault upon Senator Sumner was made, and an illuminating footnote was in order. The area was opposed to the presence of Negroes, slave or free. Slaves were given their freedom by the courts because no local laws establishing slavery existed; slavery was excluded by a popular vote of 7,727 to 2,645; but the people also voted to exclude free Negroes 8,640 to 1,081. That action was tremendously important in congressional debates and in the evolution of the Fourteenth Amendment, a fact which should have been noted. This inadequate presentation of the national background occurs also with reference to the split between Buchanan and Douglas, the Dred Scott Decision, and elsewhere.

On the other hand, there are valuable contributions to our knowledge of Buchanan's far-reaching efforts to destroy Douglas; of the extent of Republican adherence because of free homesteads, railroads, and the tariff, rather than slavery; of the degree to which Douglas Democrats and Republicans could more easily find common ground than could Douglas Democrats and Southern Democrats, represented by popular sovereignty as an antislavery technique, by fusion in the

campaign of 1860, and by subsequent cooperation in the preservation of the Union during the war years.

In some ways, the most valuable part of this study is that dealing with the period after the election of Lincoln. We have here the normal pattern of confusion about compromise, peaceful separation or coercion, and distrust of Southern sympathizers; we find also an unusual combination of strong union sentiment and anti-emancipation sentiment coupled with a disposition to let the rest of the country work out its own salvation.

The monograph is well written and adequately annotated from a wealth of source materials. It must be given serious consideration by those interested in both the West and the Civil War.

University of Michigan

DWIGHT L. DUMOND

THE MILITANT SOUTH, 1800-1861. By *John Hope Franklin*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 317. \$5.00.)

THE *Militant South* is a study of such topics as personal encounters, state militias, citizen soldiers, military schools, expansionist activities, educational backwardness, slavery defense, growing unity, and military preparedness. Painstaking search for evidence yields a great array of significant illustrative material. Many pages of the first seven chapters and most of the last five are a clear and concise story of what happened, but the book as a whole seems to turn the clock backward in the continuing quest for truth. The author observes in an inviting preface to the book he might have written that his "study implies at no point that all Southerners, or even almost all of them, were bellicose or militant." He "is mindful of the existence" of Southern elements "that regarded violence and other forms of precipitate action as revolting," though they "dominated neither thought nor action" in the pre-Civil War generation. Actually, the book is almost entirely unmindful of the existence of unmilitant elements. Limiting expressions are used infrequently; repetitive employment of such words as "men of the South" creates an impression of totality.

As contributing factors to the South's militancy, the preface lists "persistence of the rural environment, the Indian danger, the fear of slaves, an old-world concept of honor, an increasing sensitivity, and an arrogant self-satisfaction with things as they were." The reviewer would delete only one word—the descriptive adjective—from this incomplete list of factors, for how could the author, or anyone else, know that the self-satisfaction of all or even most Southerners was arrogant? Factors that created Southern militancy are repeated in the text, but with little indication that Northern provocation contributed to a militant spirit, either as a factor in itself or as an influence in producing "sensitivity" or "fear of slaves." The preface recognizes "intersectional tension" that transformed an "atmosphere of conflict . . . into aggressive militancy," and the text devotes a few pages to the

Northern "challenge," but neither suggests that false accusation or opprobrious epithet created a militant South. If the external cause were treated as extensively as internal factors, the book would be much longer—and less partisan.

The book is not a study of the Civil War's causes, but the author comes near assigning responsibility solely to Southern militancy for an inevitable conflict: "With every state in the South readying itself for war long before the election of Lincoln, there was little chance for peace." As the author writes out of context in presenting a segment of the South from internal causes only, the North appears guiltless of the clash of arms. More important, by focusing attention on a single quality of some Southerners, the author leaves the impression that there was little else in southern life than violence. He never comes to grips with the more difficult problem of evaluating pugnacious thought and action in terms of the total life of the people. He turns the spotlight on one corner of the portrait—the South on militant parade—where it remains from the first page to the last.

The preface again illustrates method. It lists postwar evidences of "excessive belligerency," among them "the fact that nearly 90 per cent of the 1,886 lynchings in the United States between 1900 and 1930 occurred in the South." A comment follows: "The assertion that the murder capital of the United States moves annually from one Southern city to another has considerable basis in fact and suggests a continuing indifference to violence." The statistic is true; the comment is that of a crusader. The author as historian might have added that lynching declined and disappeared for a few years.

University of Oregon

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

DREAM AND THOUGHT IN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, 1860-1900.

By *Edward Chase Kirkland*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 175. \$3.00.)

IN its original form, the material in this book, which explores the philosophy of business and of a business generation, constituted the 1956 Cornell University Messenger Lectures on the Evolution of Civilization. A Guggenheim Fellowship enabled the author to devote a year to exploring on a wide scale the policies of the business community. He examined available statements by businessmen in books, magazine articles, private correspondence, testimony before Congressional and other committees, and statements made by the press and periodicals directed toward the concerns of the business world. In reporting his findings, he sought to avoid a liberal versus conservative point of view, a "robber baron" versus benefactors of mankind approach, and concentrated instead on what businessmen thought and said. Even the provocative word "dream" in the title has been defined by the author to mean no more than unorganized and unsystematic thought on the part of the men studied. No effort has been made to measure words by prac-

tice. The author has operated on the theory that businessmen, like other groups, generally meant what they said.

Such an approach by a less experienced or less perceptive writer would have resulted in a deadly cataloging of statements made by various members of the business community instead of the provocative and fresh point of view which Kirkland's handling of the material has given us. His first essay, "Panic and Pain," for example, suggests that our habit of writing the history of the era in terms of politics, Supreme Court decisions, and briefs of learned counsel has led historians to interpret the structure of business thought primarily as defense propaganda rather than as explanation or comfort for business insecurity in face of the "facts of life." "Panic and perplexity, not pain, gave the first occasion for this sort of business thought" (p. 26). In the "Big House," the author contrasts conventional explanations for the building of enormous mansions by businessmen with the reasons advanced by the owners themselves. Two essays deal with business thought concerning public schools and higher education, and here again the material demonstrates the need for a more balanced presentation of ideas shaping American education than has been achieved in past studies. The essay on "Sisyphus's Work" presents a cogent analysis of positive and negative attitudes of business toward government. The concluding essay, "Don't Shoot the Millionaire," suffers somewhat in comparison with the others, because it covers material more widely known to historians.

Kirkland has admirably achieved his purpose. His essays rest on solid research, he writes clearly and to the point, and he refuses to sit in high judgment on the ideas portrayed. His book demonstrates that history can be provocative and even colorful when written with urbanity rather than partisanship. Some undoubtedly will disagree with his conception of the historian's role, but even they will find his analysis stimulating. His book deserves widespread attention by historians and businessmen alike.

University of Missouri

LEWIS ATHERTON

STANDARD OIL COMPANY (INDIANA): OIL PIONEER OF THE MIDDLE WEST. By *Paul H. Giddens*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1956. Pp. xviii, 741. \$7.50.)

LITTLE by little, the tremendous story of oil in the making of modern America is being written. In the light of the business histories produced by academic scholars, such books as Ida M. Tarbell's seem primitive indeed, not so much because of their excessive bias as because of their failure to use modern instruments of research and techniques of analysis to probe beneath the surface. It becomes steadily clearer that business in general, and the various branches of the oil business in particular, have been heavily penalized by their long habit of secrecy. The more great industries throw open their records, the more certain it becomes that their

lapses have been less sinister and their achievements more creditable than the general public supposed.

The history of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana has an impressiveness which almost justifies the Gargantuan size of this book. When it was organized in 1889 by Rockefeller's Trust, the utilization of the Lima oil pools in Ohio and Indiana was still a novelty. By one farsighted business stroke, the Trust had bought large oil-bearing tracts; by another it had applied to them Herman Frasch's copper oxide process of purifying oil from sulphur. The construction in 1889-1890 of the Whiting, Indiana, refinery, one of the largest in the world, was quickly followed by the purchase of marketing companies and the development of an intricate market network all over the Middle West. Other great refineries arose. When an indignant Minnesota branch manager saw a storekeeper charge a farmer double the just price, cloaking his extortion with the remark that "John D. has just given the University of Chicago another million," he led the Standard of Indiana into an ambitious program of direct rural delivery by tank wagon. At the turn of the century, prolific new sources of oil were obtained from Kansas to Texas. By 1906, the company had assets of \$27.5 millions and was earning at the rate of more than \$10 million a year.

But Professor Giddens' real story, related with verve, accuracy, and finish, begins when the dissolution of the Trust in 1911 thrust the Standard of Indiana upon an independent career. No brief account of this crowded book can adequately describe the many-sided elements in a record which affected the social and political no less than the economic history of the nation. With the advent of the motor age, the supply of gasoline had to be doubled and redoubled; and in this, the cracking process of W. M. Burton and R. E. Humphreys has to be considered along with the new pools, pipelines, and tanks. The Allies "floated to victory" on a sea of oil, a story well told here. Pioneering in the use of ethyl gasoline and in many sales methods, Standard of Indiana became the nation's largest gasoline marketer. Under the robust Colonel Robert W. Stewart, an untiring public speaker, it strove lustily to break down the distrust of big business. Meanwhile, much was done (thanks partly to pressure from the Rockefellers) to humanize the organization. MacKenzie King, who had carried out far-reaching labor-welfare studies for the Rockefeller family and who later became director of industrial relations for the Rockefeller Foundation, gave the Indiana a plan of democratic management of labor which was effectively used from 1919 to 1937. Cutting athwart the postwar history of the company is the dramatic story of the oil scandal, which ended when John D. Rockefeller, Jr., expelled Stewart from control on March 7, 1929. It fell to Edward G. Seubert to guide the management through the ensuing depression, the NRA experiment, the revival, and most of the Second World War. Giddens gives a striking picture of the corporation at the beginning of the 1950's, when it was the second largest oil company in the nation, with assets not far from two billion dollars and about 115,000 stockholders.

Those who essay to write the history of any important aspect of American life since 1890 without consulting this volume will rue their error; it elucidates important aspects of technology, agriculture, both rural and urban ways of life, and public attitudes toward business. Giddens might have given his book a larger circulation by more compression. But the complicated narrative is always lucid, and any reader who judiciously skips over some bogs of business detail will find it interesting. The book is an achievement in which both author and company can take pride.

Columbia University

ALLAN NEVINS

FROM THE DEPTHS: THE DISCOVERY OF POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Robert H. Bremner*. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 364. \$5.50.)

THIS book is a good example of the feasibility and usefulness of combining a monographic and a general, interpretive approach to a major historical problem. In this case, the problem is to explain how the discovery of poverty in the United States came about and how and why attitudes toward it and actions relating to it changed. One finds much that is familiar: the emergence in the second third of the nineteenth century of a concern with the lot of the urban poor, the influence in the post-Civil War decades of the British approach to what was regarded as the scientific handling of charity, the rise of settlement houses and of professional social work, and the movement for the improvement of tenement living, the protection of children, and the melioration of conditions for women working in industry. In traversing this ground, Professor Bremner acknowledges generously his indebtedness to such predecessors as Amos Warner, Frank Watson, Edith Abbott, Jacob Hollander, Daniel McColgan, and Josephine Goldmark, to name only a few of the scores of secondary writers listed in his informative and useful bibliography.

But *From the Depths* is much more than a well-organized and well-written synthesis. Bremner has himself read the basic primary sources and, as a result, has given us not only much new information but interpretations that are both important and original. In addition to his study of the writings of the nineteenth-century humanitarian reformers concerned with the problem of poverty, he has made excellent use of the published reports and the out-of-the-way pamphlet publications of charity organizations, the archives of the Community Service Society of New York, and the papers of J. G. Phelps Stokes. Especially rewarding has been his study of the more popular as well as the more specialized periodicals. It was a happy idea to read widely in popular novels and short stories and to survey the bearings on his theme of the rich and too-little-known graphic art of the period. The illustrations drawn from these sources add much to the format of the book.

Bremner admirably achieves his objective of explaining the factors that made Americans conscious of and sympathetic toward the misfortunes of their fellow countrymen. He shows the relationship between changing attitudes toward poverty, dependency, and insecurity and the rising emphasis on factual information in the social surveys; and he shows how this growing body of data and the experiences of philanthropists and social workers led to legislation on housing, child labor, women in industry, and industrial accidents. The study also nicely delineates the shift that took place from the dominant view that poverty is solely the result of defects in character and unequal endowments to the rising view, so influential in the progressive and New Deal eras, that poverty, insecurity, and insufficiency are primarily the result of social and economic conditions and as such are remediable by social action. The heroes and heroines of the book, the "do-gooders" who heard and heeded the cry from the lower depths, are presented without sentimentality, but with deep appreciation of their contributions to the poor whom they helped and of their part in making American life more wholesome and humane.

Like all books, this one is not without limitations. Further exploration of manuscript sources might have yielded additional information of relevance. Some may feel that the author might profitably have explored the possible uses of recent techniques in the social sciences, especially content analysis, quantification, and the concepts of culture and personality. But those of us who have devoted our studies in history to the efforts to improve the quality of American life for all Americans will welcome this book as a major contribution and Professor Bremner as a gifted and much needed younger colleague.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE CURTI

LA FOLLETTE AND THE RISE OF THE PROGRESSIVES IN WISCONSIN. By *Robert S. Maxwell*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1956. Pp. viii, 270. \$4.50.)

WISCONSIN politics during the first two decades of the twentieth century has long interested historians and political scientists for the reason that it provided, within a sharply defined area and time span, a laboratory experiment in Mid-western progressivism. Over a space of approximately thirty years, the progressive wing of the Republican party in the state developed a body of political theory and practice, known as the Wisconsin Idea, that was closely scrutinized by other states and often copied. In this volume, Professor Maxwell traces in detail the development of Wisconsin progressivism, sketches its architects and proponents, and analyzes the political forces that produced it.

The shadow of Robert La Follette, as the author points out, hung over the entire Wisconsin movement. He was its theorist, its practitioner, its leader, and his powerful personality dominated it for the term of its existence. At the same

time, Maxwell recognizes the contributions of those whose support was vital to progressivism's success—Nils Haugen, McCarthy, McGovern, Hatton, Blaine, Lenroot, Ekern, Van Hise, and others. The institution of commissions, legislative reforms, conservation, tax and monopoly reforms, social legislation, and other segments of the progressive program are carefully analyzed in the book. The impact of the La Follette regime on the social and economic institutions of the state is also rather carefully explained, with some speculation as to its long-term effects.

Maxwell is not uncritical in his summary of Wisconsin progressivism. The Wisconsin Idea had its flaws and its failures. Some of the heralded reforms did not work out. There were clashes of personality among political leaders which vitiated some of the successes. Nevertheless, in his summing up, the author can point to an impressively long list of affirmative accomplishments chargeable to Wisconsin progressivism, a good many of which were widely adopted by other states and at least some of which opened the way to new approaches to social and economic thinking in later years. As the author suggests, the effects of progressivism in Wisconsin may not yet be fully gone; the violent political oscillations of Wisconsin politics since La Follette's time may be in part a reflection of the heritage of liberalism left by Old Bob and his allies.

This study provides a concise, judicious account of one of the more interesting and dramatic political movements in recent history, carefully researched and well-documented. The volume begins with the state elections of 1900, traces La Follette's struggle with the conservative wing of the Republican party, and recounts in detail the history of the various tax, legislative, and monopoly reforms as they appeared in the progressives' legislative programs. If the book lacks something, it is a greater consideration of the theory of politics and government which underlay the Wisconsin movement and of its relationship to Midwestern and Eastern progressivism at large. However, for the person who is interested in the history of a highly effective and bitterly contested experiment in American political and social reform, Maxwell's book provides the essential information.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

HERBERT HOOVER, PUBLIC SERVANT AND LEADER OF THE LOYAL
OPPOSITION: A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND CAREER. By *Harold Wolfe*.
[Banner Book.] (New York: Exposition Press. 1956. Pp. 507. \$5.00.)

THOUGH Herbert Hoover has been the subject or the author of many books and articles, most of these (including his own *Memoirs*) are polemical and few if any of them meet the needs of the teacher, student, or general reader desiring a convenient and dispassionate account. To provide a "reasonably complete and objective portrait," Professor Wolfe of Winthrop College has undertaken a new biography which, as he frankly states, is based on published sources alone. The resulting book is both more and less than he apparently intended it to be. It is

more than a factual summary, for it contains a considerable amount of critical comment, especially upon Hoover's statements and policies regarding the Great Depression. As the depression dragged on, Wolfe remarks, Hoover emphasized more and more its foreign causes, finally concluding that there had been no serious trouble in the United States until an economic storm struck from abroad in 1931. "Freeing his nation, his party and himself from blame in causing and prolonging the depression eventually became almost an obsession with him," Wolfe says. "This led him to claim that his policies achieved more than they did and to attribute to others more responsibility for their falling short of complete success than the record substantiates." In treating Hoover's foreign policies, the author again is critical, suggesting that "vigorous American leadership" might have restrained the Japanese at the time of the Manchurian crisis. "This leadership was not furnished by the Hoover administration or by that of Roosevelt in time to check Japan." Such interpretive comments, whether or not the reader agrees with them, add to the interest and value of the narrative. But Wolfe falls a little short of his aim, in dealing with foreign affairs, because he has confined himself to too few of the available published sources. If he had read more widely in recent studies, he could have added depth to his treatment of Hoover's diplomacy by discriminating more carefully than he does between the views of the President and those of the Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson. Yet, on the whole, Wolfe has done well what he set out to do. His book is to be recommended as a convenient—and critical—summary of Hoover's career.

Woman's College, University of North Carolina

RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE NEW ISOLATIONISM: A STUDY IN POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1950. By *Norman A. Graebner*. (New York: Ronald Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 289. \$4.00.)

THIS volume deals with a variety of recent foreign policy proposals which reached their "final and most perfect expression" in Secretary of State Dulles' dual policies of massive retaliation and liberation of the communist satellites. Crediting Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., for the term, the author combines these diverse ideas under the label "the new isolationism." The relationship of this phenomenon with the traditional nineteenth-century isolationism, or with the "old isolationism" of the 1930's as exemplified by Robert La Follette or Charles Beard, is found in the questionable assumptions that isolationism had "decided all reliance on diplomacy" and that "domestic policy was far more fateful than foreign affairs." Such straining for associations may be useful in political polemics, but a more accurate label would have been "the new nationalism" or "neo-imperialism." These terms would at least suggest the dominant characteristics of the type of proposals Professor Graebner is describing.

The purpose of this book is to provide a history and partisan indictment of the Republican criticisms and policies which conflict with the Truman-Acheson approach to foreign affairs. Published in the midst of the last presidential campaign, and without examination of the *Congressional Record*, congressional hearings, or even systematic newspaper surveys, this account adds nothing to the debate which is not already common knowledge. It begins with 1950 because it was at this point that the "reactionary-nationalist elite" began its major onslaught. No explanation is given of the forces behind McCarthyism other than to offer Samuel Lubell's hypothesis that this type of criticism arose from the "politics of revenge" of the German-Americans. Such a superficial explanation fails to account for such major critics as Senators Knowland and Bridges, or even the late Senator McCarran, none of whom had significantly large German-American constituencies. Nor is there any examination of the role of some of the Catholic hierarchy and other Christian communist-haters in adding to the hysteria of this period. Graebner's real devil is that line of thought which assumes unlimited American power in world affairs, but this optimism or arrogance can be found in leaders of both major parties. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, the concept of containment, like that of liberation, also assumes an overwhelming preponderance of American power. This book might have had more lasting value if it had analyzed this twentieth-century version of Manifest Destiny. It fails to examine the continuity in thought from Secretary of State Acheson's "negotiation from strength" approach to the insistence of the Eisenhower administration on continuing to prepare larger thermonuclear weapons under a program begun by the Truman administration.

Goucher College

WILLIAM L. NEUMANN

Latin American History

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WEST INDIES. By J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 316. \$5.00.)

THIS exceedingly able popular survey of the Caribbean past and of problems confronting the area today was authored by a professor of history and the vice principal, respectively, of the new University College of the British West Indies, which aims to provide, as one of its major functions, a West Indian interpretation of the tropical American story which has traditionally been told by nonresident scholars. Following immediately upon Elsa Goveia's admirable *Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Mexico City, 1956), this second product of the College's young department of history reinforces the excellent impression made by the first and presages a bright future for local historical studies bearing upon the old sugar colonies.

The authors emphasize the fact that, despite political division, the Caribbean basin possesses geographic, economic, social, and political unity. Both land rim and islands were originally inhabited by red men. These were soon forced into the background by the arrival of small numbers of white men, who laid out tropical plantations and staffed them with West Africans. These blacks, brutally torn from their homes, brought with them a definite outlook and way of life which have survived to a surprising degree through three centuries of relatively uniform existence under common environmental conditions. The result has been the emergence of a distinctive Caribbean civilization and viewpoint.

Misunderstandings of recent times have arisen from the fact that outsiders, ignoring this basic transformation, have blindly sought to continue the old relationships, while the Caribbean peoples, conscious of their emergence as a new social entity, are demanding that they be permitted to control their own destinies. The British, American, and French governments are now grappling with the problem in realistic fashion, and the transition from remote to native rule within family circles is being effected with a minimum of friction.

Of greatest interest to the student of history, though not necessarily to the average reader, will be those sections dealing with the islands during the past century when labor shortages compelled the introduction of Indian coolies, bringing new tension in its wake, and when new capital, conspicuously American, was poured in on a lavish scale. Much is made of the metamorphosis of the entire Caribbean world following construction of the Panama Canal and the preponderant position of the United States resulting therefrom.

An optimistic note is sounded throughout the volume. Stagnation and decay are viewed as things of the past, and self-government in close relationship with the metropolitan countries is held to promise a better future for the West Indian community at large.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

ARMONIAS Y CONFLICTOS EN TORNO A CUBA. By *Emeterio S. Santovenia*. [Colección Tierra Firme, Number 61.] (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1956. Pp. 318.)

AFTER many years of study and publications in the field of Cuban history, Santovenia has completed a long-planned work covering the history of Cuba in international relations. Except for a brief introduction covering earlier colonial centuries and a postscript on the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, the book deals with the nineteenth century. The author restricts himself to diplomatic history in the narrow sense. There is little about the development of the movement for independence in Cuba or about the various kinds of activity—piracy, revolutions, filibustering expeditions—which frequently were the occasion for steps taken by governments interested in Cuba. Santovenia is not writing for

specialists in either Cuban or international affairs. He does, however, provide a sound and well-balanced chronicle of the changing patterns of policy affecting Cuba in Spain, Great Britain, France, the United States, and the other American republics. The book should be very useful to readers outside Cuba who may have tended to look at the island only from their particular national points of view.

The story falls into two fairly distinct parts. The first, covering the years before the outbreak of the Ten Years' War (1868), is one in which the Cubans themselves played a very minor role. It includes the threats to Spanish sovereignty in Cuba which Mexico and Colombia cleverly and cautiously used to bring pressure on Spain to recognize their independence; the concern of the United States, Great Britain, and France over any political change which might benefit a rival; the growing pressure from the United States for annexation. In the second part of the story, the Cuban struggle for independence forms the central theme and the policies of the powers are reactions to that movement. Both Europe and the Latin American republics play a smaller part; the United States increasingly dominates the scene. The changing motives and interests which affected the policies of powers are lightly sketched in, but there is no effort to analyze them intensively.

To many readers, the material on Latin American attitudes toward Cuban independence will be particularly welcome because it has been less fully studied than the policies of the United States and European powers. Santovenia clearly delineates the complete subordination of interest in Cuban emancipation to more limited national interests in Colombia and Mexico and the indifference of other Latin American states. It was in the so-called Bolivarian republics—Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia—that official sympathy for Cuba Libre seems to have been greatest. Unofficially, Latin American opinion tended toward sympathy with Cuba, but United States involvement in the Cuban struggle led most Latin Americans to adopt a detached view, on the ground that events in Cuba represented a phase of American imperialism.

Santovenia is aware of the mixture of idealism and self-aggrandizement in United States policy toward Cuba in 1898 and the following years, but he avoids the debunking and sarcastic treatment of United States participation in the war which has been fashionable in this country in recent years. Like all Cubans, Santovenia regrets the imposition of the Platt Amendment. Unlike some, he praises the good judgment and patriotism of the Cuban leaders who accepted it as preferable to an indefinite extension of United States occupation. Throughout the book, he manifests a remarkable ability to deal coolly with subjects highly charged with emotion.

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE VARIETIES OF HISTORY FROM VOLTAIRE TO THE PRESENT. Edited by *Fritz Stern*. (New York: Meridian Books. 1956. Pp. 427. \$1.45.) With a masterly essay, Professor Stern introduces selections from great and other historians of modern times on the meaning and purposes of history. His paper-bound book ought to be in the hands of all graduate students and many of their teachers. In it the great debate on history, as science or art, as humanity or social science, as flow, unity, and continuity or succession of unique events, as past politics or cultural synthesis, is vividly illustrated, as are historians' hopes for universality, the limitations of specialization, and the now disavowed purpose of moral teaching. To accompany this volume, Stern or some one else might edit another volume on philosophies of history. *The Varieties of History*, in which many essays appear in English (translated by the editor) for the first time, will give a good many young and some older historians deepened insight into their craft and their profession. As they read, they will realize how many of the bright new views are new only to those who hold them. As one editor of the volume says: "The masters of the past cannot be copied; they can . . . make us see our situation more clearly and perhaps, ourselves more humbly."

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Washington, D. C.*

THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION, A SPECIALIZED AGENCY OF THE UNITED NATIONS: ITS HISTORY AND WORK, 1946-1952. By *Louise W. Holborn*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Liquidation Board of the International Refugee Organization.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 805. \$7.20.) If further endorsement of the importance of Louise Holborn's work on the International Refugee Organization is required, recent events in Hungary emphatically supply it. Miss Holborn introduces her history of the IRO with the assertion that since the second decade of this century integral nationalism, totalitarianism, and world war have provoked mass, involuntary migrations which have had grave international consequences. In this context, and with the Hungarian tragedy fresh in mind, the history of the IRO, important in itself, assumes even larger significance. As a link in the chain of international efforts to cope with the problem of involuntary migrations, the IRO undertook in 1947 the relief and resettlement of the 1,500,000 refugees still remaining from the postwar total of over 80,000,000. This residue of refugees constituted the hard core of nonrepatriables who, at the same time, could not be absorbed into the economic and social life of the communities where they were then existing. The organization and employment of techniques and services adopted by the IRO in carrying out its assignment constitute the most important part of this impressive volume. Basing her endeavors largely upon the reports and publications of the IRO, United Nations, and United States government, Miss Holborn has compiled a detailed and authoritative account. Generous use of pertinent statistics and a two-hundred-page appendix of documents make this an indispensable reference work. Even though, midst the mountains of data, the human aspect of the story is sometimes obscure—as, indeed, it must have been to the IRO

administrators themselves—one is persuaded to agree with the author's conclusions that the IRO was a great humanitarian undertaking and a credit to the free world.

KENT FORSTER, *Pennsylvania State University*

UNITED STATES-PERSIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS: 1883-1921. By *Abraham Yeselson*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 252. \$5.00.) This is a useful treatment of "one of the gaps in the studies of American diplomatic history." For the better understanding of contemporary American-Iranian relations, the author has carefully analyzed and presented here the structure of the subsoil in which these relations are rooted. The pattern takes on more than the marginal significance such relations warrant in themselves during the first half of their history, because the author skillfully places it in the perspective of American foreign policy in general. It is interesting to see here applied such policies in relation to "nonintervention; refuge and asylum; recognition; the protection of naturalized Americans; the Open Door policy; extra-territoriality; and government support for private investors abroad." Such subjects as Taft's "dollar diplomacy," Roosevelt's positivism, and Wilson's idealism are also illustrated. The result is a contribution primarily to United States diplomatic history and only secondarily, and in a limited degree, to modern Persian history. The bulk of the source material consists of State Department records in the National Archives. This is at once the strength and the weakness of the study: it is more illuminating for the American side of the relationship than for the Persian. To be sure, similar Iranian archival material is not accessible to the student of modern Persia, even if he is able to handle the language; yet one puts the book down with the conviction that had the author been as well steeped in modern Persian history as in American diplomatic history, and familiar with the chief Persian studies of this period, there would have resulted corresponding enrichment and illumination of the Persian side of the equation. It is perhaps natural that the United States side should dominate in a work such as this, but for complete balance and true perspective, the Persian side of the picture needs equal penetration and illumination. Even for Western sources, the author's net might have been cast farther. Properly disclaiming any need for complete evaluation of the activities and influence of the missionaries whose protection stimulated and concerned early relations, Yeselson might well have profited by some consultation of the readily-accessible primary sources in mission board archives. This would have avoided a number of the errors in fact, certainly would have altered the references to the Kurds, and would probably have affected the final form in which certain diplomatic difficulties are set forth. Wider consultation of British, French, Russian, and German archives (especially, British sessional papers and similar sources) would in some instances have been significant. These strictures, however, are not meant to detract unduly from the substantial worth of this contribution, for which a variety of students of our modern times should be grateful.

T. CUYLER YOUNG, *Princeton University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES. Volume II, THE TEN YEARS' WAR, BOOKS II-III; Volume III, THE TEN YEARS' WAR, BOOKS IV-V 24. By A. W. Gomme. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 436; ix, 437-748. \$13.45 the set.) Ten years have passed since the publication of the first volume of this important study of Thucydides' history. Meantime, the author has been occupied with other tasks, including his Sather Lectures on *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History*, but now, at long last, we have two more volumes of the commentary. Volume I contained introductory material and a detailed commentary on Thucydides' first book, dealing with the background of the Peloponnesian War. The two present volumes carry the study through the first ten years of the war, to the Peace of Nicias in 421. Though Professor Gomme does not reprint the historian's Greek text, he assumes that the reader has it constantly before him, and his commentary consists of countless brief notes upon this text. The author makes no attempt to write a connected history of the war, but he has subjected Thucydides' text to the closest scrutiny and indicates pertinent material provided by inscriptions and archaeology. The notes show wide and deep learning as well as great good sense; Gomme's work will doubtless remain the standard commentary on Thucydides for many years to come.

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

SIZILIEN UND ATHEN: DIE BEGEGNUNG DER ATTISCHEN MACHT MIT DEN WESTGRIECHEN. By Hermann Wentker. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 1956. Pp. 198. DM 12.) To the Sicilian expedition, Thucydides devotes two books or a quarter of his entire history. These events in the west in the years 415-413 B.C. were central in his story of the greatest war of Hellas down to that time and form the climax of its tragedy. The failure of the expedition cost Athens the war, changing the course of her history and the history of the world. If Athens, by the conquest of Sicily, had secured the hegemony over Greece, there would have been no expansion of Macedonia under Philip II and no conquest of the east by Alexander the Great. The Hellenization of the Orient would have taken a different form, and there might never have been a Roman Empire. Strategically and dramatically, Thucydides was more prophetic than he could know. Why did Athens undertake this policy of western conquest at a time when she was well occupied at home? What were its chances of success, and what conduct of events might have brought that about? These are questions which have been asked often after Thucydides, and opinion has generally tended to regard the whole enterprise as fantastic, a project of the erratic Alcibiades who risked Athens' existence for his own glory. This is substantially what Alcibiades' opponent, Nicias, had argued at Athens when the project was first discussed. Wentker, however, prefers to believe Alcibiades rather than Nicias. Alcibiades' plan to organize the conservatives in Sicily into an alliance against Syracuse and Segesta was sensible in the light of the existing situation. Athens' own commitment would be held to a minimum. After the threat of Syracusan expansion had been ended, the Siciliotes and Sicils under Athens' leadership might eliminate Carthaginian influence on the the island and break Spartan control over the Peloponnesus. The factors were: race, Dorian against Ionian; class, nobles against commons; and relationship, mother cities against colonies. The Sicilian cities developed differently from those in Greece, largely because of the tyrannies based on mercenary troops of extra-Sicilian origin;

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

but the relations between the two areas were very close, and Athens was the Sicilian ally against Syracuse as in Greece she was the support of all who feared Sparta. The Sicilian expedition, viewed in its historic setting, makes perfectly good sense. Much of this story has been told before, but not from this point of view. It is useful to have the history of Athens' relations with Sicily thoroughly reviewed. The readable and well-documented book does credit to its author and to his teacher, Hans Schaefer.

C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Yale University*

THE OFFICIAL PRIESTS OF ROME UNDER THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS: A STUDY OF THE NOBILITY FROM 44 B.C. TO 68 A.D. By *Martha W. Hoffman Lewis*. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XVI.] (Rome: the Academy. 1955. Pp. 186.) While much has been done on the question of the membership of the priesthoods in Rome, the discovery of new evidence has made a fresh study of the problem desirable. This new material is mainly inscriptional in nature and has furnished the author with additional names of priests and further information concerning the careers of some. Through the effective use of this new evidence, Professor Lewis has contributed greatly to our understanding of the ancient Roman priesthoods, the position of the priests in the nobility, and the policy of the emperors toward the priesthoods. The author has, at the same time, added to our further understanding of the nobility itself, as it existed during the period under consideration. The most important contribution of this work is that portion which deals with the early Empire, since new evidence for the priesthoods of the republican period has already been made available in other studies. This work falls into two parts: the first division deals with the four major colleges and the second with the priestly *sodalitates*. Each division is prefaced by an explanatory chapter, followed by a chapter containing a list of the members of the respective colleges for the period 44 B.C. to A.D. 68. These lists are as complete as it is possible to make them with the evidence now at hand. Statistical data compiled for use in the study of Roman history is not likely to be altogether satisfactory, and thus all ratios and percentages derived from these lists are used simply as a means of establishing relationships and trends. One of the principal difficulties in compiling statistical material of this nature is that of establishing an accurate chronology upon which the validity of any conclusions reached must ultimately depend. This problem has been solved here with results which, it is assumed, will present an approximately correct pattern. The lists of the members of the priestly colleges which Professor Lewis has compiled are carefully broken down chronologically according to colleges, so as to furnish the reader with a quick and convenient reference. Under the name of each priest is scheduled his rank in society along with historical references concerning him. The discussion of each priesthood in the chapters which follow is, of course, based upon these statistics. Because of the careful way in which this subject has been treated, the work will be of special interest to the historian of ancient Rome. Here he will find not only a convenient handbook but a scholarly treatise on a difficult and important subject.

RICHARD H. CHOWEN, *University of South Carolina*

TAX DOCUMENTS FROM THEADELPHIA: PAPYRI OF THE SECOND CENTURY A.D. Edited with introduction and notes by *John Day* and *Clinton Walker Keyes*. [Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, Number 5.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 342. \$10.00.) This volume is an edition with notes and commentary on the versos of six tax documents whose rectos were previously edited and published by W. L. Westermann and C. W. Keyes in 1932 as *Tax Lists and*

Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia. Texts of each of the six versos are given, preceded by a general introduction, and followed by detailed, line-by-line notes on the contents of each verso with elaborate references to other papyri, books, and articles pertinent to the contents. Since versos 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 consist of lists of names followed by the type of tax and amount of payment or arrears, they are not translated. Verso 5, however, is a complete document, two abstracts of leases of government properties, dated about 175, and is fully translated. In verso 1b, accounts in arrears from 160-161 appear to show increasing economic difficulty in Egypt at this time—a trend which seems to be substantiated by the other versos. The analysis of verso 1a is especially brilliant. This praktor's work sheet elucidates methods of tax payments and times of payments. Verso 3, tax payments and arrears, is interesting to the historian, for it shows how unsettled conditions were in Theadelphia just after suppression of the Egyptian Revolt of 153-154. Verso 4, dating from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, is a pittakion register, the most extensive yet published. It resolves many problems concerning the nature of the pittakion and the relation of the pittachiarch to his lessees. In addition to the six versos, there are four appendixes on special problems and thirteen indexes of words, names, taxes, officials, etc., which should prove very helpful. The work, begun by Professor Keyes, has been completed by Professor Day with great care and solicitous attention to details. The authors are commendably cautious about generalizations, although they indicate that these documents will provide much information for study of the complex tax structure of Egypt in the second century A.D. The book should be in every library where scholars are working on problems in Egyptian, Hellenistic, or Roman history. Furthermore, these documents will help in the continuing study of that crucial problem—the economic decline of the Roman Empire during the second century A.D.

JAMES E. SEAVER, *University of Kansas*

ROMAN SPAIN: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. By F. J. Wiseman. (London: G. Bell and Sons; distrib. by Macmillan, New York. 1956. Pp. vi, 232. \$3.75.) This introduction to the extant monuments of the Pax Romana in Roman Spain is prefaced by some fifty inappropriate pages devoted to military history. At last, in chapter ix, the author addresses himself solely to antiquities. Public buildings and their functions are quite adequately described. The four succeeding chapters may be called an archaeological promenade. All of the extant monuments of the peninsula are described, or located in *situ*, or in museums, and the order of presentation makes this section an excellent planned itinerary. The concluding chapter, "Spain's Contribution to Roman Life and Letters," is a very good essay but no more relevant to the subject than the first chapters. It is probably impertinent to discuss relevance in a book which "has primarily been written for those whose interest in Spain is greater than their interest in Rome." Even this less gifted (?) group should not be told that the Moors invaded Spain during the seventh century or that their expulsion occurred early in the fifteenth century (p. 94). Still, almost anything can be forgiven the author of these words: "Among the panegyrics from which not even the best of Emperors could escape. . . ." A legible and informative map (end paper) and sixteen well-executed plates afford some compensation for the lack of footnotes and bibliography.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND, *University of California, Berkeley*

GENERAL ARTICLES

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

MONEY, PRICES, AND CIVILIZATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD, FIFTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Carlo M. Cipolla*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1956. Pp. x, 75. \$2.50.) This lucid explanation of the nature and use of money in the Middle Ages gives all the information necessary for a thorough understanding of important problems that have long been misunderstood. The rigidity of classical monetary theory was a serious obstacle to monetary management in the Middle Ages, and to the interpretation of the record. The description of the restricted use of money between the fifth and the ninth centuries is precise and discriminating. It leads into an understanding of the use of money in Europe when trade became more important. The key to the analysis of medieval monetary practices lies in the social stratification between the use of gold coins and silver coins, especially the smallest coins which contained low percentages of silver. There were two, or even three, relatively independent monetary systems in each jurisdiction. The use of gold for large payments was never abandoned in the western Mediterranean, even after the fifth century. The Byzantine solidus, or bezant, was later supplemented by the Arab dinar, and in the thirteenth century by the florin and the ducat. For the daily needs of the common people, pennies of silver were used, and later a larger silver coin, of which the Venetian groat is the earliest example. The silver coins were intended to have an intrinsic value equivalent to their market value, so that it was necessary to manage the currency as a bimetallic system. The principles underlying a true fractional currency were not perceived until the seventeenth century and not generally practiced for another century and a half. Over most of Europe, prices were dominated by the silver coins, and depreciation of mint standards was usually confined to them. The use of pounds, shillings, and pence for accounting is effectively described in a chapter on "Ghost Monies." The terms express numerical relations rather than values, so that they could be applied to any coin: gold, silver, or low-grade silver alloy. The chapter on prices demonstrates vividly the importance of thinking in terms of the relations among various commodities and services. The high costs of transport in relation to the value of the goods moving emphasize the narrow parochialism forced on the community, but some commodities moved over the whole of Europe. The values of books and the number owned by the learned are also significant. For the wealthy, Europe was a field of common culture, for the common people life was confined to their parish.

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FELIX'S LIFE OF SAINT GUTHLAC. Introduction, text translation, and notes by *Bertram Colgrave*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 205. \$5.50.) This translation by an accurate scholar is a welcome addition to our knowledge of hagiographical materials. Professor George W. Robinson, in his translation of Eusebius' *Life of Saint Severinus*, observes that the French and the Germans make all excellent pieces of antiquity their own, while the same boast does not apply equally in behalf of the English tongue. Felix's *Life of Saint Guthlac* has long been recognized as an important source for Saxon England. Colgrave not only has supplied us with an excellent translation, all the more necessary since the Latin style of Felix, in the words of Ordericus Vitalis, is somewhat obscure (*aliquantulum obscurus*), but has accompanied the translation with a critical Latin text, based on all

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

available manuscripts, which he has carefully and fully collated and annotated. The task is so well done that it is not likely to be superseded. Scholars will value also the meticulous introduction of twenty-five pages, followed by thirty pages devoted to a study of the manuscripts. A short section on notes and an index conclude this worthy volume.

JOHN C. ANDRESSOHN, *Indiana University*

STUDIEN ZUR CHARAKTERISTIK DES KAROLINGISCHEN KÖNIGTUMS IM 8. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Walter Mohr*. (Saarlouis: Verlag Saarzeitung-Dr. N. Fontaine. 1955. Pp. 96.) This brief monograph narrates the history of the relations between the Carolingian monarchy and the papacy from the death of Charles Martel to the coronation of Charlemagne as Latin emperor. Eschewing the larger ideological issues, it presents a careful analysis of the interplay of dynastic, political, and ecclesiastical parties in the area increasingly dominated by the Carolingian state. It proposes that the idea of the translation of the empire from the east to the west was born of the developing mutual interests of the Carolingian princes and the popes in their joint battle against the Lombard kings and their allies in the peripheries of the Frankish domains. While this is not particularly original, the author goes further and argues from the relative infrequency of important political action between 781 and 800 that the intrinsic translation of the empire may be said to have taken place by the earlier date of the two, that is, during the pontificate of Hadrian I. The event of Christmas, 800, seems therefore to have been a historical formality, a recognition of what had essentially taken place some time before. This interpretation has the advantage of coinciding with a significant medieval tradition concerning the translation of the empire. Most weightily expressed by Innocent III, this tradition stressed the role of Hadrian and minimized or overlooked that of Leo III. Dr. Mohr's interpretation, however, has the disadvantage of failing to explain how it was that the actual coronation waited until Leo's pontificate.

JOHN H. MUNDY, *Columbia University*

SAINT PETER DAMIANI AND CANONICAL SOURCES: A PRELIMINARY STUDY IN THE ANTECEDENTS OF GREGORIAN REFORM. By *J. Joseph Ryan*. Preface by *Stephan Kuttner*. [Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, Number 2.] (Toronto: the Institute. 1956. Pp. xviii, 213.) New ground, only lightly touched upon by St. Peter Damiani's biographers and the students of the Leonine or Gregorian reform, is broken by this investigation. To place St. Peter Damiani (1007-1072) in the development of contemporary canon law, to establish with precision his knowledge of the canonical collections in use, and to evaluate the Camadulian monk as a canonist, are salient tasks undertaken by the author of this excellent, lucid monograph. Divided into three parts, the study begins with a discussion of the probable canonical collections available to Damiani and some methodological considerations peculiar to the present form of his extant works. The second part consists of 296 texts excerpted from the known works; each text is identified, compared with its source, and commented upon—sometimes at considerable length. The third part summarizes all that can presently be concluded on Damiani the canonist, his sources, and his own contribution to the developing jurisprudence of his age. Three extremely valuable tables of cross reference conclude the work. A preface by Stephan Kuttner, President of the Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law, nicely places the monograph in the larger framework of the problems of the great intellectual and juridical ferment of the eleventh century. The author places Damiani among the major canonists and finds his principal sources

among forms of the ancient *Dionysio-Hadriana* and the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms. Damiani's limited use of a Pseudo-Isidorian collection is demonstrated, but all questions pertinent to it are not laid to rest. The valid question as to whether Damiani himself produced a canonical collection is raised for further investigation. In the best scholarly tradition, as his *res novissimae* are established, the author freely raises questions he has not answered. Medievalists can long build with the aid of Professor Ryan's solid monograph.

SCHAFFER WILLIAMS, *Shaftsbury, Vermont*

FEUDAL MILITARY SERVICE IN ENGLAND: A STUDY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND MILITARY POWERS OF THE *BARONES* IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By I. J. Sanders. [Oxford Historical Series, British Series.] (London: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xv, 173, 215.) This is a highly technical, well-documented, and detailed study, bibliographically up to date. It attempts to explain the origin of tenure *per baroniam* and the distinction made in the thirteenth century between *barones* and tenants-in-chief by knight service. Tenure *per baroniam* was merely a matter of record; the progressive introduction of documents in the thirteenth century had made a general term more precise. *Barones* paid a baronial relief, a heavy burden; the words *per servicium militare* spared a tenant both the rank and its consequences. Holding a fraction of a barony made its holder a *baro*; the *baronia* never lost its identity even when divided among coheirresses. Neither the size of his holdings nor wide powers of justice made a man a *baro*. The author goes on to an examination of the position of the *barones qua barones* in the military organization, warning the reader that this is a difficult subject. It involves such topics as fractional military service, castle-guard, and the smaller quotas summoned by Edward I. Some interesting speculations are presented to explain the latter but the conclusion is that they were the result of "a typically English development, unplanned but effective and workable." Otherwise the reviewer does not find substantial progress beyond the earlier work of Round, Pollock and Maitland, Stenton, and Powicke. Appendixes present a learned discussion of relief, print records of military service from the Public Record Office (for 1218, 1229, and 1245), and conclude with an elaborate chart of scutage and military obligations of the lords of many baronies in the thirteenth century. The reader will be grateful for summary paragraphs at the ends of chapters but will resent being left, at the end of the book, in a confused, confusing, and gigantic metaphor.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD, *Smith College*

LE LIVRE D'AGENAIS PUBLIÉ D'APRÈS LE MS. BODLEY 917. By George P. Cuttino. [Cahiers de l'association Marc Bloch de Toulouse, Documents d'histoire méridionale, Number 1.] (Toulouse: Centre régional de documentation pédagogique, 1956. Pp. xxx, iv, 83.) This collection of feudal documents emanating from the transfer of the Agenais by Philip III of France to Edward I of England in 1279 has been edited from a manuscript compiled between 1283 and 1294 containing eighteen documents in Latin and four in Gascon. With the exception of two documents dated 1239, all are for the years between 1279 and 1283. They are concerned with the actual details of the transfer and with listing the duties and services that Edward could expect from the feudality of the region. The edition is accompanied by an introduction giving a complete description of the manuscript, its history, and the historical background for the transfer of the Agenais. There is a chronological index, a table of rubrics, a glossary of Gascon terms, and an index of persons and places. Four photographic reproductions of pages of the manuscript are used as illustrations of its paleography and illumination. Both the editing of the manuscript and the introduc-

tion are well done. It is unfortunate that the printer had to make such awkward page insertions in the introduction and that the person and place index refers to document numbers and subsection numbers, which are difficult to locate in the text.

CYRIL E. SMITH, *Marquette University*

GUILLELMI DE OCKHAM: OPERA POLITICA. Volume III. Edited by H. S. Offler. (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press; New York: Barnes and Noble. 1956. Pp. ix, 322. \$12.50.) Although designated as Volume III, this is only the second volume to appear thus far in the projected new and critical edition of all of William of Ockham's political works by R. F. Bennett and H. S. Offler, under the auspices of an imposing consulting board including C. R. Cheney, E. F. Jacob, R. Klibansky, M. D. Knowles, and Sir Maurice Powicke. The three tractates in this volume are ably edited by H. S. Offler from the extant manuscript preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris [Latin 3387] and are each preceded by a brief and informative introduction. Together they comprise the polemics drawn up by Ockham against Pope John XXII and his successor, Benedict XII. The first of them, the *Epistola ad Fratres Minores* addressed to Ockham's confreres, contains a summary of his conclusions on behalf of his superior, Michael of Cesena, against Pope John XXII's constitutions on Evangelical Poverty. The second and third, the tractates *Contra Ioannem* and *Contra Benedictum*, pertain to the controversy over the question of the Beatific Vision which had broken out in the last years of Pope John XXII's pontificate. Pope John XXII's retraction of his originally erroneous views on the subject, on his death bed, although accepted by Benedict XII, did not satisfy William of Ockham, who included both popes in his indictment. The significance of these polemics in the political field, as pointed out by Offler, lies in the fact that in them Ockham set forth his characteristic views on the relations between the church and the empire: that the pope had no greater power over the emperor of the Romans than he had over the kings of any kingdom whatsoever; that the emperor did not depend on the pope, since there were emperors before there were popes; and that there was no legal justification for the assertion that the elected emperor of the Romans needed papal approval before assuming office (pp. 160, 295-97). In the tractate *Contra Ioannem*, too, William of Ockham proclaimed the superiority of the universal church over any one general council or any one of the popes (p. 68). With the publication of this volume, some sixteen years after the first in the series, we may all rejoice that however horrendous the catastrophe of war may have been, it has merely delayed but has not ended so scholarly an enterprise. We may now all look forward with renewed hope to the appearance, in the not too distant future, of the remaining volumes. For this series, as Professor McIlwain asserted in his review of the first volume (*AHR*, XLVIII [October, 1942], 82-83), "when complete . . . must prove to be one of the most significant contributions to the knowledge of medieval thought made in our time."

PEARL KIBRE, *Hunter College*

THE RECOVERY OF THE HOLY LAND. By Pierre Dubois. Translated with an introduction and notes by Walther I. Brandt. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number LI.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 251. \$4.50.) Pierre Dubois was the author of twelve tracts that appeared in France during the first thirteen years of the fourteenth century. He stood on the periphery of the group of legists who were advisers and councilors to Philip the Fair without actually having been one of them himself. His most important tract, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*, together with the lesser *Oppinio cujusdam suadentis regi Franciae ut regnum*

Ierosolimitanum et Cipri acquireret pro altero filiorum suorum, ac de invasione Egipti, is here translated into English in its entirety for the first time. The translation is based primarily on the edition of the text by Langlois, but the translator has added identifications of Dubois' numerous quotations from Aristotle and canon law—an arduous task, to say the least. There is a long introduction divided into the following sections: biographical sketch of Dubois, the appeal to public opinion, historical background, the dispute with Boniface VIII, the affair of the Templars, ideas in *The Recovery*, a critical estimate of Dubois, precedents for his ideas, his significance, and the manuscript and editions of *The Recovery*. The translator has added a most useful critical account of Dubois' writings, all of which are summarized, and of works on Dubois and his times. This is not the place to summarize the argument of *The Recovery*. It is enough to say that Dubois' ideas have earned him the titles of "a forgotten radical" and "a medieval radical." Professor Brandt properly observes: "His significance lies in the very fact that his ideas were not original; he serves as a mirror in which a multitude of ideas current in his age are reflected." *The Recovery*, then, is an invaluable document for an understanding of the climate of opinion of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. We are indebted to Brandt for making it available in a readable and scholarly translation. This reviewer has noted only two minor points with which he takes issue: on page 6 the date of the coronation of Clement V is confused with the date of his election (it is given correctly on page 28); on page 16 it is surprising to have King John of England described as "incompetent." On page 60, in connection with written legal documents, it might be suggested that Dubois was probably familiar with records of the innumerable *procès* between England and France that begin shortly after 1259.

G. P. CUTTINO, *Emory University*

THE AGINCOURT WAR: A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE LATTER PART OF THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR FROM 1369 TO 1453. By Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred H. Burne. (Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1956. Pp. 359. \$5.60.) Readers of Colonel Burne's earlier works will be familiar with his approach to the history of medieval warfare. This book is a sequel to his last volume, *The Crecy War* (reviewed in *AHR*, LXI [October, 1955], 166), and covers the Hundred Years War after the Peace of Brétigny in 1360. It is not so much a history of the war as a discussion in military terms of the military problems, with comments on the leadership of the chief figures. Since the author, unlike the usual academic scholar, is an experienced soldier, his efforts at rethinking these problems from a professional point of view have a quality of refreshing novelty. He does not hesitate to take issue with previous scholars, such as Oman, Ramsey, Delbrück, Wylie, Waugh, and Lot, partly on his own interpretation of the sources, partly on "inherent military probability," and especially from his personal reconnaissance of the various battlefields. Since he fought over some of the terrain in World War I, he must be credited with a practical appreciation of military topography. For instance, he tested by personal inspection the possibility of covering with a barrage of arrows the English passage of the Seine in 1419. Without making similar local observations, one would hesitate to challenge his conclusions. Of particular interest are his discussions of the battles of Valmont, Baugé, Cravant, Verneuil, the Herrings (Rouvray), Patay, Formigny, and Castillon. The recovery of Orleans is presented as a military operation, in military terms, and not merely as a setting for Joan of Arc. The maneuvering around Pontoise in 1441 excites the author's enthusiasm merely as displays of military skill, "one of the most remarkable bloodless campaigns of the Middle Ages." Formigny, he remarks, "contained a strategical feature almost unique in medieval warfare—two

armies operating on exterior lines [effecting] a concentration on the battlefield;" although he admits this may have been due to chance. Throughout the book, the author offers opinions on the importance of morale in medieval armies which are thought-provoking and probably sound.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL, *Williamstown, Massachusetts*

MAGISTRI JOHANNIS HUS TRACTATUS DE ECCLESIA. Edited by S. Harrison Thomson. [Studies and Texts in Medieval Thought.] (Cambridge, Eng.: W. Heffer and Sons for the University of Colorado Press, 1956. Pp. xxxiv, 251.) Students of late medieval religious thought owe a great debt of gratitude to Professor Thomson for this scholarly edition of John Hus's *De ecclesia*, the work in which the Czech reformer defines the church as the totality of the predestinate. The importance of this document can scarcely be overestimated, for it was written at the height of the Czech reformer's conflict with his more conservative fellow Bohemians, was used by his enemies at the Council of Constance as the chief source from which they extracted the heresies for which he was condemned to be burned at the stake, became an important guide for the more radical Taborites and Unity of the Czech Brethren who kept alive the Czech reform movement, and provided grist for the mills of the Protestant reformers after Luther's "discovery" of it in 1519. In his introduction, Thomson shows that Hus used many of the thoughts and arguments of John Wycliffe, a large number of them verbatim, but that all the conclusions are Hus's own and are in all fundamental respects in harmony with the Czech reform movement. To give us this text, Thomson has collated nineteen manuscripts of the *De ecclesia*, written by Czech scribes and dating from 1413 to 1425—no autograph is extant—as well as the earliest printed editions, including the one for which Luther was responsible, published in Hagenau in 1520. The resulting text is as accurate and reliable as modern scholarship can make it. Much attention is given in the critical apparatus to the indebtedness of Hus to Wycliffe. The book is provided with indexes of names and places, scriptural references, and subject matter.

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Indiana University*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

THE TUDORS. By Christopher Morris. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. 202. \$4.50.) In a preface to a series of pleasant, readable essays on the Tudor monarchs, Christopher Morris brushes aside any hint that the book represents "original research"; but this disclaimer neither embraces the scholarship, which is thorough and current, nor disallows his contribution to our understanding of the Tudors. Morris expressly limits himself to an analysis of personalities and their impact on English history, touching only on such historical backgrounds as suit his purpose. It is therefore rather puzzling to find him devoting two introductory chapters to a discursive and quixotic tour of the cultural, social, economic, and governmental characteristics of the period, tilting at windmills here and there as he goes. One may start a hare by asserting that Tudor "toughness" was a necessary condition to Tudor culture, that Elizabethans were seldom introspective, that the peasant uprisings came very near to calling "the whole Tudor bluff," that the English church at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was "makeshift," that "in 1528" the prose of the Prayer Book was poisoned by "a clique of clergymen"; but it is to be doubted that such perambulatory history will rouse a lion. Such animadversions will certainly be excused in view of the enthusiasm with which Morris has pursued his royal quarry. Henry VII turns out to be less dour, less miserly than Bacon's portrait. There is considerable evidence of his love for music,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

hunting, and games; and to triple his income and liquidate the debts of the Crown gives penuriousness the status of a virtue. Henry VIII is a charmer in youth, a man of wrath in his illness and age; yet in the eyes of his people, *defensor imperii* as well as *defensor fidei*. Morris sees the divorce too exclusively in terms of sexual passion ("Nothing else will account for the facts"), admitting only secondarily Henry's very possibly genuine qualms of conscience and his desire for a male heir, a desire most certainly shared by his subjects. Morris makes Henry's government "revolutionary," an assertion hardly to be gathered from G. R. Elton's thesis that Henry's government had undergone a revolution. Edward VI is drawn as the gifted young prince with high promise, whose preference for the ambitious Dudley over the socially-minded Somerset was detrimental to the national interest. Mary, too, might have been the model Tudor ruler ("the only adult Tudor with a genuine conscience") were it not for her sex, her childlessness, her illness, and her tolerance toward Elizabeth. Morris' Elizabeth is neither the chaste goddess of the poets nor the hussy of scandalmongers, but something of each. Of her affairs of the heart, he is too inclined to accept contemporary gossip at its face value, too little inclined to accept her own statements; and his adjudication of her case as "technical innocence" invidiously convicts her. There is much to support his opinion that vacillation was her most effective ally. Unlike Herrick's virgins, who make much of time, Morris sees time as making much of Elizabeth. An excellent collection of lesser-known portraits handsomely supplements the text.

W. GORDON ZEEVELD, *University of Maryland*

ROBERT HOOKE. By Margaret 'Espinasse. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 192. \$3.75.) In writing the first modern biography of Robert Hooke, Mrs. 'Espinasse sets herself a dual purpose—to recount his scientific achievement and to portray his personality. In regard to the first aim, she apologizes for her lack of scientific education, explaining that her true interest is "to do justice to the person" (p. v). Paradoxically, she comes much closer to Hooke the scientist than to Hooke the man. Although she does not attempt to probe beneath the surface of his scientific work, she does capture Hooke's infinite curiosity and enthusiasm which, coupled with his brilliant mind, led him to adorn so many fields of science. In attempting to rescue Hooke's personality from the unfavorable judgment of history, the author's enthusiasm carries her so far that she succeeds in eliminating all of the acid from a strong personality. Jealous, mistrustful Robert Hooke becomes good-natured, lovable Robert Hooke. To justify her interpretation, Mrs. 'Espinasse catalogues Hooke's friendships, drawing her evidence almost entirely from his diaries. While they undoubtedly provide many insights, the diaries do present Hooke's personal relations as seen by Hooke. Moreover, some of the quotations suggest a different man. Nearly every friendship traced through the diary was interrupted at least once by an entry (dare we call it mistrustful?) such as, "Hoskins belyd me, as he does every time" (p. 125). Even Boyle was not immune. When to these outbursts is added other evidence, such as the melancholy fact that the Royal Society seldom elected to its Council the man who provided most, if not all, of the intellectual content of its early meetings, Mrs. 'Espinasse's comprehension of Hooke appears rather flat. Such is her ardor to restore the man that the affair with Grace appears to her as a charming, romantic idyll. After all, the girl was his niece. That Hooke was a man of genius few will deny. The memory of his genius is not enhanced by denying the complexities of his character; indeed, it is difficult to reconcile his genius with the amiable gadabout that Mrs. 'Espinasse depicts.

RICHARD S. WESTFALL, *State University of Iowa*

THE HUMANITARIANS AND THE TEN HOUR MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

By *Raymond G. Cowherd*. [The Kress Library of Business and Economics, Number 10.] (Boston, Mass.: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. 1956. Pp. 27.) Much has been written about the passage of the factory acts, and numerous accounts have described children working long hours in wretched mills and the passionate endeavors of the humanitarians to end these evils. It is the merit of Cowherd's account that he adds new information. He points out that not all the millowners were villains, that many of them gave leadership and financial support to the ten-hour movement, that by 1846 some three hundred Yorkshire manufacturers wished some regulation, and that of seventy-eight interviewed forty-seven were for a ten-hour day and thirty-one for an eleven-hour day. The defect of Cowherd's account is that he spends too much time on an old story and too little on his "benevolent millowners." A short study of the model manufacturers would do much to further that healthy revision of the industrial revolution which T. S. Ashton has urged and to which Cowherd has ably, though too tersely, contributed.

DAVID ROBERTS, *University of Washington*

FEAR GOD AND DREAD NOUGHT: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ADMIRAL

OF THE FLEET LORD FISHER OF KILVERSTONE. Volume II, YEARS OF POWER, 1904-1914. Selected and edited by *Arthur J. Marder*. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1956. Pp. 521. 35s.) This interesting collection of letters affords the reader amusement and diversion, as well as information. It forms a running commentary on both prominent political personages and naval officials. Anyone interested in English history of the period will be entertained, and he need not possess any knowledge of or interest in naval affairs. In fact, the novice who begins reading on page one should feel that he has become a naval authority and almost as well informed as the king himself before he reaches page 509. The author supplies excellent introductions at the beginning of each of the four chapters, and the footnotes identify the individuals mentioned in the letters. The index is of persons and gives naval and military ranks as well as social titles, but it does not indicate the official positions held during the period the book covers. This data would have been helpful. Admiral Fisher never suffered from modesty, and the one apparent fault of the editor is a tendency to take him at his own evaluation. For example, on page 63, the author says of H.M.S. *Dreadnought*: "She was his particular ship. He had tremendous pride in her and boyish excitement over what was an entirely new design." Fisher always took the attitude that he had created the all big gun battleship. In fact, the United States Navy was ahead of him, as is stated on page 170 of the 1914 edition of the British annual, *Jane's Fighting Ships*, under the data describing the U.S.S. *South Carolina* and *Michigan*: "These ships, although laid down after, were projected before the British *Dreadnought*; and so may be considered as the first 'Dreadnoughts' (i.e., all big gun ships.)" Nevertheless, Jackie Fisher was always interesting and colorful, and this book is very well done.

JOHN B. HEFFERNAN, *Washington, D. C.*

BRITISH LABOUR AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917-1924. By *Stephen*

Richards Graubard. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 30.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. 305. \$5.50.) The author of this monograph has had access, in addition to the printed reports and periodicals of the British labor movement, to the unpublished minutes and reports of the Labour party's Advisory Committee on International Questions, a body founded to study problems of foreign policy and make recommendations to the Labour executive and the parliamentary

party. As the Committee included such able men as Sidney Webb, H. N. Brailsford, G. D. H. Cole, Arnold Toynbee, and Leonard Woolf, it provided a steady stream of useful information. A study of its minutes has revealed divisions and points of view not otherwise known. The author, friendly toward labor, expounds the thesis that in the years 1919-1924 the British labor movement established an outlook with respect to Russia that in spite of all disagreement was never seriously modified. He points to the unanimity with which in 1917 all sections rejoiced over the great revolution. While there was a general dissociation from the aims and methods of the succeeding Bolshevik regime, the majority continued to urge that Russia be left undisturbed to work out its destiny. The Advisory Committee's minutes, however, reveal the support of some, including Sidney Webb, for intervention as a war measure. (A member of the Committee once told the reviewer that Webb was "hot" for intervention.) The rank and file of the movement, and even some of the constitutionalist leaders, nevertheless, were ready to resist the coalition government's policy of aid to counterrevolution and to Poland, even to the point of threatening direct action. After 1920, the rational majority understood that no British government seriously entertained schemes to destroy the USSR, but labor spokesmen and Labour governments continued an active solicitude for the Russian experiment. The author deals fully with another aspect of the Labour party's policy, namely, the effort to protect itself from destruction at the hands of those it was so willing to befriend. He recounts the long struggle against the Communist parties both in Britain and in the international movement. With no sense of inconsistency, the Labour party continued this resistance to Communist penetration of the West simultaneously with protection of Russia from its enemies. One result was the formation of an Opposition myth that the Labour and Communist parties were really in cooperation. This belief helped defeat the first Labour government in 1924, which is the point where this study terminates.

CARL F. BRAND, *Stanford University*

HISTORY OF NIGERIA. By *Sir Alan Burns*. (5th ed.; London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; distrib. by Macmillan Company, New York. 1955. Pp. 349. \$6.75.) Reprinted five times since 1929, this useful book has thus far been a standard history of Nigeria. After sixty pages on the country's geography and the history of its peoples before the British advent, Sir Alan devotes his best 190 pages to the political and military history of the establishment of British rule. In the last fifty pages, he summarizes recent developments in religion and education, land tenure, the judicial system, the civil service, communications, and trade and industry. Thirty pages of relevant treaty texts are included in the appendix. As a British official in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and elsewhere for half a century, Sir Alan was an active participant in some of the events he describes. He deserves our appreciation for his industry in combining a busy official life with the writing of this and several other useful volumes on the British colonies. In this revision, the author has made three types of changes. First, he has brought the statistical information up to date. Second, he has added a chapter on "Modern Nigeria," largely a summary of the new constitutional arrangements of 1947, 1951, and 1954. The third and most interesting change is the systematic deletion or rewriting of numerous passages, particularly in the chapter on the civil service and in the concluding chapter, where Sir Alan had occasionally slipped away from dispassionate historical analysis into intemperate and biased judgments of the contemporary scene. For example, among the passages now deleted were these: "The loud-mouthed demagogue who preaches self-government and independence would be silent if he thought that there was the slightest chance of these things becoming facts." "To live in the same house with, or even in the next house to, a man who has noisy,

loud-mouthed servants is one of the most terrible experiences one can meet in West Africa, and it is no exaggeration to say that most of the servants in Nigeria are both noisy and loud-mouthed." These deletions and revisions have improved the book, but it still has the understandable limitations of the climate of opinion in which it was written a generation ago. Since that time new source materials on Nigerian history have been uncovered, anthropological and other sciences have given us new perspective on African behavior and institutions, and Nigerian and other scholars with different preconceptions have begun to publish.

VERNON MCKAY, *Johns Hopkins University*

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Sixteenth Year, Volumes I and II. Seventeenth Year, Volume I. Published by Authority of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. Edited by *A. Kieser, et al.* (Pretoria and Cape Town: Government Printer. 1953; 1954. Pp. 323; xi, 391; 313.) The first 1953 volume contains three dissertations. J. B. de Vaal (D.Litt.) defends João Albasini (1813-1888), a Portuguese hunter-trader who "became a Transvaaler" and wielded great influence over natives in the turbulent Zoutpansberg, against many charges, particularly that of disloyalty to the Transvaal. J. D. Kriel (M.A.) treats church-state relations in the Orange Free State, 1854-1902. Vernon D. Forbes (M.A.) establishes, with the greatest possible precision, Beutler's route into the eastern Cape in 1752. Forbes writes in English, de Vaal and Kriel in Afrikaans. Each uses the expected archival sources; Forbes also did field work and de Vaal exploited the Mozambique archives and family papers pertinent to Albasini's activities as Portuguese Vice-Consul in the Transvaal, 1858-1872. The second 1953 volume also contains three dissertations. W. S. van de Westhuizen (D.Ed.), writing in Afrikaans, uses governmental and church archives in the first fully detailed analysis of Cape education for whites and nonwhites "under" the central School Commission, 1804-1839. Margaret Park (M.A.) offers an entirely favorable appraisal of the mid-century colonizing venture of a philanthropic English Methodist, William Josiah Irons, who successfully recruited four hundred British emigrants and settled them on twelve thousand acres around Verulam in Natal. This interesting study, written in English, uses Irons' letter books and might profitably be read by American students. Ds. B. Spoelstra (M.A.), writing in Afrikaans, concisely but systematically analyzes how, by employing the "conciliation policy," Botha was able to assume control in a self-governing Transvaal so soon after the conquest. The 1954 volume contains Anthonie Eduard du Toit's study of the eastern Cape frontier, 1847-1866. This is less a narrative of events than an analysis of policy formulation. Officialdom is omnipresent and "thieving natives" more in evidence than land- and labor-hungry frontiersmen. Although a doctoral dissertation, the work represents years of study, mature reflection, and amazing industry in both London and South African governmental archives and in private papers (e.g., the Southey papers, never before utilized). Missionary society archives were not used. Fortunately, du Toit writes in English to reach "a wider circle of students," for chapters xv-xviii should prove provocative and useful topical summaries. The monographs in each volume have ample footnotes, bibliographies, and indexes.

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LES MÉMOIRES DE TRÉVOUX ET LE MOUVEMENT DES IDÉES AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE, 1701-1734. By Alfred R. Desautels, S.J. [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., Volume VIII.] (Rome: the Institute. 1956. Pp. xxvii, 256. \$4.00.) In this interesting study, Father Desautels has worked through the *Mémoires de Trévoux* for the years 1701-1734 to illustrate the attitude of its Jesuit editors toward the major intellectual problems of the period. Scholars will welcome his work both for itself and as a *Wegweiser* through the *Mémoires*. The author undertakes to consider the attitude of the *Mémoires* toward philosophy (science, metaphysics, and epistemology), morals and education, theology, and the defense of Christianity. In the course of his presentation, he develops a major thesis that the Jesuits were not really alert to the danger of the "new learning" until after the publication of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (1734). There can be little question about his proving that the editors of the *Mémoires* failed to see the danger. Desautels seems at times shocked at the evidence of their blindness. They failed to understand the import of Locke's psychology and theory of knowledge; they were not even alert to the dangers of Bayle's teaching. They opposed Cartesianism halfheartedly, yet supported Descartes against Newton. Their contempt for Aristotle, though veiled, was often not less than that shown by the Cartesians. The silence of the *Mémoires* was equally revealing; though other theological works by heretics were reviewed, none of the English Deists' books were mentioned. Furthermore, Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, the successive edition of Fontenelle's *Histoire des Oracles*, and Gracian's *Heros*, to mention the most striking, simply failed to appear

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

in the *Mémoires*. Desautels explains that the Jesuits hoped to convert Bayle to Catholicism, that Fénelon and Fontenelle had done favors to the Order, etc., yet he has to conclude that Jesuit orientation toward the classroom and school boys seems to have blinded them to the dangers of the new learning (*sic*; p. 241). His discussion of Jesuit reaction to other problems is equally interesting. Pascale and Bossuet, who had done ill to the Order, suffered, even after death, at Jesuit hands. In the Jansenist controversy, all allies were welcome; the Jesuits even forgave and embraced the aged Malebranche, when he refused to accept a Jansenist offer of alliance. They momentarily closed ranks with the Dominicans to fight Jansenism in the Thomist-Molinist controversy over grace. Their response to biblical criticism by an act of faith seems inadequate, but their handling of the problems of probabilism and the Chinese rites shows the flexibility of the Order. Since the *Mémoires* were involved in practically every issue of the period, these are only a few of the questions that Desautels considers. Since the author frankly states his own position, no one need cavil at him for his attitude toward the problems he discusses. His presentation, buttressed by obvious scholarship, is frank and direct, proving that he is a historian as well as a Jesuit.

JOHN B. WOLF, *University of Minnesota*

DU PONT DE NEMOURS: SOLDAT DE LA LIBERTÉ. By *Pierre Jolly*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. 303. 1,000 fr.) This is a very readable and informative book, although somewhat uneven. For the early part of Du Pont's career, the author has relied on the biography by Schelle and on documents published for the Du Pont family by Mrs. B. G. du Pont during the last thirty years. The chapters dealing with the activities of the friend and disciple of Turgot in the years between the Treaty of 1783 and the convocation of the *Etats-Généraux* and with his role as a commercial expert under Vergennes are soberly written and show that the author has explored and utilized the French archives more thoroughly than any of the previous biographers of the champion of physiocracy. The patriotic and courageous yet prudent conduct of Du Pont during the Revolution and immediately following is well characterized. The part played by Du Pont in the Louisiana purchase, his friendship with Jefferson, his participation in the clandestine opposition to Napoleon, his work in the *Chambre de Commerce de Paris*, and his first voyage to America present a vivid picture drawn largely from original archival material. The last chapters, treating of Du Pont's life from 1812 to his death (August 7, 1817) are not so well documented. Obviously the author has obtained most of his information in Paris and seems unaware, for instance, that the history of the Du Pont de Nemours Company has already been written (p. 220). The summary of the treatise on the *Education nationale aux Etats-Unis* is too sketchy and uncritical, and one misses any mention of the project of a constitution for the "Equinoctial republics," which was in fact the political testament of the old physiocrat. Altogether the author has given a good portrait of a man who during his long life was a faithful friend of America while retaining his allegiance to his native country and who kept to his death the love of liberty which was the main tenet of the physiocratic creed. This reviewer, however, would hardly share the estimate of the author on "la puissante originalité de son style" (p. 3), and, as he has done on several similar occasions, cannot too strongly regret the absence of an index which would facilitate the use of a book teeming with interesting details and original views.

GILBERT CHINARD, *Princeton University*

THE APOSTLE OF LIBERTY: A LIFE OF LAFAYETTE. By *Maurice de la Fuye* and *Emile Babeau*. Translated by *Edward Hyams*. (New York: Thomas Yoseloff.

1956. Pp. 344. \$5.00.) The publishers of this newest biography of Lafayette promise the reader a "penetrating analysis" and a "lavishly documented record." It is nothing of the sort. If the book has any distinction at all, it is as a rare English language example (in a not always adequate translation) of the latter-day amateur school of royalist history. There is an occasional breadth of viewpoint and open-mindedness to reassure us that time does not stand still, that viewpoints can change. The authors would probably insist that they have written objective history, but they all too frequently lapse back into their obvious predilections for Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette and for the aristocracy. Much is left unsaid concerning the October days and Lafayette's role at the time, but the names of the aristocratic members of the royal bodyguard who were victims of the attack on the palace are listed. Then, too, there are frequent traces of the familiar obsession with conspiracy and freemasonry, and such terms as "reds," "scum from the lowest quarters," and "paid agitators" help set the tone. The factual story of Lafayette's long career is indifferently told. Often the hero of two worlds is forgotten amidst a preoccupation with the irrelevant or unimportant. When he is the subject of discussion, the authors reveal a rather casual approach to their material and to their sources. Suffice it to say that the works most frequently cited are obscure and that aristocratic names and titles abound. When the Girondins are discussed, a verse from a poem by the comtesse de Noailles is quoted; and at the end of the book another poem by Mme. Amable Tastu is quoted, in both English and French, in a discussion which reads like nothing so much as an Osbert Lancaster parody. Professor Gottschalk's monographs are ignored and are not even mentioned in the catchall bibliography.

GORDON MCNEIL, *University of Arkansas*

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SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

C. J. Bishko¹

EL KRAUSISMO ESPAÑOL: PERFIL DE UNA AVENTURA INTELECTUAL. By Juan López Morillas. (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1956. Pp. 218). During the period of his active teaching, from 1854 until his death in 1869, Professor Julián Sanz del Río elaborated his own free adaptation of the philosophy of Karl C. F. Krause, a philosophy whose distinguishing concepts of "harmonious rationalism" and "pantheism" had been embodied originally in the latter's *Urbild der Menschheit* (1811). The present volume discusses the spiritual apprenticeship in Germany of the young Spanish scholar, the original doctrines of Krause, their transmutation by Sanz del Río in his *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida* (1860), and the impact of Krausism on Spanish thought, literature, and politics. It deals also with the relation of Krausism to other philosophical currents in mid-nineteenth-century Spain: traditionalism, neo-Catholicism, liberal Catholicism, and positivism. The author points up the important nuances of Krausism: Germanophilia and Galophobia, rationalist structure clothed in religious vocabulary, immense optimism about the future of humanity coupled with great uncertainty as to the timing and means by which the Utopian age shall arrive. The subject matter covered is much the same as that of the Abbé Pierre Jobit's more detailed study, *Les éducateurs de l'Espagne moderne*. Lopez' book could serve both as an excellent introduction and as a supplement to the older work: introductory because of its clear, concise treatment; supplementary for its different emphases, important among which are the fuller discussion of German philosophical vocabulary, the account of the spiritual crisis of Catholicism in the 1860's (the period of the Syllabus of Errors, of Montalembert's liberal Catholicism, and of the Dogma of Infallibility), and the perceptive, gently ironic comments on the personalities of Sanz del Río and his immediate disciples. Despite the great virtues of Lopez' work, this reader is disappointed that his definition of the subject largely prevented his treating what he himself considered the more significant facets of Krausism. In his prologue, Lopez states: "Let us frankly confess that what attracts us is not so much the analysis of a philosophical system as the characterization of a cultural modality." Yet he limits himself to the years 1854-1874 because they bound the period in which Krausism enjoyed its "maximum favor" as a system. The evidence of his own book indicates that even in that twenty-year period the force of Krausism did not lie in its philosophic doctrines; its ramifications as a "cultural modality" in Spanish thought, education, and politics were far more extensive after 1874 than before that date. Thus the most significant historic results of the movement are by definition excluded from this study.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES¹

OM DE PLAATS VAN DE ARBEID. By Fr. de Jong Edz. (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers for the Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen. 1956. Pp. xix, 391.) In this well-written, elaborate book, Fr. de Jong Edz has reviewed fifty years of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions (Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen). Though he wrote this commemorative work upon the request of the board of the NVV, he nevertheless had complete freedom in his task. An introductory sketch of the last half of the nineteenth century makes it clear that trade-unionism in the Netherlands started slowly. This can be explained by the fact that capitalism in Holland developed rather late. Moreover, the predominantly agricultural society of the Netherlands was not conducive to organization of the workers. Until 1900, practically all

¹ The list of articles on the Low Countries will be resumed in the July, 1957, *Review*, when Professor Gordon Griffiths of Lawrence College will become the section editor in place of William C. Kinsey, who has entered the Foreign Service.

measures for the improvement of living conditions were instigated not by the workers themselves but by liberal elements of the upper class. The formation and growth of a socialist party in the Netherlands contributed to the development of trade-unionism. In contrast to several previous workers organizations, the NVV, founded in 1905, adhered to the principle of class struggle, at least in the beginning. One of the main aspects of de Jong's book, however, is the description of trade-union development away from class struggle toward responsibility for the nation as a whole, a development which became very evident soon after the end of World War I. Revolution, though attempted by certain elements in 1918, proved to be impossible because the workers organization was already incorporated in the society as a whole. The different classes were no longer separate units but were being integrated. From this time, the trade-union movement tried to change society from within, in an evolutionary way. It is in this period that the socialistic NVV becomes clearly different from smaller revolutionary groups on the one hand and the less progressive, denominational workers organizations on the other. Between the two world wars, the NVV succeeded in securing many political and material benefits for the workers, among them, general suffrage, an eight-hour working day, annual vacations, and old age pensions. In short, the NVV was working determinedly in the direction of a welfare state. This trend abruptly ended when Holland was attacked in 1940. During the occupation, the well-trained leaders of the trade-union movement, working underground, showed a wise restraint and resorted to strikes only when this could play an important role in the struggle for liberation. The best example was the sudden and complete railroad strike in September, 1944, when the Allied troops made their attack on Arnhem. During the restoration period, starting in 1945, the workers movement was constructive. Strikes generally were avoided, employers and workers reached agreement on wages and prices, and practically all groups in the society accepted responsibility for the general welfare. De Jong Edz has given a well-balanced account of the development of the NVV, and his book is a case history of the integration of a workers movement into the society of a nation where the different classes have learned to cooperate in a responsible way.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

*Oscar J. Falnes*¹

STRIDEN OM OKKUPASJONSSTYRET I NORGE FRAM TIL 25. SEPTEMBER 1940. By *Magne Skodvin*. (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget. 1956. Pp. 416.) This is an exhaustive study of the conflict among the Nazis concerning the government to be established in occupied Norway. It covers the period from the invasion on April 9, 1940, to September 25, when the thoroughly Nazi government was established which was to continue with little change to the end of the occupation. Scarcely an intimation of these events reached the Norwegian people, but they were given time to recover from the paralyzing shock of the invasion and to consolidate an irrepressible resistance movement. The book is a penetrating study of a maze of intrigue and conflicting purposes, of bitter personal rivalries and ambitions, involving innumerable persons ranging from the inner circle of high officials to naïve dilettantes, often pulling wires at cross-purposes behind the scenes. The story is all the more important because no doubt similar discord prevailed with regard to the many larger problems that faced the Nazis. Basic was the rivalry between the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) under Ribbentrop and the Office of Foreign Politics (*Aussenpolitisches Amt*)

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

headed by Alfred Rosenberg. The latter had, even from 1933, been working to draw the Scandinavian countries into the Pan-Germanic orb, culturally, economically, and finally politically. Although Rosenberg did his best, Quisling was out of the picture in the final directive—Hitler's *Befehl*—for the invasion and occupation, which was planned by the military. Little attention was paid to anything but the military problems, other matters being expected to take shape easily. The German minister in Oslo, Curt Bräuer, was to take control of civil affairs—responsible to the Foreign Office—and was ordered to obtain the cooperation of the king in establishing a government which would have the confidence of both Norwegians and Germans. Bräuer failed and, in the confusion, on the evening of April 9, Quisling broadcast a declaration that as prime minister he had assumed control of the government. In a torrent of words, Hitler ordered Bräuer to again seek an audience with the king and insist on his acceptance of Quisling. Bräuer failed again, as he expected, but succeeded in getting an Administrative Council appointed by the Supreme Court, which began its work on April 15. This body refused to have anything to do with Quisling, who had to content himself with the leadership of the party, as his elaborately planned "government" was discarded. The council also refused to assume any governmental duties. Bräuer allowed the impression to be made in Berlin that the plan for a cooperative government was on the way to be realized. When Hitler discovered the truth he became furious and Bräuer fell. On April 26, Hitler announced that he was sending Josef Terboven to Norway as Reich Commissar with extraordinary power and directly responsible to him alone. Thoroughly familiar with the rivalries and wirepulling in Berlin, Terboven managed to hold his own without seriously offending men like Ribbentrop or Himmler, who wanted a say without having the slightest interest in Norway. But he did not dare to disregard Quisling though he considered him *dumm* and unfit for administrative responsibility. The plan was still to establish a government of Norwegians loyal to the Nazis, of which the Quisling party was gradually to assume full control. Quisling tried to hasten that day, Terboven to put it off. Terboven had even less chance of success than Bräuer. He had no understanding of or sympathy for the Norwegians. On September 25, Terboven dismissed the Administrative Council and established a government of regional commissars responsible to him alone, and when the whole Supreme Court resigned on December 23, the last vestige of a legal Norwegian central government was gone. The reader is given a vivid insight into the character of the Nazi government and of the many men who had a part either in the open or backstage in this drama. Particularly interesting is the analysis of the character of Norway's archtraitor, Vidkun Quisling.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

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DIPLOMATISCHE GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN REICHS VON 1871-1918.

Buch I, VON RUSSISCHER FREUNDSCHAFT ZU RUSSISCHEM GROLL (1871-1878). By *Friedrich Haselmayr*. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruchmann. 1955. Pp. 188. DM 11.80.) Friedrich Haselmayr has undertaken a considerable work in writing a diplomatic history of the Second Reich even though the study is intended primarily for German consumption and is pitched to the nonscholarly but informed public. The author indicates that Germany, unlike other great powers, lacks a comprehensive diplomatic history of modern times and suggests that the present work will partially fill that need. While not intended for the scholarly world, the book cannot be called "popular." It is the fruit of some twenty years' research and shows familiarity with archival materials as well as published source collections. This first book of a multi-volume study briefly touches the historical imperatives which produced "Bismarck's Empire," and then details the first seven years of Imperial diplomacy. It reveals nothing new concerning the Iron Chancellor and paints the usual picture of Bismarckian dominance over Europe. Although the author sketches Germany's role in world diplomacy, his main theme reflects the crucial issues of a resurgent France and a dangerously opposed Austria and Russia. This story is carried in detail from the negotiations ending the Franco-Prussian struggle to the collapse of Russo-German relations in the Berlin Congress of 1878. The author is careful to limn salient personalities and outlines Imperial administrative and military organization and comments on the political, social, and economic scene. The content is uniformly sound, although the documentation is sketchy and there is no systematic bibliography. The work exhibits no great originality but should be eminently useful as a reference. One basic criticism should be made. Even accepting the author's stated aims, the organization of his material is defective. There is a mechanical quality to the exposition which breaks the context and presents problems as fragmented entities. The work becomes a series of topics only tenuously connected in the text, finding a fractured unity in chronology and the implied historicism of the introduction. Further, while Haselmayr obviously realizes that diplomatic history requires more than retailing foreign office esoterica, he never really explains the causal relationships between domestic and foreign problems. Perhaps this book will, as the author hopes, provide a basis for understanding contemporary foreign policy, but certainly a more thoroughly integrated study would have provided a better "statesman's handbook."

R. E. McGREW, *University of Missouri*

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Ludwig Zimmermann*. [Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A: Geisteswissenschaften, Band 6.] (Erlangen, Germany: Universitäts-Bibliothek. 1956. Pp. 68. DM 5.) This slender paper-bound volume contains two lectures of a distinctly revisionist character. The thirty-eight page "Das Stresemannbild in der Wandlung," the more thorough and scholarly of the two, goes beyond a survey of the newest literature concerning the transitional figure of Stresemann to offer an interpretation less adulatory than the "good European" brand of biography but more positive than H. W. Gatzke's *Stresemann and the Rearmament of Germany* (Baltimore, 1954). The brief, twenty-page "Die Locarno-verträge als Versuch einer Lösung der Sicherheitsfrage" is exclusively interpretive, although a number of new German books and articles on Locarno are cited. These two studies have in common the laudable desire to have done with the legends and

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

shibboleths associated with Stresemann and Locarno erected by wishful thinkers and friends of a Germany-that-never-existed. The author is a German nationalist, though a moderate one, and a conservative. Zimmermann argues that a disservice must be done to Stresemann and Germany's *Verständigungspolitik* of the twenties to make that typical National Liberal out as a "European statesman." "The Spirit of Locarno" was regionalism or it was nothing. Stresemann's limitations were precisely those of a western-type parliamentarian; Locarno must be understood as a German calculated risk on the way back to great power status necessitated by the Anglo-French power constellation of which the League was only an expression. The author's logic has a certain appeal in the consistency it discovers both in Stresemann and in German foreign policy in the twenties. Stresemann's "Machiavellian" letter of 1925 to the German crown prince is only inconsistent with the legendary saintly European; it is in keeping with Stresemann's own image of the peace-loving Bismarck. Only the erection of a false dichotomy of western orientation versus eastern orientation in German foreign policy leads to the conclusion that Locarno "failed" because it was not followed by an "eastern Locarno." Aside from the occasionally muddy phraseology scarcely in keeping with the author's ideals of clarity (e.g., *Verdienste um Volk und Vaterland, Lebensrechte der Völker*), the two studies have an inconsistency of their own. Zimmermann would have us conclude that both Stresemann and Locarno *as they really were* (not as we wish them to have been) were European civilization's best bet. Yet he argues that Stresemann was merely a successful man-in-between who could not control the forces with which he dealt and that Locarno was only a *Rückversicherungsvertrag* from which too much was expected. Thus it is a "tragedy" that France and England did not permit victory to go to a German nationalist who saw that only astute bargaining in a position of weakness could restore Germany to a *Machtstellung*. Locarno was a step toward the solution of the security question *because* it enabled Germany to turn eastward in search of territorial revision! Carefully used, these studies should be of assistance to American scholars, but they bear witness to the difficulties that still surround international scholarly exchanges in contemporary history.

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DER RUNDFUNK IM POLITISCHEN KRÄFTESPIEL DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK, 1923-1933. By *Hans Bausch*. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 6.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1956. Pp. viii, 224. DM 14.50.) Unlike the newspaper press, radio broadcasting in most countries has been a state monopoly since its inception. Frankly employed in authoritarian states to guide public opinion, state control in democratic nations has been based on the theory that public rather than private interests should govern the aims and content of broadcasting. Where the democratic order has been strong and firmly rooted, state control has proven to be no threat to a pluralistic society, but elsewhere governments have used the radio to influence public opinion. This was the case in the last years of the Weimar Republic. Bausch's volume is the second in recent months to examine radio's role in the political struggle which ended with the destruction of the Republic. By and large, Bausch covers the same ground and arrives at the same conclusions as Pohle's study, *Der Rundfunk als Instrument der Politik* (AHR, LXII [October, 1956], 134-35). Because the public and its responsible leaders were indifferent to or ignorant of the political potentialities of radio, the government bureaucracy was permitted to monopolize broadcasting. In 1932, foes of the Republic within the government easily overcame the feeble resistance of the "nonpolitical" bureaucrats and transformed the German broadcasting system into a political arm of the state. The "reforms" of the

Papen government created the instrument which Goebbels a few months later was to find at his disposal. Bausch's study supplements rather than complements that of Pohle. While the latter is an extensive treatment of the subject, the former is an intensive analysis based primarily on governmental documents not utilized by Pohle. Pohle's broader treatment, his familiarity with much of the contemporary literature in the field of mass communications, his superior style and organization, as well as his more profound analysis make his work the more useful of the two studies. The student who wishes to probe deeper into the problem would do well, however, to read the Bausch volume for the supporting data it provides.

LEWIS J. EDINGER, *Hoover Library*

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro¹

GIOVANNI BERCHE: LETTERE ALLA MARCHESA COSTANZA ARCONATI. Volume I, FEBBRAIO 1822-LUGLIO 1833. Edited by Robert van Nuffel. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica, Serie II: Fonti, Volume XXXVII.] (Rome: Vittoriano. 1956. Pp. xxxi, 287.) Though Berchet figures as only a lesser light of Italian romanticism, his letters are a most important source for the obscure activities of his fellow refugees. His patrons, the Arconati, had been involved with him in the plots of Confalonieri, but they were more fortunate than most conspirators in owning property abroad and more generous than many liberal sympathizers in offering help and hospitality to their destitute compatriots. After spending seven years as a translator in a London bank and producing in that time the works that won him the name of "Lombard Tyrtacus," Berchet was taken into the Arconati household as tutor, and he spent the rest of his life as an intimate of the family. The bulk of these letters pertain, therefore, to the London years (1822-1829), when Costanza Arconati was his closest confidante and the recipient of some of the most incisive judgments available on many exiles then enjoying sanctuary in England.

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

MAZZINI: A STUDY OF HIS THOUGHT AND ITS EFFECT ON 19th CENTURY POLITICAL THEORY. By *Gaetano Salvemini*. Translated from the Italian by *I. M. Rawson*. (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956. Pp. 192. 18s.) This book first appeared in Italian in 1905. For this English edition, Professor Salvemini has made a few alterations in the text and has inserted some additional material.

ITALY AND THE ALLIES. By *Norman Kogan*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. viii, 246. \$4.25.) This is an excellent brief account of the development of post-Fascist Italy under the impact of British and American military occupation and diplomacy. After an introductory sketch on Fascism, the author traces, in twelve chapters, the principal internal political trends and foreign policy developments. He ends with the establishment of the republic and Italy's new international position under the peace treaty, in relation to the postwar balance of power. Chapter xiv presents the author's conclusions or judgments and some tentative forecasts. The book is well written and well thought out and is to be highly commended as the first comprehensive account in English of this most complicated subject. The brief period of four or five years comprises so many movements and crises that it has already brought forth a voluminous Italian literature, which the author has mastered. But the story is two- or three-sided, and while some responses of Italian leaders to American and British policies as they understood them are clearly indicated in Italian materials, to date we know of these policies in broad outline only. We know of the existence of many letters, communications, and documents whose texts are not yet available. The general picture has emerged but with many shadowy areas. A candid recognition of the gaps in our knowledge would be more appropriate at this stage than the author's invitation "to accept my veracity as to events or policies for which the usual scholarly documentation cannot be offered in support" (p. vii). The scope of the work is large. The subject matter of any one of the chapters might easily merit a monograph in itself, and some distortions arise from condensation. The brief paragraph (pp. 134-35) dealing with the occupation of Trieste after the German surrender is inaccurate and quite unfair to the British. When the reader turns to the accompanying map (p. 139), he may wonder who Morgan is and what his line illustrates. Dr. Kogan has not hesitated to express his value judgments, not only in his concluding chapter but often intertwined with the narrative. With many of these views the reviewer would concur, but he would sharply dissent on others.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH, *Historical Division, Department of State*

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley

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¹ Additional historical articles from Russian and other East European language journals are listed in the monthly issues of the Library of Congress publications *East European Accessions List* and *Monthly List of Russian Accessions*.

SOVIET UNION

Fritz T. Epstein¹

IL MOTO DECABRISTA E I FRATELLI POGGIO. By *Franco Venturi*. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1956. Pp. 172. L. 1,000.) In this thoughtful little volume, Professor Venturi goes back from the revolutionary movements he covered so thoroughly a few years ago in *Il populismo russo* to the men of the 1820's. The story of the Poggio brothers blends into the larger theme of the Dekabristy as a group but does not dominate it. The radical projects of 1820-1825 are examined critically, with especial attention to the influence of events in Spain and Italy. In the analysis of Pestel's proposals, as contrasted with Muraviev's, the author shows an awareness of their kinship, not only to the French Committee of Public Safety but also to future emphases on centralization. While the monographic literature has been significantly enlarged in Russia since the standard work in English was written nineteen years ago by Professor Mazour, this study relies essentially on the very considerable body of memoirs already published by 1937. Yet there is a freshness of approach and a personal touch here to which the figure of Alexander Poggio (1798-1873)—for there is little about the elder, less active Joseph—contributes. Of Piedmontese descent but brought up in the closely interrelated Russian aristocracy, officer in the Preobrazhensky Regiment, Alexander Poggio was one of the most impetuous and uncompromising of the idealistic and articulate, if politically inexperienced, elite that made up the secret societies. Condemned to permanent exile in Siberia, he spent over thirty years in that austere land, which he came to love, never losing his native vivacity and passion for gardening. Nothing in this study is better brought out than the determination of Nikolai I to destroy not only the Dekabristy but the memory of what they stood for. Bent on showing the world that their attempt was nothing but regicide, a monstrosity alien to the Russian mentality, he did all he could to conceal their program of serf emancipation and even their fundamental aim of constitutionalism for Russia. Nor was he largely unsuccessful, for constitutionalism was weakened and kept from the forefront of later revolutionary thinking, to be overwhelmed by absolutist concepts that led to totalitarianism.

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SIBERIA AND THE REFORMS OF 1822. By *Marc Raeff*. [University of Washington Publications on Asia sponsored by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 210. \$3.50.) Kliuchevskii characterized the development of the Russian state as a history of colonization. Such a characterization is quite correct with respect to the history of Siberia. For a long time its colonization had been spontaneous, and Siberia was exploited only as a colony having no organic ties with European Russia. Raeff describes the transition period when, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the economic and cultural development of Siberia and its colonization in an organized form began to be a concern of the Russian government. For the realization of these purposes, increased population and large investments were needed, as well as an impetus for raising the intellectual and moral levels of the leading strata. All this Siberia could receive only from European Russia, but not all at once and not on a sufficient scale. Raeff describes the changing social and economic conditions of the Russian and native population of Siberia which instigated the reforms initiated by the outstanding statesman, Speransky. The book presents the transition period with the necessary background, in an interesting form and with excellent documentation. Besides original sources, like the Archives of the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

State Council and the Complete Collection of Laws, the author refers to monographic literature and articles published in various periodicals in all major European languages. As a general rule, all data are founded on factual material. Only the generalization (without specific chronological comment) concerning the merchant's way of life in Siberia (p. 49) and the assertion about the export of nomads' children for sale into slavery (p. 63) are doubtful. Not documented at all and quite superfluous is the critical comment about Alexander III and Nicholas II (p. 114). This work is a penetrating and valuable contribution to the scarce literature on Siberian history. The author's judgments are based on a thorough study of historical data and an understanding of the social, economic, and political conditions of the period.

GEORGE C. GUINS, *Washington, D. C.*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

TURKEY IN MY TIME. By *Ahmed Emin Yalman*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. x, 294. \$4.00.) This small volume is more than the memoirs of a well-known, though controversial, liberal Turkish journalist. It is an incisive interpretation of recent Turkish history. Mr. Yalman was born in Salonika in 1888, became a journalist in 1907, and received his doctorate at Columbia University in 1914. While students of Turkish affairs will not always agree with the author's views, few can question his statement that: "Usually, coincidence has given me the best seat for important scenes in the Turkish drama." The book contains twenty-three chapters; the first eleven deal with the Ottoman period and the rest cover the Republican era since 1923. Early Turco-American friendship is discussed, and a most valuable section deals with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, first president of Turkey. The author uses an effective device when he states: "I shall give some details of our long conversation which will illustrate more intimately the personality of Mustafa Kemal than volumes of biography" (p. 161). The last six chapters, which deal with the period after 1945, while of use to the general reader, will disappoint the specialist since they gloss over important developments. The author voices his disappointment in the United Nations but pleads for maintenance of world peace through international organization. The chapter which deals with a plot against Yalman's life by reactionary elements, while understandably important to the author himself, is perhaps a little overdone. The seriousness of the alleged "reactionary" threat to Turkey is not supported by sufficient evidence. The growing pains of democratic development are discussed frankly, but causes of current problems are not explained. Despite a realization of the vicissitudes of his times, Yalman concludes on a hopeful note for the prospects of democracy in Turkey. Although not documented, this work can be considered a primary source. Interesting side lights on two world wars and the author's impressions of great men in the international scene are worth noting. Yalman deals with a most eventful period of history and effectively highlights the great happenings of his times as they affect Turkey. The reader will find this a most challenging book, which will help him better understand the problems facing the rising middle class and intellectuals in the transitional stage from an absolutist empire to an increasingly democratic Turkish society.

KERIM M. KEY, *American University*

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy¹

JAPANESE PEOPLE AND POLITICS. By Chitoshi Yanaga. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1956. Pp. ix, 408. \$7.50.) The first five chapters are addressed in the main to the question that has intrigued millions of Americans and other Occidentals ever since December 7, 1941, namely, what makes the Japanese tick? Employing the techniques of the behavioral scientist and drawing freely on such anthropological and historical classics as Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, Frank Gibney's *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, and Edwin O. Reischauer's *The United States and Japan*, the author turns the floodlight on the whole of Japanese character and psychology, not

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

focusing on political behavior alone as indicated by three of the chapter titles. The next eight chapters deal with the government and politics of Japan under the 1947 Constitution, with emphasis on the period of independence beginning in 1952. The Allied occupation as such is not examined and MacArthur's name is mentioned but once. The impression is created that the basic constitutional and legal changes wrought in fulfillment of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration have had no appreciable effect on the Japanese political order. Although SCAP's *Political Reorientation of Japan* (1948) was examined, current popular and scholarly newspaper and magazine articles, written in Japanese by Japanese commentators and university professors, supplied most of the material for the author's traditional treatment of the emperor, cabinet, parliament, political parties, elections, and bureaucracy. In this connection, it was perhaps a newspaper pundit who coined the now popular expression that two improvements since World War II are the train service and the treatment of members of parliament (p. 188). In the final three chapters—which sketch the national economy and general welfare, civil rights, and international relations—bilingual and bicultural Dr. Yanaga, who was educated in Hawaii and California, makes good use of his own past research and writings to give a clear and convincing account of present-day Japan's internal and external affairs. Three appendixes contain the Imperial Rescript promulgating the Constitution of Japan, the text of the Constitution, and a list of Japanese prime ministers since 1885. A bibliography, particularly an annotated one, would have added to the value of the book.

JUSTIN WILLIAMS, *Washington, D. C.*

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs

SOUTH ASIA

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

ADVANCE AGENTS OF AMERICAN DESTINY. By Roy F. Nichols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1956. Pp. 254. \$5.00.) This work is a compilation of a number of articles, published over a span of two decades, which chronicle the activities of some of the pioneers on America's maritime frontier. A certain amount of connective tissue has been added but there has been no attempt at general stylistic or structural revision. The core of the book concerns the career of William Shaler, whose unsuccessful trading ventures to the Plate in 1799 and across the Pacific during the Jefferson administration were followed by more than twenty years of government service as agent to revolutionary Mexico and as consul at Algiers and Havana. The six chapters on Shaler are preceded by two on early American efforts to gain trading privileges and consular representation in Cuba. They are followed by three chapters on the guano trade and the guano imperialism which brought about the annexation of our first noncontiguous territory, the island of Navassa, and of Pacific islets of more recent importance, such as Johnston, Howland, and Baker. These somewhat discrete accumulations of data have been assembled on the argument that the participants, as advance agents of American destiny opening the way for statesmen, illustrate fundamental American traits "essential to the continued maintenance of the way of free enterprise" and so deserve rescue from oblivion. It may be agreed that America's maritime pioneers have not received their full share of attention since the course of American historiography was laid down at the Columbian Exposition, but the exploits here described seem not to have been notably productive. The Cuban question was for long unsolved, American destiny in Algiers remains obscure, the relationship between guano and airstrips appears fortuitous. The author's view that of the advance agents the "most important and dynamic . . . were those fired with a zeal for propaganda, men who were missionaries preaching the gospel of the new and enlightened republican way of life" is doubtless correct, but none such come alive in this book. Shaler, it is true, is stated to have been an apostle of "rational liberty," but except for the fact that he carried a Spanish trans-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

lation of the Declaration of Independence to Valparaiso the evidence is slim, while his efforts to promote a European conquest of Algiers are difficult to reconcile with American doctrines of self-determination. The approach of these articles is, in general, narrowly factual and narrative. Since the value of the book is in this detailed information, the absence of footnotes seems regrettable.

JAMES A. FIELD, JR., *Swarthmore College*

THE CRITICAL YEARS: THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1780-1789. By *Clara O. Loveland*. (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 311. \$3.50.) The American Revolution had important effects on religion as well as on politics, as J. F. Jameson pointed out some years ago. This book is an excellent contribution to our knowledge of the social consequences of the Revolution. Its central theme is the problem of achieving agreement on a form of government for the new Protestant Episcopal Church in the period of the Confederation and the Constitution. There is an interesting parallel to the struggle of the new nation to achieve a satisfactory political structure. The break with England demoralized the Anglican churches in America; no longer could they acknowledge the headship of the English king and the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. How would they be governed now? The Rev. William White of Philadelphia proposed a federal plan of union which would give equal representation to laity and clergy. The Rev. Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, on the other hand, was convinced that control should be vested in bishops consecrated within the apostolic succession. The essence of Miss Loveland's material is the involved story of the struggle between these conflicting plans of organization and their final resolution through compromise in 1789. The Episcopal Church, like the nation itself, established a bicameral assembly, including a House of Bishops and a House of Lay and Clerical Deputies. Miss Loveland also gives attention to the difficulties involved in obtaining the consecration of bishops in England and Scotland and to the controversies over revision of the Prayer Book. Her work originated as a doctoral dissertation in religion at Duke University, directed by Professor H. Shelton Smith and accepted in 1953. Well documented from careful research in primary sources, it is a model of monographic scholarship.

IRA V. BROWN, *Pennsylvania State University*

WILDERNESS FOR SALE: THE STORY OF THE FIRST WESTERN LAND RUSH. By *Walter Havighurst*. [American Procession Series.] (New York: Hastings House. 1956. Pp. xii, 372. \$4.50.) Intended for the lay reader, this colorful story is a compound of biography and historical events related to the settlement and development of the Old Northwest from about 1780 to the death of William Henry Harrison. The narrative has more or less territorial coverage of Kentucky and of Ohio from Marietta and Wheeling, northwest to Sandusky, and westward to and including some of the Illinois country. Two main threads loosely unite the story: William Henry Harrison, who rightfully appears in the early Indian wars, and the insatiable appetite of the frontiersman and the speculator for cheap land. Out of the welter of land-hungry frontiersmen, wild speculation, intrigue, Indian wars, and treaty making emerged the great states of Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. *Wilderness for Sale* is divided into five parts and eighteen chapters with attractive titles. The story opens with a description of "the wild Ohio country, stretching from Fort Pitt to the Illinois prairies and from the curving O-hy-o to the English Seas (today we call them the Great Lakes)." The author evidently did not intend to write another *The Old Northwest* as written by B. A. Hinsdale or F. A. Ogg. *Wilder-*

ness for Sale is more like Henderson's *The Conquest of the Old Southwest*, but more anecdotal. There are no footnotes. An abridged bibliography of three pages includes works by Carter, Buck, Bond, Buley, Downes, Esary, Turner, Ogg, Roosevelt, Thwaites, and Winsor, but omits the works of Louise P. Kellogg; Williams, *The American Pioneer*; Russell, *The British Regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest*; Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*; Bliss, *Diary of David Zeisberger*, and other significant books. There is an adequate index. Much has been written on the Old Northwest, and there is yet much original material to be exploited. In *Wilderness for Sale* the author has admirably succeeded in his aim—to present a vivid and stimulating story of the Ohio country.

WILLIAM E. SMITH, *Miami University*

THE NATION'S ADVOCATE: HENRY MARIE BRACKENRIDGE AND YOUNG AMERICA. By *William F. Keller*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1956. Pp. x, 451. \$5.00.) This is a thorough, though overextended biography of a wanderer, early American writer, and sometime lawyer and politician. Born in Pittsburgh in 1786, where he died in 1871, Henry Marie Brackenridge saw more of the United States than most men of his era. Sent as a child of seven to visit French Ste. Genevieve on the Mississippi, he later practiced law or sought clients in St. Louis, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, and Baltimore. He traveled far up the Missouri River with an expedition led by the fur-trade magnate Manuel Lisa (1811), journeyed to South America with a commission sent to observe the independence movement there (1817-1818), and, after a lucky meeting on the Mississippi, went with Andrew Jackson to the newly acquired Florida Territory (1821). There he spent a decade as *alcalde* of Pensacola and Territorial judge. The child of young America, he knew its face, topography, and people, and he was an early exponent of a peculiarly American national spirit. Much of what Brackenridge saw he described in books, pamphlets, and essays. His reputation rests on his early volume describing the Louisiana Territory, his considerable history of the War of 1812, a book of personal recollections, and his history of the Whisky Insurrection of 1794. In the last, he defended the efforts of his father, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, author of the frontier *Don Quixote* called *Modern Chivalry*, to mediate that conflict. His writings brought young Brackenridge favorably to the attention of Thomas Jefferson and Henry Clay and led Thomas Hart Benton to enlist him in Missouri's struggle for statehood. After 1832, when Jackson failed to reappoint him to a judgeship, his polemics against Old Hickory entered into the mainstream of anti-Jackson historiography, partly through James Parton. Unfortunately, this first biography of Brackenridge misses the promise of its title. Though Dr. Keller's style is clear, it is too often lifeless or prolix. Though the book shows extensive research in primary sources, it too often falls into the morass of unnecessary detail or lavishes attention on tangential matters at the expense of adequate analysis, for example, of the writings which were Brackenridge's strength. The result is a volume frequently superficial in treating important matters. Nevertheless, it is patently "sound" and will have a place in the gallery of early American portraits.

WILLIAM NISBET CHAMBERS, *Washington University*

MR. VESSEY OF ENGLAND: BEING THE INCIDENTS AND REMINISCENCES OF TRAVEL IN A TWELVE WEEKS' TOUR THROUGH THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA IN THE YEAR 1859. By *John Henry Vessey*. Edited by *Brian Waters*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1956. Pp. 184. \$2.95.) In 1859, Mr. Vessey, heir to Halton Holgate manor in Lincolnshire, visited America, carrying with him a carefully planned travel program and a morocco bound notebook. For

eleven thousand miles he religiously adhered to his schedule and dutifully recorded his experiences. The result reveals as much about his society as it does of the one he visited. As a Tory and devotee of a well-regulated community, the equalitarianism of American life offended him, American social customs affronted him, and American "brag" annoyed him. No admirer of American character, he discovered Yankees to be an aggressive people, rough, conceited, and self-reliant with the "greatest love for their own country I ever met with, even more than the Scotch." In all this, Mr. Vessey hardly differs from the scores of travelers who visited North America during these years. But he was also a farmer who viewed agriculture with a keen and experienced eye. His descriptions of crops, soils, and farming methods are unusually good. In all other respects, Mr. Vessey's account will take its place on that long shelf marked "good old English traveler," to be used by those seeking a sharp phrase or a suitable quotation to describe American life on the eve of the Civil War.

PAUL SHARP, *University of Wisconsin*

DIE FRONTIERTHEORIE VON FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, 1861-1932. By *Roland H. Beck*. [Wirtschaft Gesellschaft Staat, Zürcher Studien zur Allgemeinen Geschichte, Number 14.] (Zürich: Europa Verlag. 1955. Pp. 111.) This investigation was made in an effort to understand the American and to determine the degree of acceptance of the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner by American historians. The twelve chapters are grouped under four headings: "The Historian of the Frontier and his Time," "The Frontier Theory," "The Intellectual Bases of the Frontier Theory," and "The Factual Evaluation of the Frontier Theory." The book closes with the author's conclusion. The bibliography, other than listing the principal writings of Turner, is essentially an inclusive listing of the evaluations, pro and con, of the Turner thesis by American historians. Readily accepting the idea of "Sections and Nation," Dr. Beck also credits Turner with original contributions in his incorporation of the "Nature" element into American historiography, in his use of new methods of research through extensive use of United States Census reports and statistical and map materials, and in his application of the anthropogeography of Ratzel to frontier history. The author finds the critics more convincing than Turner and the other historians who give credence to the frontier thesis. He concludes that the thesis is a romantic interpretation of American history that relies on the mysterious working of the mystical powers of the American natural environment and the premise of social evolution extracted from an admixture of Darwinian and Spencerian ideologies. He sees the Turner pioneer concept as a blend of Rousseauian "edlen Wilden" and "Byronischen Held." Doubting that the frontier thesis has any place in scientific treatises, he would confine any application of it to the years 1765-1830, which he calls the period of the "forest frontier." Conceivably, if the author had done research in the history of the American frontier, he would have had a more adequate basis for a conclusion. As he moves toward a rejection of the frontier thesis as sound history and as an explanation of the American, he is apparently unaware of Turner's emphasis on the multiple hypothesis: "I have no philosophy of history except that there is no single key to it."

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, *Ball State Teachers College*

LINCOLN'S SUPREME COURT. By *David M. Silver*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume 38.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 272. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.) This is an interesting and well-written study of the Supreme Court during the Civil War. Primary emphasis is upon the complex political currents that swirled around the justices, rather than upon the technical constitutional issues

of the hour. There is an able account of the presidential policies involved in the appointment of Swayne, Miller, Davis, Field, and Chase. There is also a careful analysis of the act of March, 1863, increasing the number of justices to ten, in which the author demonstrates conclusively that the law was in fact a "court-packing bill" although its purpose admittedly was "to save the Constitution and to save the Union." On the whole, the author pursues a kind of cautious neutrality in the conflict between Lincoln and the Taney Court over the constitutionality of the wartime presidential "dictatorship." He recognizes the overwhelming military necessity which led Lincoln to executive suspension of habeas corpus, arbitrary military arrests, and the trial of civilians by military tribunals, yet views with undisguised sympathy the Court's interest in the maintenance of constitutional government. He devotes an entire chapter to the contention that Taney's position in the argument was correct, if "indiscreet," and that the Court's "unanimous" opinion in *ex parte Milligan* constituted a complete vindication of the late Chief Justice, a conclusion this reviewer believes to be of very doubtful validity. The book suffers somewhat, also, from a certain failure of precision and accuracy in the more technical aspects of public law. Thus, the statement that Lincoln's blockade proclamation of April 19, 1861, "was an acknowledgment that war existed between two sovereign powers," confuses recognition of the existence of a state of public war and the implied acceptance of Confederate belligerency with the recognition of Confederate independence. In spite of difficulties of this kind, the book constitutes a worth-while addition to the bibliography of Civil War politics.

ALFRED H. KELLY, *Wayne State University*

GRAY GHOSTS AND REBEL RAIDERS. By *Virgil Carrington Jones*. With an Introduction by *Bruce Catton*. (New York: Henry Holt. 1956. Pp. xiv, 431. \$4.50.) Like the generals who fought in the Civil War, students tend to think of it as a series of formal engagements between organized bodies of troops and to consider any other kind of fighting as either not quite cricket or at best inconsequential. Virgil C. Jones demonstrates here the shallowness of such thinking. He describes and analyzes the activities of mounted irregular troopers, variously known as rangers, partisans, or guerrillas, under such Confederate leaders as John S. Mosby, Harry Gilmor, and John H. and Jesse McNeill. They played a murderous game of hide-and-seek with Union forces campaigning in the mountains of West Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley, the Blue Ridge Mountains, and the Piedmont of northern Virginia. As Union armies penetrated deeper into Virginia, increasing numbers of soldiers had to guard communications, whether railroads or wagon trains, against the constant menace of partisan bands. Guerrilla raids helped to upset Grant's timetable in his offensive against Lee's army and thus prolonged the war. Judging by the evidence presented in this book, General Mosby exaggerated very little when he estimated that his force of several hundred rangers alone "kept 30,000 of Sheridan's 94,026 Middle Military Division effectives tied up along the outposts and away from the battle front during the Valley campaign." The author's fair-minded treatment of a difficult subject (for guerrilla fighting became very dirty business), his ability to write good narrative, and his painstaking research have produced a book which offers fresh insights into the military history of the Civil War.

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON, *Lafayette College*

THE SOUTHERN CLAIMS COMMISSION. By *Frank W. Klingberg*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume L.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 262. \$3.50.) The modest title of this volume does not reveal the

full significance of the author's labors, in painstaking search for and use of records that piled up in the several governmental departments and agencies concerned and other material that has survived. Klingberg deftly threads his way through this labyrinth, but the trail he leaves is not always adequately clear. Whether, as the author thinks, the records constitute a veritable "Middletown survey of the Confederacy" is perhaps immaterial. Obscured in spots by the routine of administrative and legislative detail concerning the commission, the real story is "the record of Southern Unionism," from its foundations in the ante bellum socio-economic cleavages—usually rooted in a complex internal sectionalism—and in the rigidity of the alignment between Whig and Democrat, with die-hard Whig planters unwilling to join Democratic "fire-eaters" in efforts to achieve a Southern nationalism outside of the Union. In a bitter civil war, these stubborn or valiant few awaited the hour of "deliverance" by victorious Union armies; they would doubtless have preferred to see their section make early terms with the federal government and return to its place in the Union. President Lincoln was well aware of this element in the South, and both he and Congress were prepared to accord a special consideration to the property rights of those who could prove that they had "never given any comfort to the present rebellion." But victorious armies found difficulties in fulfilling such expectations, and such indemnity as had been promised was largely suspended during Radical reconstruction. From 1863, the Court of Claims had functioned in this area in a desultory way, delaying justice even in worthy cases. Many a Southern claimant had reached the point of despair when, on March 3, 1871, Congress provided for three commissioners to evaluate the claims of "the loyal citizens in States once in Rebellion." The commissioners appointed were of the Radical persuasion, yet they labored diligently for nine years to mete out "substantial" justice to claimants. They prescribed a loyalty test which demanded a record of a life of treason to the Confederacy. Over three fourths of the 22,298 claims filed by Southerners were prosecuted to conclusion, with 41 per cent allowed by the Commission. Over 3 per cent pressed claims of \$10,000 or more, totaling \$22,582,422.83. But the human-interest story cannot be told in figures—not even in belated restitutions to worthy Unionists. It is found in all its poignant details in the humiliations, risks, and sacrifices that fell to the lot of those who persisted in a loyalty that found little appreciation even among Northern politicians, who for decades exploited this as well as other phases of the "Lost Cause." No wonder that in despair many Unionists eventually found themselves forced into associations which they had previously scorned, contributing to a "Solid South" not of their own choosing. One must agree with the author's conclusion: "In the vast mass records of the Southern Claims Commission were preserved the stories of the Unionist's courage and betrayal."

ARTHUR C. COLE, *Brooklyn College*

NORTHERN METHODISM AND RECONSTRUCTION. By *Ralph E. Morrow*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 269. \$5.00.) Mr. Morrow discusses the efforts of the Methodist Episcopal Church to replace the M. E. Church South with a reunited Church under Northern domination, and, at the same time, by missionary work to instruct and uplift the freedmen through schools and churches, and even break the barriers of segregation. In their efforts, the Methodists became identified with the Radical Republican group because their program depended upon the success of the Congressional plan of reconstruction. In general, the Northern Methodists failed in all their major objectives. The intrusion of missionaries into the South to take over church properties and buildings was resented. There could be no cooperation without acceptance of the Southern Church as a legitimate and equal

branch of American Episcopal Methodism; social and business pressures and fidelity to tradition in the South were too great for Northern Methodism to replace the M. E. Church South. The economic and social background of the Negroes was unfavorable to integration of the freedmen, and they formed their own African Church organizations. Only in the great political influence of the bishops with the Grant administration did the Northern Church show marked success. Morrow has largely written an indictment of the Northern Church. He condemns it for assuming that with slavery ended and the South broken there were grounds for a reunited Church. Unfortunately, some activities of the Church were but a mirror of the times, but Morrow does not place them in this setting. The regrettable errors committed by some of the missionaries in the South came in an era of corruption and moral collapse everywhere. The undue emphasis on selfish and evil motives which Morrow attributes to the missionaries also overlooks the devoted services of the great majority, who were motivated by a Christian spirit to restore the church to its greatness. One is left with the impression that, except for the schooling of the Negroes, there were no constructive benefits from the efforts of the Northern Church. As Professor Sweet suggests, its overly aggressive activity served as a stimulus to the Southern Methodists in rehabilitating their own ecclesiastical organization. Their first General Conference following the war in 1866 instituted reforms which aided recovery. The Southern Church soon became a vital factor in reorganizing Southern society. So too, it was logical for the freedmen to realize that the solution of their problems was not in the church of their old masters, and so they founded their distinct ecclesiastical organizations, which had an astonishing growth. The Northern contribution to Southern education was actually considerable, e.g., the launching of Vanderbilt University and gifts to Emory University and Wesleyan Female College in Georgia. Morrow makes a case, but it would have been a better balanced one had he not been so determined to paint the picture only in dark colors.

WESLEY M. GEWEHR, *University of Maryland*

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD NETWORK, 1861-1890. By *George Rogers Taylor and Irene D. Neu*. [Studies in Economic History published in cooperation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 113. \$3.75.) This small volume discusses a significant, but often neglected, phase of nineteenth-century railroad history—the developing physical integration of American railroads in the generation following the Civil War. The authors emphasize the absence of a unified network by including three maps of the railways of Canada and the United States as of April 1, 1861. In color and clearly showing the variation in gauge in the Northeast, the Midwest, and the South, these maps will be a great boon to any student of American transportation history. In the first five chapters, Professor Taylor carefully reviews many of the reasons for the absence of an integrated railroad system in 1861. Much of the difficulty arose through chance, as the local character of the early lines plus the lack of over-all planning resulted in some variation of gauge in nearly every state. But often the impediments to through traffic were deliberately set up and maintained by local economic interests, as shown by the reluctance of the merchants of Philadelphia to permit a continuous line through their city. The lack of bridges over major streams and the refusal of many railroad managers to permit their rolling stock to be used on foreign roads further hampered the development of a unified network. In the remaining four chapters, Professor Neu describes some aspects of the definite integration which appeared in the next generation. In the decade of the 1860's, the Civil War, the gauge determination for the Pacific Railroad, and the growing grain trade, all worked toward the

creation of a more unified system. The remaining diversity of gauge brought into frequent use such ingenious devices as "compromise" and sliding wheels, car hoists, and "double" gauge tracks. Freight service was considerably speeded up by the widespread acceptance of fast freight lines. With the shift of the Southern lines to standard gauge in mid-1886, the integration was practically complete, permitting the shipment of goods, without break in bulk, from one end of the country to the other. This is an excellent book and the announced objectives are met with a minimum of error. Some might contend that the authors overstress the Northeastern states at the expense of the South and the West, but the American railroads of a century ago followed patterns largely set in the Northeast. An adequate set of notes concludes the volume, but there is no separate bibliography. This fact-filled book will probably become a must for all students embarking upon a study of nineteenth-century American railroads.

JOHN F. STOVER, *Purdue University*

HISTORY OF AMERICAN MERCHANT SEAMEN. By *Elmo Paul Hohman*. (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 125. \$3.50.) A more appropriate title for this slim volume would have been "A History of the American Maritime Labor Movement." In that restricted aspect, it is the first adequate comprehensive account, analyzing the development of unions, the relative effectiveness of strikes, and the terms of legislation and other definitions of labor conditions. It is definitely useful to have such material brought together in orderly and authoritative fashion, and this work clinches the author's position as the leading authority on the subject. There is, however, relatively little of the "feel" of conditions afloat and ashore at various periods. That can better be derived from Hohman's earlier works—*The American Whaleman* (1928) and *Seamen Ashore* (1952), from James C. Healey's *Fog'sle and Glory Hole: A Study of the Merchant Seaman and His Occupation* (1936), or William P. Gottlieb's well-illustrated and "educational" *This Is the NMU: A Picture History of the National Maritime Union of America CIO* (1955). The book is essentially a reprinting of two articles originally contributed to the *International Labour Review*: "Maritime Labor in the United States, 1790-1937" (August and September, 1938) and "Merchant Seamen in the United States, 1937-1952" (January, 1953). An eleven-page section on "Orientation and Background," together with a bibliography and index are the only new contributions. Aside from the remark that "the middle decades of the nineteenth century witnessed at once the highest development of sailing-ship design and operation and the lowest degradation of seagoing labor," there is relatively little before the establishment in 1892 of what became the International Seamen's Union (ISU), "the dominant representative of the unlicensed personnel of the American merchant marine . . . until 1937." The real hero of the story is Andrew Furuseth, the sturdy and persistent Norwegian whose tireless efforts were responsible for the Seamen's Act of 1915, often credited to La Follette. The failure of a strike in 1921, following the World War I boom, gave labor a setback until the New Deal period, when successful strikes on both coasts in the mid-thirties led to marked successes under new unions which succeeded the original ISU—Joseph Curran's National Maritime Union and Harry Lundeberg's Seafarers' International Union and Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Their success has been such that operational subsidies have been necessary to offset the lower pay of foreign merchant marines, where a captain receives scarcely as much as an American ordinary seaman with his overtime. The situation has also led to the growth of the Panamanian and Liberian "flags of convenience."

ROBERT G. ALBION, *Harvard University*

A HALF CENTURY OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS: A LAWYER'S VIEWS.

By *Frederic R. Coudert*. Edited by *Allan Nevins*. With an Introduction by *Philip C. Jessup*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 352. \$4.00.) This is a selection of various writings and public statements by Frederic R. Coudert over roughly a half century. During this period, he was a practicing lawyer in a New York firm with important international connections and took an active interest in public affairs, more particularly in the international problems of an emerging world power. Many of the papers included will be of special interest to American historians and political scientists. Two papers—one, a contribution to the *Columbia Law Review* (January, 1903) and the other, an address before the Academy of Political Science in May, 1902—discuss problems resulting from the acquisition of an empire by the United States. These are of special interest since Coudert argued the consular cases before the Supreme Court. Coudert was a firm believer in international arbitration, as shown by the address he delivered at Carnegie Hall in December, 1911, in support of the arbitration treaties which were negotiated under the Taft administration with France and Great Britain, together with correspondence with Admiral Mahan and John Bassett Moore. A number of papers give expression to Mr. Coudert's impatience with President Wilson's neutrality policy and his firm commitment later to the League of Nations. In fact, even at the time when it was obvious that the League had failed in its major purpose, Coudert was convinced that another effort of a similar nature would have to be made. This collection is a worthy tribute to a man who combined professional devotion to the law with great public spirit and idealism and a broad intellectual grasp of the problems of public policy facing his country. Professor Nevins has provided helpful notes to put the various papers in historical context and Professor Jessup has in his introduction given us a glimpse of Mr. Coudert's rich and varied career, which helps the reader greatly to appreciate the papers that follow.

LELAND M. GOODRICH, *Tufts College*

FAIRHOPE, 1894-1954: THE STORY OF A SINGLE TAX COLONY. By *Paul E.*

and *Blanche R. Alyea*. (University: University of Alabama Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 351. \$4.50.) In the logic of Henry George's writings, a single tax colony is a contradiction in terms, and George himself, though he lived three years after Fairhope was founded, had personally nothing to do with the enterprise. *Progress and Poverty* had called for channeling the high land values of city, mine, and farm to the use of everyone, and the complete logic of that argument requires that the reform be applied on a broad geographical base. To be politically practical, George participated in famous city and state campaigns, but he always conceived of his program—whether in the ("single tax") form of land value taxation, which he preferred, or in some other form—as one to be adopted by nations, and during the middle eighties he had thought that the time would be soon. Fairhope, situated some distance from Mobile, never pretended to be anything other than a small residential community. The colony contained no great economic differences to reconcile, and it waited a long time before the unearned increment of land became sizable. But the fathers of Fairhope became fathers as they were dedicated to the procedures of Georgism. They acquired land, retaining ownership in a corporation; they leased parcels at rates which usually were supposed to bring in the full value of rent; and they disbursed this income, first to pay state and local property taxes, and second, to render benefits to the group. Thus they "simulated" the single tax, and they offered their light to the world. The Alyeas tell the story in solid chronological and topical detail, which is, on the whole, affirmative. Fairhope prospered better than did comparable towns in the vicinity. A community with ideals, it developed excellent parks and a good school and became an interesting

place to live. The authors are possibly too sanguine in thinking that, with today's rising land values, Fairhope may reinvigorate its Georgist tradition; but again, this possibility is not closed to any English-speaking community.

CHARLES A. BARKER, *Johns Hopkins University*

HISTORY OF STANDARD OIL COMPANY (NEW JERSEY). Volume II, THE RESURGENT YEARS, 1911-1927. By *George Sweet Gibb and Evelyn H. Knowlton*. [Prepared under the auspices of the Business History Foundation.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1956. Pp. xxix, 754. \$7.50.) The title of this volume, *The Resurgent Years*, states clearly its central theme. The sixteen years between 1911 and 1927, one of the least known chapters in the history of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), were the formative ones in the rise of this modern international corporation. It was during this period that Standard's executives concentrated their major efforts upon rebuilding an efficient and integrated company. After summarizing briefly the effects of the 1911 decision dissolving the former "trust," the authors proceed to detail the major developments in SONJ's "middle years." This is in itself an original contribution, for there is no readily available account of the many momentous and far-reaching decisions of this era. Every aspect of the business is analyzed. The search for new supplies of crude oil at home and abroad, scientific and technological innovation in manufacturing, new transportation developments, and the problems of domestic and world-wide markets are all treated with clarity and high competence. Nor are the human problems neglected. Though the authors' purpose is "to record the history of administration and management at the highest company level," labor policy and the reaction of workers to it is not overlooked. This is in every respect a comprehensive business history and a significant contribution to the study of the oil industry in its many complex domestic and international aspects. The emergence of Jersey Standard's foreign policy and the degree to which international petroleum developments have affected domestic practices are just two examples of the many important questions covered. The story of Jersey's expansion abroad after 1912 to assure itself adequate reserves of crude oil, its struggles with overseas competitors for supplies and markets, its negotiations with foreign governments for concessions, and its relationship with the State Department reveal clearly the increasing significance of oil in world economics, politics, and diplomacy. At the same time, Standard's experiences provide the reader with a keen insight into the multiplicity of pressures, private and public, which helped determine policies and shaped developments affecting the industry, the economy, and American society generally. In discussing the many problems of wide import which pressed upon Standard's management during these years, the authors have ably synthesized a huge mass of evidence and have set forth their conclusions clearly—often forcefully. Though they are impressed with management's accomplishments, they are equally aware of its failures. Both are explained in terms of the times and the circumstances. Regardless of personal predilections, every student of twentieth-century American history will profit by reading this informative study.

VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *New York University*

WOODROW WILSON. By *John A. Garraty*. [Great Lives in Brief.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. 206, vi. \$2.50.) This unpretentious short study is a critical and scholarly interpretation of the career and personality of Woodrow Wilson. Although the book contains no footnotes, it seems to be based upon all of the many published scholarly works covering the various parts of the President's career and upon the author's previous research done for his *Henry Cabot Lodge*. Apparently, the book leans heavily upon Link for Wilson's earlier years and upon Bailey for the period of

the peace conference and the fight with the Senate. The volume contains few if any new facts about Wilson's life, but the author has contributed a number of novel, and therefore perhaps debatable, interpretations for the latter phases of the President's career. Following Link, Garraty is critical of Wilson's Latin-American "missionary diplomacy," as well as of the wavering policy of not quite neutrality previous to 1917. He believes that a policy of either definite support for the Allies or stricter neutrality would have been better for the nation. The author praises Wilson's peacemaking strategy during the war but is highly critical of Wilson's decision to go to Paris. Garraty explains Wilson's minor setbacks at Paris and his subsequent major defeat at home as arising from three forces: the President's feelings of guilt for entering the war, guilt which could only be expiated by his personal achievement of a warless world; personal characteristics which the President always had within him and which tended to destroy him as an effective politician; and his sickness at Paris and the subsequent stroke which rendered him "incompetent to perform the duties of his office." The three added up to stark tragedy. Had Wilson died of the stroke, the author concludes, the Senate would probably have ratified the treaty with minor reservations, the United States would have entered the League, and the results would have been far happier for the nation. The book is very well written and Mr. Garraty is to be congratulated for such a graceful and effective summing up of a great career.

GEORGE E. MOWRY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

WOODROW WILSON AND THE POLITICS OF MORALITY. By *John Morton Blum*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1956. Pp. vi, 215. \$3.50.) In this day, when it seems increasingly difficult for the administration to follow a course in foreign relations that is both practical and moral, a study of Woodrow Wilson and morality is timely. This book is a review of Wilson's career, with emphasis on his disposition to measure every act by his standards of right and wrong. The author emphasizes the point that, with his Scotch Presbyterian background, Wilson was born to morality and that in youth he sought to find the rules for good conduct in all relations. Moral concepts impelled him to work for changes at Princeton University; to Trenton and to Washington he brought with him the practice of being guided by moral values; and once he had decided that a given course was the moral one, he was unyielding. He suffered his great defeat because he could not be moved to agree to a modification of Article X of the League of Nations Covenant. Notwithstanding his disposition to stand steadfastly by his decisions, Wilson was adept at reaching right conclusions on the issues of his time and in modifying his position accordingly. The author might have given more emphasis to the fact that Wilson was an apt pupil and often changed after he learned more about a situation. Although a select bibliography is included, the book is a relatively brief, interpretative biography, without citation of authorities. Several conclusions will be challenged, such as, that Wilson had no sense of humor and was "without a sense of playfulness in men" (p. 111); that as President he nullified "liberal legislation by conservative administration" (p. 80); and that Mrs. Wilson and Edward M. House kept from the President certain people who might have constituted the "antibiotics his Southernism needed" (p. 115). The study is well conceived and the book well written.

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON, *Hardin-Simmons University*

UP-HILL ALL THE WAY: THE LIFE OF MAYNARD SHIPLEY. By *Miriam Allen deFord*. (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1956. Pp. 255. \$4.00.) Conceivably, Maynard Shipley (1872-1934) deserves more attention than he has heretofore received from social and intellectual historians, but Miriam Allen deFord's biography of her

husband fails to convince that he should be rescued from obscurity. Her evidence does not support such sweeping assertions that "intellectually, Maynard was a man of the Renaissance" (p. 124) or "Maynard Shipley is doing for Darwinism in America what Thomas Henry Huxley did for it in England" (p. 209). Moreover, his role in the socialist movement, which the author implies was major, was, in truth, quite minor. Without being condescending, one may concede that had Shipley enjoyed the benefit of a formal education—he never progressed beyond primary school—he might have become a truly distinguished scholar rather than a "popularizer" of science. Undeniably he possessed a challenging mind, a capacity for hard work, and an amazing degree of self-discipline. But as the title of this biography indicates, the story of Shipley's life was one of constant struggle not only for personal dignity but also for simple survival. His encyclopedic learning came almost entirely from efforts which at times bordered on the heroic, yet the products of these efforts were hardly of a lasting nature. Shipley bequeathed to the world little in the way of an intellectual legacy. The writing of biography, even more so than of history, is an act of faith. The author has more than kept faith with her husband. While it is comforting to learn that Shipley had such a human failing as an inordinate fondness for liquor and that at times he could be a "bore," his biography would have been a far better one had it been written in more subdued tones and with less bathos. Here the editors of the Antioch Press might well have placed a gentle but restraining hand on the author. Nor are they to be commended for publishing a book such as this without footnotes, bibliography, or index.

HOWARD H. QUINT, *University of South Carolina*

ROBERT RUSSA MOTON OF HAMPTON AND TUSKEGEE. Edited by *William Hardin Hughes* and *Frederick D. Patterson*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 238. \$4.00.) This son of former slaves was born in Amelia county, Virginia, August 26, 1867. His boyhood days on the plantation of "the finest type of Southern families—kind, thoughtful and generous" (p. 15)—probably contributed to his life-long belief in the friendship of Southern whites for Negroes. At Hampton Institute, where he became the first Negro commandant of cadets in 1891, a virtual dean of men and member of the administrative council, his common sense and tact won the approval of Northerners and Southerners who supported the Hampton-Tuskegee emphasis on vocational training. These qualities and his success as a fund-raiser in the North and as a co-worker on Booker T. Washington's Southern good-will tours made "Major" Moton the logical choice as principal of Tuskegee after Washington's death in 1915. Moton followed in Washington's footsteps, but he left his own distinctive imprint. President Wilson commissioned him to investigate unrest among Negro troops in France and Hoover, to head the Commission on Education in Haiti. One of the founders of the Interracial Commission, Moton was less specific on Negro suffrage than Washington had been. He increased Tuskegee's physical plant and endowment fourfold; he introduced a two-year business course and four-year courses leading to B.S. degrees in agriculture and education; he also established a postgraduate course for physicians and surgeons who attended the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital annual clinic. He courageously withstood the dire threats of the Ku Klux Klan, which in 1923 demanded an all-white staff at the Veterans Hospital; and he rebuked General Smuts for an inappropriate remark in New York in 1930 about the "patience" of Negroes. The first three chapters of Moton's autobiography, *Finding a Way Out*, and the reminiscences of three white Southerners and seven colored associates reveal him as a vastly underrated man, but "a more distant period would doubtless require a scholarly evaluation of Dr. Moton's life" (p. v) and times.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, *Howard University*

CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS: A STUDY IN AMERICAN HISTORICAL WRITING. By *A. S. Eisenstadt*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 588.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xx, 273. \$5.00.) Most of us, in reviewing what is obviously the first book of a young scholar, minimize faults, however glaring, and stress good features, however difficult to find. This practice can do great injury to scholarship because reviewers are the custodians of scholarly standards and ultimately determine the quality of the work which will be produced and accepted. It is this consideration that compels me to state that Dr. Eisenstadt's book was not ready for publication and that it should have been rewritten after much careful rethinking. First of all, the English in which it is written is, to put it mildly, painfully bad. The sentences are often pretentious, turgid, and lacking not only in precise meaning but even in any meaning at all. What can be made of these passages? "The transcending fact of what Andrews did was the fabulous effort he put into doing it. His brilliance was that of perseverance, his profundity that of building a monument out of the obvious. . . . His success was a commentary on the inevitability of gradualness . . ." (p. 37). "Its [the new school of colonial historians] philosophic insights did not amount to the insight of a philosophy. The truth of it was that, for the larger part, the generalizations it made came by the way of being *obiter dicta*. Its synthesis was nothing frontal but crept into the interstices" (p. 175). These are not isolated examples, and they unfortunately reflect accurately the quality of the thought behind the words. Proof that, given more time and more study, Eisenstadt could produce a worthy book can be found in his final chapter where both the thought and the literary style are clear and effective. Indeed, it is a valuable contribution in which the historical work of Andrews is evaluated convincingly from a relativist point of view. Andrews is a figure deserving study and a good peg on which to hang a study of one of the most significant periods in American historiography. Eisenstadt sees this and sees also, if not always distinctly, the major problems. In spite of the fact that he has read widely in the literature and has consulted both the correspondence and published works of Andrews, he fails to give adequate answers. He refers constantly to Andrews' "system" without making clear what he means by it. In fact, his account indicates that Andrews had no system of his own and in preparing the *Guide*, which Andrews at one time considered his major contribution, was carrying out a project planned by Jameson, and in his histories of the colonial period was continuing the imperial interpretation of Beer and Osgood. The analysis given of Andrews' ideas about progress and about "scientific history," both major problems for scholars of the period, is more likely to bring confusion than understanding. An opportunity has been missed, and probably unnecessarily.

W. STULL HOLT, *University of Washington*

THEY REMEMBER AMERICA: THE STORY OF THE REPATRIATED GREEK-AMERICANS. By *Theodore Saloutos*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 153. \$3.50.) This is an account of those Greek immigrants to the United States who left their adopted country to return to their homeland. The author is himself the son of Greek immigrants and has previously gained recognition for his studies of agrarianism in the United States. In this work, he analyzes first the factors that induced so many Greeks to emigrate to the New World. Then he portrays their life and status after their arrival—their bittersweet experiences in adjusting to a strange new industrial culture. Many immigrants decided that the cost of adjustment was too high. Of the more than half a million Greeks admitted to the United States by 1931, roughly 40 per cent, or 197,000, went back to their birthplace. They preferred to leave "the land of the full mouth" rather than to endure the harsh climate, the antiforeign sentiments, the alien language and customs, and the ceaseless toil of a

machine society. Saloutos then shows that many of these repatriates were unhappy when they returned to Greece. They were besieged by poverty-stricken relatives, harassed by forced government loans and currency instability, and, in some quarters, subjected to ridicule and contempt. In his final chapter, the author evaluates the influence of these repatriates upon their homeland, emphasizing their financial contributions, their spirit of optimism and innovation, and their new social ideas, especially those concerning the position of women. The author has handled his subject in a competent and engaging manner, using his data to bring out the trials and heartaches and also the hilarious experiences that awaited the repatriates. And yet this is essentially a disappointing book. One lays it down with the feeling that it failed to reveal anything really new. In accounting for the return of the repatriates, Saloutos presents factors that are precisely those that anyone at all familiar with the subject would have expected. The same is true of his analysis of the discontent and frustrations of the repatriates when they reached their homeland. The failure to attain new insight arises primarily from the lack of library and statistical resources in Greece. But even with this basic handicap, a bit more might perhaps have been squeezed out of the subject. The author reproduces a twenty-four point questionnaire that he used in his interviews and states that he "questioned at length approximately 70 repatriates in Greece and talked to about 120 other persons . . ." (p. 143). If a larger sample had been employed, might it not have proven possible to detect more patterns of behavior and motivation?

L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

THE SIGNAL CORPS: THE EMERGENCY (TO DECEMBER 1941). By *Dulany Terrett*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1956. Pp. xiii, 383. \$3.50.) The first of three volumes in a series recording the history of the Signal Corps in World War II, this is another distinguished contribution to the recorded history of the United States Army. In the over-all historical program of the Department of the Army, it fits into a subseries entitled "The Technical Services." This volume is really all preamble, covering generally the drab period between the two great wars of the twentieth century. It is in this period that much of the signal equipment of World War II was developed. The author relates the painful story of the decline of the Signal Corps in the postwar twenties and the doldrums of the depression-ridden thirties. He records the frantic, futile, and yet somehow inspiring efforts of a service with terrible responsibilities to the future to maintain its program of experimentation and development of new media of communications, new instruments of defense. Through the story is woven the struggles of men, groups, and services for ascendancy and for greater shares of the pitifully small appropriations available for the development of the instruments of war for which each had great responsibility. In the end, one is left with a gasping wonder that this nation had either equipment or men to meet the urgencies of World War II. It almost did not. The reader must be prepared to face an amazing vocabulary of technical terminology, which the author has made strenuous and surprisingly successful efforts to make understandable for the lay reader. The difficulty of his task is indicated by the list of equipment in World War II, which covers thirty-six pages in the appendix and by a five-page list of abbreviations. It is a well-told story in spite of the heaviness imposed by technical language, and it is honestly told, despite the difficulties of laying the basic facts before the reader without incrimination or condemnation. The story was gleaned from the documents, of which there is no dearth, and the author has done a mammoth and discerning job of winnowing to produce a coherent narrative.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN, *Denver, Colorado*

THE QUARTERMASTER CORPS: OPERATIONS IN THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN. By *Alvin P. Stauffer*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1956. Pp. xv, 358. \$4.00.) The war against Japan was fought in several "theaters." Dr. Stauffer covers the island-hopping campaigns in the Pacific, not the fighting on the Asiatic mainland, where the supreme commanders were not Americans. This was a tremendous task, considering the immensity of the area, the varied conditions, the large number of Army troops (plus other forces served), and the diversity of services. This fourth volume of a series of studies of Quartermaster planning and operations is a fitting finale. Though there is no formal bibliography, the six-page bibliographical note discusses the research problems involved. They range from the almost complete loss of files for the first Philippine campaign of 1941-1942 to the lack of after-action reports from small units. Yet almost every paragraph in the book is documented, often to more than one report. Some references are to secondary sources (other histories that may not be readily available to the reader), but it may be assumed that these sources are reasonably reliable; certainly they at no place distort the general account. To tie together the diverse threads of two distinct theaters (one of which was subdivided), the various levels of planning and operation, the numerous services performed, and to observe a chronological development—all this takes much skill, a skill well used by the author. In broad strokes, but with detailed illustrations, he moves from the loss of the Philippines to the problems of Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand, and then to Quartermaster organization throughout the Pacific areas. He discusses the main bases and methods of local procurement before turning to supply from the United States. He includes both physical problems of climate and movement and preferences of our troops for specific types of food, equipment, and services. Though occasionally one might wish to refer to earlier volumes for background, this study is self-contained and an excellent reference. The index is exceptionally usable.

H. FABIAN UNDERHILL, *Indiana University*

JESSE H. JONES: THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN. By *Bascom N. Timmons*. (New York: Henry Holt. 1956. Pp. 414. \$6.00.) This book does not add significantly to what Jesse Jones has told about himself in his own *Fifty Billion Dollars*. It is not a work of scholarship but largely a memoir by a man who regarded Jones as "the ablest man I have ever known." The author, a veteran newspaperman and close friend of Jones, says that a large proportion of the story consists of matters of his own "personal knowledge." As Timmons unfolds the story, one can seldom ascertain whether he is recalling direct observation, testimony from Jones, or hearsay. Footnotes are scarce and there is no bibliography. The author's general statements about men and events of the period are mainly reflections of his personal opinions and prejudices. With these limitations, the book is a readable account of an important career. It covers the whole span of Jesse's life and explains how he became rich. Settling in Houston, a center of rising wealth and population, he put everything he could borrow into real estate and buildings. With shrewd management of men and capital, he reaped the increment of natural growth in Texas. He helped to secure his business interests by playing an active role in community and political affairs and through ownership of the *Houston Chronicle*. Jones demonstrated a singleness of purpose, practicality of mind, and ability of decision which brought success in most of his undertakings. While Timmons' easygoing narrative illustrates the powerful qualities of his hero, it cannot be considered a well-rounded biography. It is limited chiefly to business and public matters and casts dim light upon Jones's personal life—except generalizations that he was universally loved and admired. The book, moreover, lacks

critical insight and is unreliable as history. One may safely conclude from it that Jones was a highly resourceful and useful citizen. But this fact has been well established by Jones himself, and Timmons contributes little else of value.

THOMAS H. GREER, *Michigan State University*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- SAMUEL GRIDLEY HOWE: SOCIAL REFORMER, 1801-1876. By *Harold Schwartz*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXVII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 348. \$6.00.) Samuel Gridley Howe was a New England reformer of the early nineteenth century. High-tempered, thin-skinned, all too often paternalistic and condescending in his attitude toward others, lacking in humility,

difficult to live with, he was yet a great humanitarian and one who played a noble part in making the world a better place in which to live. He did relief work among the Greeks during their war for independence. He sought to aid the Poles in Prussia, exiles from their native land because of the Polish Revolution of 1830, and was thrown in prison for his pains by the Prussian government. Returning to the United States, he found his place in a struggling school for the blind. This school, which became known as the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind, he made the foremost institution of its kind in the world. He made an even greater name for himself in the education of the deaf-blind. His interests ramified. He led a movement that resulted in the organization of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth. Hydropathy and phrenology caught his fancy and consumed his time as possible means for the improvement of the human race. He became an ardent supporter of Horace Mann's effort to better public education and of Dorothea Lynde Dix's efforts to improve the condition of the insane. It was inevitable that Howe should become interested in abolitionism, and after about 1845 it absorbed more and more of his attention. Classing William Lloyd Garrison and his followers as fanatics, he yet abhorred the peculiar institution. His abhorrence was intensified by the controversy in the 1840's over the admission of Texas to the Union, and he became a Conscience Whig, more and more convinced that abolition was the only answer to the slavery evil. Howe was deeply involved in John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859. Doubtful of the value of war to save the Union, when war did come, he threw himself with fervor behind the Union cause. But he seems never to have regarded Lincoln as more than a "good-willed incompetent" (p. 257). A Jeffersonian in his principles, always suspicious of government's interference in economic matters, Howe had his proper place in the first half of the nineteenth century. The swirling currents and problems of post-Civil War America found him unresponsive to many of the social needs of the time, although he returned to education and the organization of charities in his later years. When he was over sixty-five, he reorganized the Perkins School. The author has placed Howe in his setting in more than adequate fashion. We have here an enlightening study of one facet of the reforming temperament that was so prevalent in the New England of the Middle Period. Taken in conjunction with similar studies, it gives us perspective on the reformers and their contribution to American society. There is good documentation, which is evidently much more extensive in the doctoral dissertation on which this book is based. The bibliography is useful, although it and the index might well have been expanded. Schwartz should be given credit for writing clearly, intelligibly, and with some degree of literary skill.

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN, *University of Rochester*

ANCESTORS AND IMMIGRANTS: A CHANGING NEW ENGLAND TRADITION. By *Barbara Miller Solomon*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 276. \$4.75.) Here is a notable addition to those recent books explaining in a new way part of the history of New England and owing their origin, in one way or another, to Oscar Handlin. This one describes the immigrant's influence on the ideas of those upper class Yankee Bostonians—the proper Bostonians, the Brahmins—who believed, in the mid-nineteenth century, in welcoming the newcomer as a matter of course, even if they didn't wholly like him. As the number of arrivals increased, many of the Brahmins grew dismayed and, before the century ended, felt that immigration, particularly that of the "new" type, should be sharply restricted. The character and development of their arguments are carefully and clearly analyzed, and the work of their creation, the Immigration Restriction League, is described adequately for the first time. The story of the League's success in securing federal legislation and

in helping stamp a pattern of immigration control on the country brings the book to a close. The Brahmin minority which kept to the old ideas of freedom is treated more briefly. The narrative could easily have been vague or lost in detail. It is neither. Good use is made of the personal approach; ideas are not just Brahmin ones, but those of a typical few, and these persons are made real and interesting. The book, consequently, is interesting too. It benefits further from a thorough and careful use of material, some available for the first time. The influence of Harvard is shown; not only was it the inevitable college for many Brahmins but also its faculty and presidents made many contributions to the debate on immigration. It is difficult to write about such a topic as the restriction of immigration in a dispassionate way, and this book is not without emotion, particularly in the later chapters. It has a point of view—that restriction was and is undesirable, that the American tradition is the nineteenth-century welcome rather than the dislike of the alien so strong over a rather longer period. It quite properly has no use for the arguments defending restriction on racial or religious grounds; it has little use for the arguments that America has paid a price for its rapid growth. The story Mrs. Solomon tells is not a happy one, but she does point out that newcomers, at first so disliked, have in the end been recognized for their worth as human beings. For this, and for its perceptive insight into a complex story and the difficult Brahmin character, her book makes a real addition to the Boston story.

HERBERT W. HILL, *Dartmouth College*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- FEDERALIST DELAWARE, 1775-1815. By John A. Munroe. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, Number 6.] (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. Pp. xiv, 286. \$5.00.) The three counties that make up Delaware, with their long history from the first Swedish colonial settlements down to the present-day integration of schools and industrialization of rural areas, furnish an excellent laboratory for the study of American history, in which historians can test their principles of interpretation by the hard facts of local events. Delaware is half southern, half northern; one part is on a major trade route, one part is isolated; some of her people are British,

some European in origin. Her history is a tiny cameo of the largest elements of American experience. Professor Munroe's excellent volume, the intensive investigation of the records of forty years, is the ablest work yet done in this laboratory and certainly deserves to be considered the basic study of the Revolutionary generation in a critical, watershed area. He first describes the fabric of Delaware society in the late eighteenth century—the people, their villages, towns, and farms, their employments, thought, and faiths. Next he proceeds with a narrative of revolutionary events in Delaware, from the Stamp Act Congress which first drew the three lower counties into the web of continental union, through independence, invasion, the long trying years until peace, and the new constitution of 1787. Following 1795, he hangs all the various strands of his history on political developments, which in Delaware is a wholesome and useful thing to do because politics—the contest between Federalist and Republican—was the orientation of all the public activities of the people. Delaware was "the Federalist state paramount." Until 1820, every Assembly was Federalist, as were every United States senator, most representatives, and all but two governors. Munroe's keen and convincing analysis of Delaware's rejection of Jeffersonianism is an important, perceptive contribution. Particularly important are his statements showing Methodism as a conservative force and isolation from European opinion as an arresting factor and his very instructive demonstration that the Jeffersonian party was the party of manufacture and commerce in Delaware while the Federalists were the party of farmers and pastoral virtue. This is a strange picture, but it is one which historians all would do well to contemplate, for they have been too easy with their generalizations. Surely history should never get too far from the people.

J. H. POWELL, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

BLUEGRASS CAVALCADE. Edited by *Thomas D. Clark*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 376. \$5.00.) In this volume, over sixty selections from some fifty writers have been skillfully put together as a literary and historical introduction to the Bluegrass region of Kentucky. The authors represented range from such early chroniclers of "The Promised Land" as John Filson and Gilbert Imlay to more recent writers like James Lane Allen, Henry Watterson, Irvin S. Cobb, Robert Penn Warren, and Clement Eaton. The pieces themselves vary from history, biography, and news stories to fiction, anecdotes, and tall tales. The editor, Professor Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky, himself one of the outstanding writers on Kentucky, has made no effort here to present a systematic account of the origin and evolution of Bluegrass culture. Instead, he has sought through this impressive sample of the vast literature on the Kentucky Bluegrass to give the reader a taste of the rich flavor of the region and some insight into the mind and habits of its people, without neglecting its historical transition from frontier to civilization. The result is a well-organized, colorful, and entertaining book that focuses attention on a large assortment of topics, including the frontier, politics, the Civil War, heroes and heroines, religion, food, and such Bluegrass pastimes as horse racing and cockfighting. The excellent introduction and notes provided by the editor greatly enhance the book's usefulness. A final word: so effective are some of these Bluegrass writers that the reader can almost taste the bourbon and the burgoo!

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR., *Vanderbilt University*

THOMAS A. R. NELSON OF EAST TENNESSEE. By *Thomas B. Alexander*. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission. 1956. Pp. x, 186. \$3.00.) Thomas A. R. Nelson was a successful country lawyer in upper East Tennessee and a conservative politician of the second rank. A Whig presidential elector in 1844 and 1848, he was narrowly

defeated for the Senate in 1851, and he served a term in Congress during the secession crisis. After the Civil War, Nelson became a Conservative Democratic supporter of Andrew Johnson and a minor member of Johnson's counsel during the impeachment trial. He played his most important historical role as a leader of the East Tennessee Unionists during the Civil War, when his ambiguous course reflected the perplexing position of those moderates who could never be altogether happy about either side. Such unspectacular figures are often more representative of important groups than the major leaders, and they are too frequently passed over by historians. Nelson's biography shares his own respectable but unspectacular qualities. The author conscientiously recounts the successive events of Nelson's life, but he has not cast much new light over the still murky historical terrain that Nelson traversed.

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR., *Princeton University*

GEORGE WASHINGTON CAMPBELL OF TENNESSEE: WESTERN STATES-MAN. By *Weymouth T. Jordan*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 17.] (Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1955. Pp. x, 214. \$3.50.) Between 1803 and 1836, George Washington Campbell held many public offices. He was a representative and senator from Tennessee in the Congress of the United States, a member of Tennessee's Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, Secretary of the Treasury, minister to Russia, and a United States commissioner to adjudicate spoliation claims of Americans against France. He was also a notably successful lawyer and businessman. In politics, he was a supporter of Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. Professor Jordan has felt strongly that Campbell "does not deserve the obscurity that has been his lot" (p. 201); and so he has undertaken "to put together for the first time a connected account of Campbell's activities and contributions, and to rescue him from almost complete oblivion" (p. viii). Unfortunately, however, no substantial body of Campbell's own correspondence and other papers appears to have been preserved for the enlightenment of biographers and historians. Jordan has searched industriously in national, state, and county archives, in some of the groups of papers preserved by Campbell's contemporaries, in newspapers, and elsewhere, and as a result he has found scattered bits of information which he has brought together as an account, adequate for his purposes, chiefly of Campbell's public career. The relatively little information that is available about Campbell's private life is presented in the last chapter, which was published, substantially as in the present volume, in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* for 1941.

PHILIP M. HAMER, *Washington, D. C.*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE FOUNDING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN WISCONSIN. By Lloyd P. Jorgenson. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1956. Pp. viii, 252.) This volume describes the development of public education in Wisconsin from its rudimentary beginnings at scattered trading posts to the fairly definite establishment of a state school system by the opening of the Civil War. It treats of attitudes toward education among the settlers, school law, school finance, school organization, curriculum, and instruction during the territorial period and the early years of statehood. It is a welcome addition to both state history and the history of education. The reader will find educational problems, mistakes, and progress much the same as those with which he is familiar elsewhere. Confusion over local responsibility for maintaining schools, the struggle for tax support, misuse of the school lands, faith in education coupled with a lack of willingness to support it, evolution of the superintendency, discipline and attendance, teacher certification and education—all are subjects of discussion. And the discussion is of value in relation not only to the history of education in Wisconsin but to that in the nation. The book is well organized and well written. The author seems to have used excellent sources and used them well. Laws and legislative journals, county records, reports of the state superintendent, diaries and recollections, contemporary newspapers, and professional journals are exploited, together with appropriate secondary works. One might wish that local school records had been used more extensively, but these are difficult to locate for most frontier regions. There is a useful note on the sources. Appendixes include a significant school bill from the territorial assembly, some data on Wisconsin teachers for 1859-1860, and the school report of the Secretary of the Territory for 1847. Footnotes are assembled at the end of the book, rather than appearing on the appropriate pages. The volume is indexed.

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT, *Duke University*

AN AMERICAN IN CALIFORNIA: THE BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM HEATH DAVIS, 1822-1909. By Andrew F. Rolle. (San Marino, Calif.: Henry E. Huntington

Library, 1956. Pp. x, 155. \$4.25.) Most historians of the West are familiar with William Heath Davis' autobiographical *Seventy-five Years in California*. Davis traded on the western coast from 1838 until his death in 1909, and in his book astutely observed the hide and tallow trade, the conquest of California by the United States in 1846, the Gold Rush, and the later economic metamorphoses of San Francisco and San Diego. But until now, no biography of William Heath Davis has appeared to fill the gaps and elucidate the scattered jottings of *Seventy-five Years*. Andrew Rolle has most fortunately answered this need in *An American in California*. Rolle's work by no means supplants the Davis source, nor does he so intend it; instead he frequently avoids repetition of the *Seventy-five Years*. For example, Davis' description of his own wedding in 1847 to Maria Estudillo, daughter of a wealthy and important Mexican family, is filled with rich detail of customs and festivities. Rolle, however, skims lightly over the colorful particulars but goes on to delineate wider implications of this union of the Protestant-Boston and Catholic-Spanish traditions. One particularly good chapter in the Rolle account, which also suggests the book's value as a supplement to the Davis source, relates Davis' problems after 1851 as manager of the Estudillo properties. The San Leandro Ranch of some 4,500 acres fronting on San Francisco Bay was subject to the complaints of an embattled cattle industry, constant conflict with squatters, and endless litigation over land titles. Throughout the fifties and sixties, as both a cattleman and a farmer, Davis joined the kind of fight which later became nationally important not only in the wars of cattleman against homesteader in the Middle West but also in Grangerism, Populism, and the whole plight of an agricultural society in the midst of an increasingly urban economy. Davis' own account of the San Leandro Ranch is hopelessly episodic; Rolle gives a far more complete picture. It is to be hoped that an equally valuable biography will be forthcoming of Alfred Robinson, whose *Life in California* provides the same kind of vivid source as the early parts of Davis' *Seventy-five Years*.

ROBERT V. HINE, *University of California, Riverside*

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Latin American History

Rollie E. Poppino¹

THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF MEXICO, 1517-1521. By Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Edited from the only exact copy of the original MS (and published in Mexico) by Genaro García. Translated and with an Introduction and Notes by A. P. Maudslay. Introduction to the American edition by Irving A. Leonard. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1956. Pp. xxxi, 478. \$6.50.) This first American edition of Bernal Díaz has been strangely long-delayed, so it is now that much more welcome. Such an easily available edition as this will satisfy a real need in the classroom and many a public library, for other printings of the Maudslay translation were not readily accessible and the Keatinge translation was unsatisfactory on various scores. This edition is very attractive in format and, following the 1928 English edition, excludes the long account of the Cortés march to Honduras, two factors which will undoubtedly contribute to the book's popularity. Unfortunately, the volume lacks even minimum map facilities, and this will be hard on readers not well acquainted with Mexican history and geography. It is unfortunate that some of the cost of the decorative drawing could not have been diverted to produce the useful maps of the 1928 edition. For those who know and appreciate the Spanish language, the volume is irritating because it constantly misuses accents in proper names; this carelessness in the original Maudslay work

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

should have been rectified. There is a useful "translator's commentary," an outlined itinerary of the Cortés expedition, and an index. One valuable feature is the use of some of Cortés' writing to round out the story of the siege and fall of the Aztec capital. Ubiquitous though he was, Bernal Díaz could see from only one of the three attack points, and thus the Cortés descriptions contribute to a much fuller view of the story's climax. The Leonard and García introductions place in perspective this classic of New World adventure, stressing again that this eyewitness account of one of man's truly unique and magnificent experiences deserves to rank in the highest level of the great adventure stories of all time.

PHILIP W. POWELL, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

THE IMPERIAL CITY OF POTOSÍ: AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF SPANISH AMERICA. By *Lewis Hanke*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1956. Pp. 60. Guilders 5.70.) This engaging little book might be called a prospectus for a history of the once-famous silver mining city of Potosí in colonial Upper Peru (modern Bolivia). Its purpose is to promote that systematic and thorough study which Potosí richly deserves but has never received ("Our knowledge of Potosí may be said to be still in the folklore stage. . . . Myths about Potosí still influence the historians who study its past"). To this end, Professor Hanke first sketches in *chiaroscuro* the lurid history of this "boom town supreme" from the discovery of its fabulously rich mountain of silver in 1545 to the Liberator Bolívar's visit to it in 1825. Having thus captured the attention of all but the most obstinate readers, the author goes on to discuss soberly such topics as "The Dearth of Printed Histories of Potosí," "Manuscript Material Available," and (in the longest section of the book, pp. 17-35) "Problems in the History of Peru." The text concludes with some "Tentative Interpretations" and is followed by fourteen pages of notes and a copious index. The latter includes the names of authors and almost all other names mentioned in the text and notes—almost, but not quite, for while both Don Quijote and Sancho Panza appear on page 1, only Don Quijote makes the index. Appropriately to its purpose, the book opens with the following flourish: "No city in all the vast territory of America won for the King of Spain—save perhaps Mexico City—has had a more interesting or more important history than Potosí. . . ." While appropriate, this gambit is unsound. By no generally agreed standard was Potosí the most important city in Spanish America during the last colonial century. To most historians, past and present, this moneygrubbing city, perpetually adolescent even in its dotage, in which not a single book was published in the whole colonial period, was never very interesting—else why that dearth of histories of it of which Hanke complains? Yet we agree that its importance is considerable and its neglect excessive; and we hope that Hanke will take the lead in making amends to it by following up his present brief foray with a sustained attack on its superabundant historical materials, which, of their kind, are as rich as the silver mountain of Potosí that the Spaniards rifled in the century and a half after its discovery.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER, *University of Pennsylvania*

EARLY FLORIDA THROUGH SPANISH EYES. By *W. R. Jackson, Jr.* Edited by *R. S. Boggs*. [University of Miami Hispanic-American Studies, Number 12.] (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1954. Pp. 179.) This is an account of the early years of Florida through Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian eyes (contrary to what the title might lead us to believe), together with reflections almost exclusively of a historical nature. The chronicles of Florida are interesting to the historian, but they hardly lend themselves to a rewarding literary scrutiny, and one wonders why Mr. Jackson was permitted to use them as the basis of a doctoral dissertation by the Depart-

ment of Spanish and Italian at the University of Illinois. The plan of the work is also hard to understand. Excerpts from the chronicles are scattered throughout the book, and there are other selections from the same sources in the form of an anthology. All this material has been collected in four chapters, viz., "Legendary Florida," "Gold, Silver and Pearls," "Florida as a Land of Plenty," and "The Character of the Inhabitants." The weaknesses that we have noted probably result from the fact that the author did an essentially historical work in a department whose orientation is obviously not primarily historical. The notes are carefully done, and there is a good bibliography.

MANOEL CARDOZO, *Catholic University of America*

HISTORIA DE SANTO DOMINGO. By *Gustavo Adolfo Mejía*. (Ciudad Trujillo: Editores Pol Hermanos. 1956. Pp. 453, xxvii.) This is the eighth volume of the detailed and extensively documented history of Santo Domingo, which has been in publication since 1948. The preceding volumes cover the story in the following form: background and beginnings; discovery and Columbus, to 1493; occupation and conquest, 1493-1506; colonization and early administration, 1506-1533; colonial era, 1533-1608; seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 1608-1801; and Napoleonic conquest, Haitian occupation and war of reconquest, 1801-1809. In the new volume, Mejía deals with the period known as the reincorporation with Spain (1809-1820) and the achievement of independence (1821). He describes the reestablishment of Spanish rule, giving details of the opening years of the new regime, and explains the Cadiz constitution and its application in Santo Domingo. Following are his accounts of the administration by the governors sent from Spain and the events which led up to the final break with the mother country in 1821. He next sets forth the story of the achievement of independence, explaining the plan of the revolutionists and its execution. He gives the text of the declaration of independence and of the constitution, and discusses the activities of the leaders in the revolutionary movement and in the organization of the early independent government. The survey is well presented and many important documents are included either in the text or in the elaborate footnotes. Each chapter has a bibliography, and there is an index of names. The Secretary of Education and Fine Arts has declared Mejía's work a text for the professors of the normal schools of the Republic. It is a worthy contribution to the historiography of Santo Domingo.

ROSCOE R. HILL, *Washington, D. C.*

TREINTA AÑOS DE APRISMO. By *Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre*. (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1956. Pp. 247.) Written by the founder and leader of the Revolutionary People's Alliance of America (APRA) while a political refugee in the Colombian Embassy in Lima, this book seeks to vindicate the correctness and consistency of APRA's general line during the thirty years of its existence. The basis of Haya's position is the simple premise that "Europe is Europe and America is America." From this premise flows his theory of imperialism, which differs sharply from the Marxist or Leninist model in its particularism. Haya argues that for Latin America imperialism is not the last or highest stage of capitalism but the first and lowest, for there it represents not only a danger but a progressive force, hastening industrialization (admittedly of a very limited type) and the formation of an industrial proletariat. Moreover, the export of surplus capital to backward areas by great industrial powers like the United States is inevitable and irresistible in its drive. Therefore Latin-American "resistance" to imperialism should not take the form of seeking to exclude or expel all foreign capital but should attempt to control or regulate it, setting conditions for its activity that would "obtain all the benefits of industrialization while trying to diminish as much as possible its aspects of injustice and

cruelty." In any case, the abolition of imperialism is not a task for weak peoples "in the rearguard of economic progress." Haya insists that the first step in resistance to imperialism must be the political and economic union of all Indo-America; he does not explain how this "first step" is to be taken in the discernible future in the face of the mountainous differences separating the Latin-American states. The Aprista domestic program speaks of "progressive nationalization of agrarian and industrial wealth," but Haya observes, citing with special approval the Uruguayan and Mexican examples, that this nationalization must be neither socialist nor communist. The great landowner is signaled out as the chief enemy of progress in Peru and reference is made to "legal expropriation" of large estates, but chief stress is placed on technical reforms and on consultation between classes through an Economic Congress representing labor, capital, and the state. The essentially middle-class character of the Aprista movement emerges from Haya's analysis of the Peruvian social scene: neither the backward Indian peasantry nor the small and immature industrial proletariat is qualified to lead the nation; by inference, it is the middle class, the most cultured and socially conscious sector of the population, that must lead a union of the three classes in the formation of a democratic, anti-imperialist state. As is well known, during its brief tenure of political influence in the Bustamante coalition government, 1945-1948, the Aprista People's Party showed a marked readiness to subordinate political philosophy to the advantages of officeholding and a mild program of social legislation. This fact gives an unconvincing quality to Haya de la Torre's pseudo-Marxist phrases and to his grandiose program.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

History and Historians in 1956

The St. Louis Meeting

I

The seventy-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at the Sheraton-Jefferson, St. Louis, Missouri, December 28-30, offered to those who attended a fair cross section of what American historians are thinking and doing in 1956. No central theme characterized the program since the committee believed that experiments in that direction had often been little more than undue amplifications of Croce's text, all history is contemporary. A few years ago an analysis of the Association's presidential addresses made a doctoral dissertation; a very satisfactory master's essay could be made out of the reports of program chairmen, an essay valuable in method as well as in substance, for it would furnish a *caveat* against exclusive dependence on documents.

Registrations for the meeting totaled about 1,500, and in addition many guests swelled the attendance. In all there were fifty-three general and joint sessions, luncheon conferences, and dinner meetings, two teas, and one "reception." (Unhappily there is no record of the number or topics of the intermural sessions.) Twenty groups and societies met jointly with the Association. Except for two joint sessions at the St. Louis Public Library, three joint sessions at the Statler, and a tea at St. Louis University, all sessions were held at the Sheraton-Jefferson. Ralph Bieber of Washington University had charge of local arrangements and much credit for a successful meeting goes to him and his committee. The members of that committee were: John F. Bannon, S.J., St. Louis University; Averam B. Bender, Harris Teachers College; Harold E. Briggs, Southern Illinois University; Homer Clevenger, Lindenwood College; Jasper W. Cross, St. Louis University; Samuel A. Johnson, Harris Teachers College; Wesley E. Kettelkamp, Historical Association of Greater St. Louis; Franc L. McCluer, President, Lindenwood College; Floyd A. McNeil, Principia College; Clarence E. Miller, Librarian, St. Louis Mercantile Library; Dorothy A. Neuhoﬀ, Washington University; Louis M. Nourse, Librarian, St. Louis Public Library; Charles Van Ravenswaay, Director, Missouri Historical Society; The Very Reverend Paul C. Reinert, S.J., President, St. Louis University; Ethan A. H. Shepley, Chancellor, Washington University; Reverend August R. Suelflow, Director, Concordia Historical Institute; and Dorothy A. Williams, Principia College. The Association has every reason to be

grateful to the staffs of the Sheraton-Jefferson, the Statler, and the St. Louis Public Library for contributing to the success of the meeting.

The Program Committee consisted of Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University, Charles Gibson of the State University of Iowa, R. S. Hoyt of the University of Minnesota, Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago, John H. Stewart of Western Reserve University, and Charles F. Mullett of the University of Missouri, chairman. Although the chairman cannot for reasons of space list all those to whom he feels a special debt, he must avow his gratitude not only to the extraordinarily congenial members of the committee, but to George Carson, Director, AHA Service Center for Teachers of History, Val Lorwin of the University of Chicago, and Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, all of whom sat with the committee at one or another of its sessions (which by the courtesy of the last named were held at the Newberry), and to his colleagues at Missouri who gave ease and comfort beyond the call of duty. To the chairmen of sessions and the participants must also go the thanks of the committee.

The program itself emerged from a great number and variety of suggestions, some volunteered, some the product of the committee itself, and many the response to about one hundred letters to departmental chairmen. The committee, though embarrassed by riches, deeply appreciated the quantity and quality of topics presented for its consideration. Yet it must also be said that in the midst of plenty was sparseness: for several significant areas of historical study the committee received either no or at best one proposal. Before the committee made its final decisions on proposed general sessions, it carefully considered on the basis of diverse evidence whether the topics were significant and whether they would compete successfully with less organized attractions. If some rooms were too small and others too large, the members of the committee can only plead that though historians may transcend space they have not conquered it, that on occasion enthusiasm for a session was not translated into attendance. Some sessions were deliberately set up to cut across boundaries, geographical, chronological, and intellectual; others of course had a narrower appeal. Happily, the broader sessions dug deep as well as general and the more specialized ones often had a projective quality that dug general as well as deep.

II

Sessions of general interest got off to a lively and satisfying start when Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin College dealt with the perennial problem of periodization in a paper "How and When Did the Modern World Begin?" with James L. Cate, University of Chicago, in the chair. The widely varied answers to this question, said Artz, depended in part on whether an intellectual or a political and economic historian was considering it. He preferred to coordinate these disparate views, suggesting that modern intellectual life began in northern France between 1150 and 1300 and that the modern economic and political world came into being in north-

ern Italy in the same period. Both appointed commentators took issue with this conclusion. Bryce Lyon, University of Illinois, speaking as a medievalist, deplored recent attrition on the thousand years traditionally allotted to the Middle Ages. Geoffrey Bruun would set the opening of the modern world much later, when European expansion had modified the prevalent parochialism and the new scientific method and spirit had released men's minds from prison. Artz defended his position by stressing the technological advances that began as early as 800. Since all three participants adhered meticulously to their time limits, there was opportunity for discussion from the floor. The amount and vigor of audience participation from the S.R.O. crowd of over two hundred, as well as a lengthy report in the newspaper, justified the inclusion of the topic.

Another general session of wide appeal, designed to mark the 250th anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birth and the 100th anniversary of Alexis de Tocqueville's *L'Ancien Régime* . . . , produced two thought-provoking addresses and a challenging comparison. George W. Pierson of Yale presided. In a cogent analysis of the celebrated eighteenth-century American, whose papers he is now editing, Leonard W. Labaree of Yale argued that the image of Poor Richard—of Franklin as the apostle of the middle-class virtues of industry, ingenuity, frugality, and thrift—has been overdone while other notable characteristics have been neglected. Franklin can be more usefully remembered for his persistent statesmanship in the cause of peace, for his abandonment of money-grubbing in favor of forty-two years of service to his fellow man, and especially for his capacity to broaden and grow. Where he had once scorned the Pennsylvania Dutch he became their patron. And where he had begun as a slaveholder he wound up as president of the Abolition Society.

In his reconsideration of Alexis de Tocqueville, Edward T. Gargan of Loyola University, Chicago, referring to the resurgent but uneven scholarship on France's great analyst of democratic societies, suggested that historians might deliberately disregard Tocqueville's uncanny talent for prophecy in order to penetrate unanswered questions. How had the Restoration, and its collapse, conditioned Tocqueville's psychology? From what personal experience or chance cues had Tocqueville generalized his equalitarian judgments in the second part of his *Démocratie*? Had not his preferences for the theoretical and the spiritual over the pragmatic and institutional prejudiced his political effectiveness? And had not his fears of socialism as the road to dictatorship perhaps deprived his generation of an architect of that intellectual leadership without which it could not succeed? The historian's biography must yet be written. In trait after striking trait—commented Robert R. Palmer of Princeton—Franklin and Tocqueville were diametric opposites. And it might have been well had Tocqueville known more of Franklin, or grasped the usefulness of the factual, American approach.

III

Alongside the sauce for the speculative there was fare for the specialist, fare that had its sauce too. Ancient history regrettably had only one session and that, significantly, was outside Greece and Rome. That interest exists in the Ancient field is to be seen in the highly successful session, chaired by A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan, which was devoted to the reading and discussion of a scholarly and interesting paper, "Some Sumerian Questions," by Tom B. Jones, University of Minnesota. After pointing out that our present views of Sumerian civilization are based primarily on material disclosed by excavations and knowledge derived from Sumerian literature, he proceeded to show by an examination of certain documents from the Third Dynasty of Ur that another important but relatively untapped source of information exists in the Sumerian economic texts. The documents which Jones discussed relate to the production of barley at Lagash. Through them, we may see how agricultural production was organized and what changes in the older system were introduced by the central government at Ur; they also furnish criteria for estimating the size of the population at Lagash. The paper was illustrated by slides.

In his commentary, John Snyder, Indiana University, indicated the importance of increasing our knowledge of the history of the Ancient Near East for a better understanding of the problems of Greek history, but stressed the difficulties involved in the interpretation of the documentary sources for Sumerian social and economic history. He also stressed the significance of the Third Dynasty of Ur as a period of political and social change and proceeded to adduce supporting evidence of Jones's conclusions. Many members of this well-attended session participated in a general discussion.

If the ancient period was scanty, the same can scarcely be said of medieval history, for, in addition to sharing in sessions not exclusively medieval, it had three. At the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy, with S. Harrison Thomson of Colorado replacing David Bjork, University of California at Los Angeles, in the chair, Bryce Lyon of the University of Illinois read a provocative paper, "Medieval Real Estate Developments and Freedom." He pointed out that although since the mid-nineteenth-century medievalists had sensed a connection between the vast land reclamation of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the emancipation of the peasant, no one had attempted to trace the evolution from serfdom to self-government won by many peasants who reclaimed and settled land in Germany, France, England, and the Low Countries. He for his part devoted his attention to Maritime Flanders where the evidence was most abundant. Here the counts and ecclesiastical establishments lured peasants to reclaim and settle land by granting them elementary bourgeois liberties and thereby creating *villes neuves*. This area of freedom pressed so relentlessly upon the seignorial system to the interior that commutation of labor services occurred rapidly; by the mid-thirteenth century there was no longer any

serfdom in Flanders. Therefore, one must conclude that land reclamation exerted a constant and powerful pressure for emancipation. By the thirteenth century, the new communities of Maritime Flanders had begun to attain the privileges of self-government; surprisingly enough, even small agrarian communities secured such status. Although the evidence is less satisfactory for France and Germany, they too witnessed the same development. Clearly we should not regard self-government as a monopoly of the great towns; it existed also in the agrarian village. Agrarian freedom and self-government, Lyon concluded, date from the twelfth century, not from the Germany of Tacitus.

In the session devoted to medieval intellectual and ecclesiastical history, presided over by Gray Boyce of Northwestern, George H. Williams of Harvard University presented a rigorous analysis of "The Sacramental Presuppositions of St. Anselm's Doctrine of the Atonement," showing that the strictly rationalist character of the demonstration in *Cur Deus Homo* has deflected attention from the sacramental milieu of Anselm's doctrine of the atonement. A fresh examination of all of Anselm's writings which throw light on his sacramental theology in relation to the atonement makes it possible to distinguish "baptismal theories" of the atonement in which the struggle of Christ with the demonic power is uppermost and a "eucharistic theory" of the atonement. By the eleventh century, when baptism had become largely a rite of infancy and penance had come to interpose itself between baptismal regeneration and the eucharistic altar, it was appropriate that an alert theologian should articulate afresh the doctrine of the atonement consonant with the changes in the relationship of the sacraments to each other. The *Cur Deus Homo* in sloughing off the devil also witnesses a change in the function of the sacraments. In the eleventh century, the baptismally qualified penitent is progressively incorporated into the Body of Christ by the sacrament of the altar, becoming one with the universal humanity of the *Deus-homo*. In his appreciative commentary, Father John A. Kemp of Loyola University stressed the fundamental position of St. Anselm in the maturation of theological thought. It was Anselm, and not his predecessors, who made it possible for subsequent scholars to make progress. Both speaker and commentator agreed that in Anselm is truly found the *Philosophus Christi* who, with beauty and tenderness, on a high level, classified religious truth while dealing boldly with the greatest problems of Christian faith. Under the stimulus of so excellent a paper and commentary, there were several questions from the floor.

Although at first thought the immediacy of current international politics would seem to have no medieval antecedents, the session on East and West in the Middle Ages, chaired by Joseph Strayer, Princeton University, effectively refuted such an assumption. In his paper, "How European Was Eastern Europe in the High Middle Ages?" Otakar Odlozilik of the University of Pennsylvania discussed the competition among Byzantium, the German Empire, and the pope for the allegiance of the central belt of Slavic states running from Poland to Serbia.

He stressed the importance of the schism of 1054 in creating this competition but also pointed out that the investiture struggle stirred up a great deal of interest in securing the support of the states of East Central Europe. Competition between pope and emperor for the support of Poland, Bohemia, and Croatia was at least as intensive as the struggle between Rome and Byzantium. The papacy found that granting royal titles and establishing new metropolitan sees were effective weapons in securing the support of the ruling classes in the disputed zone. Archibald Lewis, University of Texas, suggested that economic contacts were at least as important as religious and political alliances in determining the characteristics of the civilization of the East Central European countries. As long as this region had few commercial contacts with the West, it tended to gravitate toward the East. Peter Charanis of Rutgers suggested that before the question of relative Eastern and Western influences could be discussed, a definition should be given of the two civilizations which were supposedly in conflict. He felt that the importance of the schism of 1054 had been overestimated and that the real turning point came in the eighth century when Rome broke with Byzantium and sought support in Northern and Western Europe.

IV

The early modern period got much more consideration than has sometimes been the case. The Renaissance and Reformation had sessions to themselves, and in several more general sessions one or two papers dealt with the same period. A highly praised meeting, chaired by Gaines Post, University of Wisconsin, sponsored by the American Committee of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, was devoted to "Representative Institutions, Medieval and Early Modern."

Three stimulating papers dealt chiefly with the executive in relation to assemblies. Gavin I. Langmuir of Harvard University treated the problem of counsel in the French royal assemblies of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Emphasizing the tradition of consultation, he showed that the assembly was not simply a judicial aspect of the *curia regis*, but the instrument by which the king could receive the counsel of the barons and decide matters wisely and well. The flexibility of counsel, however, permitted the king to increase his power at the expense of the old idea of the wisdom of the community represented by the barons. J. Russell Major of Emory University showed how the variety of French assemblies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the consequent lack of experience in procedures, and the "loss of royal initiative" between 1558 and 1615 caused the decay of the Estates General. Herbert H. Rowen of the State University of Iowa, interested in the problems of the central authority in Holland rather than in representation, argued that John de Witt, the "makeshift executive," failed because there was no permanent executive, but improvisation only, and implied that the lack of a monarchy strong enough to make use of an adequate representation of the estates was the

principal weakness. The discussion of the papers was ably led by Ralph E. Giesey of the University of Washington. He emphasized the failure of the Estates General to assume responsibility in France and the resulting absolutism of the monarchy, while in Holland the estates were anti-absolutist and had to become responsible.

Considering the opportunity at hand, the program committee could not fail to present a description of the nature and riches of the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University. This session was chaired by Rev. Robert J. Welch, State University of Iowa. The first two speakers were actively associated with establishment of the library, which began in 1951 and is now nearing completion. To date, over 11,000,000 pages have been filmed from the Vatican Library's collection of handwritten volumes or codexes. Using a color movie, Lowrie J. Daly, S.J., St. Louis University, explained the problems and methods of filming so vast an amount of material and the Library's setup and use. With the aid of color slides, Edward R. Vollmar, S.J., also of St. Louis University, discussed "The Indexes and Other Aids in Using the Vatican Manuscripts." There are, he said, three general tools: the first and most elementary is the written inventory; the second, now suspended, is a collection of 300,000 microfilmed three-by-five cards; the third is a series of printed volumes containing detailed information. All these indexes plus smaller partial studies are available at the Film Library. The third and fourth speakers dealt with the value of the library for specific research interests. Stephan Kuttner, Catholic University, concerned himself with "Canon Law Research in Vatican Manuscripts." He rejected the common assumption that the Vatican Library is the greatest repository of canon law manuscripts; rather it must share its great distinction with collections at Paris, Munich, Leipsig, Vienna, and elsewhere. He also pointed out that the canon law material in the Vatican was largely unused until the present century and that even now much has scarcely been touched. Although he recognized the value of the Film Library in preserving and making available what might otherwise be lost, he observed that marginal glosses and important erasures do not appear in sharp focus. Paul O. Kristeller, Columbia University, in his "Renaissance Research in Vatican Manuscripts," emphasized the great strength of the collections for the Renaissance, a strength "apparently not suspected by those who have not seen them." Many modern scholars have too little appreciation of the manuscript books, as against printed works and archival materials. Since the descriptive volumes so far issued cover only about one fifth of the manuscript materials, Kristeller is soon to publish a catalogue of the unpublished Renaissance texts from the Library. In the subsequent discussion, the audience learned that a second project, that of microfilming the rare books of the Vatican Library, including those relating to Latin America and the Orient, will begin this year.

More exclusively concerned with the Renaissance was a session, unusual in its character, devoted to the work of a foremost scholar in the field. In the absence of E. Harris Harbison of Princeton University, his colleague, Joseph R. Strayer, pre-

sided. Wallace K. Ferguson of the University of Western Ontario read the paper, "The Interpretation of Renaissance Humanism: The Contribution of Hans Baron." After an introductory survey of the varying trends in the interpretation of Italian Humanism during the past hundred years, he noted the fact that most recent efforts in the direction of reinterpretation have been the result of considering the humanist movement in relation to new frames of reference. In this context he then discussed Baron's interpretation of "civic humanism" as a product of the political events of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and particularly of the threat to republican liberty posed by the aggressive Visconti despotism. While fully appreciating the new insights to be gained by placing Humanism in a political frame of reference, he concluded that a comprehensive synthesis would have to be based on a broader foundation. In his comment, William A. Bouwsma of the University of Illinois argued that Baron's purpose has been less to provide a new synthesis than to shift emphasis in Renaissance scholarship to the intensive examination of limited problems. Gene A. Brucker of the University of California, the second commentator, suggested that a fuller knowledge of the internal politics of Florence in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento than is now available might have altered some of Baron's conclusions. Hans Baron of the Newberry Library replied to the criticism of his work and discussed the problems still confronting students of Italian Humanism.

The American Society for Reformation Research held a joint session with the American Society of Church History and the American Historical Association, with John T. McNeill in the chair. The first paper, by Clyde L. Manschreck of Duke University, entitled "The Role of Melanchthon in the Adiaphora Controversy," dealt with the development of the controversy, the views of Melanchthon's opponents, aspects of adiaphora in the earlier writings of Melanchthon and Luther, and the significance of Melanchthon's participation in the controversy. He emphasized the importance of the theological issues, especially the consistent assertion by Melanchthon of the doctrine of Justification by Faith as conditioning his admission of adiaphora in ceremonies, and maintained that Melanchthon did not, in the crisis of 1548, alter the position taken in his earlier writings, or even diverge from the opinions of Luther. In his comment, T. Watson Street of Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary took a less favorable view of Melanchthon, citing Calvin's opinion that Melanchthon's category of adiaphora was too inclusive. He questioned the consistency of Melanchthon and felt that his concessions in the controversy went too far. The discussion placed the controversy in its larger context. The second paper, by Karl H. Dannenfeldt of Arizona State College, dealt with "Concepts of History in Reformation Thought." Dannenfeldt showed the importance of history for Luther and the other reformers as an endless source of examples revealing the will of God and as an aid against the papacy. Luther in controversy turned to history and often acutely criticized prevailing historical assumptions. Melanchthon influenced historiography especially by his edition of John Carion's *Chronicon*.

Zwingli had wide knowledge in history and freely used it. Calvin effectively used his knowledge of the history of the church to refute the papal advocates. Bullinger was less polemical. History became preeminently a Protestant field of study and an instrument of controversy in which Protestant writers stressed the difference between the ancient and the late medieval church. William A. Mueller of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary presented in his comment considerable additional material of interest. The discussion period was necessarily short. Questions referred to included the contribution of Roman Catholic historical writing of the era and the influence of Spalatin on Melanchthon and of Sleidan on Calvin.

Casting its net wide, the session on "The Noble Dream," under the chairmanship of Willson Coates of the University of Rochester, ranged over the last four and a half centuries of Western thought. Eugene Rice of Cornell University showed how the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century travelers to Utopia, "Merchants of Light," both revealed and stimulated the European mind of that time. He analyzed "three fundamental characteristics of Utopian writing—a growing relativism rooted in a widening conception of the institutionally, morally, and religiously possible; a heightened consciousness and understanding of the uniqueness and peculiarities of contemporary European society; and an ability to criticize the *status quo* with detachment." Mrs. Jean T. Joughin gave an exposition of *The City of Equality*, written by the late-nineteenth-century French Marxist, Olivier Souëtre. This work was characteristically anticapitalist and economically-determinist, stressed technology and the perfectibility of institutions, and supports the view that the logical projection of Marxian socialism is a brand of nineteenth-century utopianism. Eugen Weber of the University of California at Los Angeles examined "A Literature of Disillusion—the Anti-Utopia of the Twentieth Century." This peculiarly modern phenomenon has resulted from our very attempts to put Utopian concepts into practice and our proximity to Utopia. The anti-Utopian novelists depict Utopia as a creation of man's ingenuity that progressively dehumanizes him. The modern drive to control nature, however, is as human as the despair induced by its success. "Utopia and Anti-Utopia are the strophe and anti-strophe of a chorus commenting on the doings of man." In his critique of the papers, Joel Colton of Duke University, while admitting the critical and reforming functions of Utopias, suggested that their true totalitarian character should have been recognized sooner. He regarded the meliorist view rather than the Utopian "heresy" as more characteristic of the humane and rationalist traditions of Western culture.

To some extent one might properly consider the session over which William L. Langer of Harvard presided as a case study in Utopian thought and non-Utopian practice. It was devoted entirely to Giuseppe Mazzini and the organization of the Young Europe movement in the years 1831–1835. F. Gunther Eyck, University of Texas, discussed the general topic as well as the Young German aspect of the movement; George A. Carbone, University of Mississippi; Alan Spitzer, Boston

University; and Ludvik Krzyanowski, New York University, analyzed, respectively, the more specifically Italian, French, Swiss, and Polish branches of the Young Europe organization. Resting heavily on the Mazzini correspondence, the various papers stressed the Italian patriot's rejection of the *Carbonaro* movement, his aversion to the "materialism" of the French Revolution, and his uncompromising hatred of tyranny and oppression, as well as his aspirations for humanity, his faith in the collaboration of peoples, and his emphasis on the duties rather than the rights of man. All authors referred to Mazzini's weaknesses, especially his intellectual arrogance and his ineptness in practical affairs. They noted also the relative weakness of his movement and the unwillingness of various national groups, especially the French and the Swiss, to subordinate their particular aims to the requirements of united action under Mazzinian leadership. The contributors were in agreement that the Young Europe movement was premature and generally unsuccessful, but they were also in accord in considering its influence important for later developments. The discussion from the floor brought out interesting points on the Young Poland and Young Norwegian movements, and on the relationship of Mazzinian ideas of international cooperation to those generally accepted in the twentieth century.

Lest it be thought that intellectual history held the field exclusively, attention must immediately be directed to two sessions economic in their emphasis. In the one on "Economic Warfare in Three Wars," with Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale presiding, three suggestive papers focused on this protean subject and its burgeoning significance in the strategy of successive world conflicts. Harold T. Parker of Duke framed a definition of economic warfare, for the entire discussion to follow, as "the use of diplomatic, economic, and financial power, sometimes allied with military and naval activity, to so disorganize the enemy's economy as to impede his war effort." Reconsidering Napoleon's continental system and the countervailing British Orders in Council, in the afterlight of the economic measures of World Wars I and II, he suggested that the British Orders were much better articulated and sustained by the various constituencies of English life and government than were Napoleon's grandiose concepts of policy more arbitrarily imposed on the French economy. Marion C. Siney of Western Reserve pointed out that the early experiments in Allied economic warfare during World War I were undertaken as extension of traditional sovereign and belligerent rights to capture contraband goods and to prevent trading with the enemy. Royden Dangerfield, University of Illinois, concluded that "Economic Warfare in World War II" was not the major Allied weapon but it was a valuable auxiliary, well worth its relatively small cost. James P. Baxter, III, Williams College, in commenting on the three papers, stressed the farsighted complaisance of British Admiralty authorities during the American Civil War as presenting useful precedents for British naval measures during the First World War and gave some useful commentary, out of his own experience in Washington, on the development of Allied (including

American) economic warfare during World War II. The chairman wondered whether the pattern of bipolar warfare between enormous land masses of military power, as compared with major conflicts heretofore between land power and sea power, might not greatly change the future shape of economic warfare, not to mention military strategy.

The session on "The European Working Class: A Comparative View," chaired by John Bowditch of the University of Minnesota, produced an unusually rewarding attempt at integrating, on a European level, labor problems too often viewed solely through national spectacles. The first paper, "The Workers and Organized Religion," by Father Joseph N. Moody of Notre Dame College, Staten Island, offered a wealth of evidence, drawn largely from recent sociological studies, of the estrangement of the urban workers from organized religion, which highlighted at the same time regional and group variations. In conclusion, Father Moody noted an increasing minority of workers for whom religious practice, deprived of social support, was a matter of private conviction; a minority of antireligious militants, usually with Communist affiliations; and a large majority indifferent to religious ideas, for whom the conflict between material objectives and humanist, Christian values created personal and social tensions. The second paper, "Economic Development and Working Class Political Attitudes," by Val Lorwin of the University of Chicago, subjected the predictions of Marx with regard to the working class to a historical analysis based on the changes occurring in the economy of Western Europe in the past two centuries. He attributed the inadequacy of the Marxian hypotheses to differences in the tempo and character of each nation's economic growth and to differences in political institutions, cultural patterns, and national character, subjects that invite further investigation on a comparative basis. Philip Williams of Jesus College, Oxford, and Carl Schorske of Wesleyan University commented on both papers. Williams, applying an empirical approach, pursued a number of points raised by the speakers. He observed that anarchist and syndicalist movements bore a resemblance to the peasant *jacqueries* and flourished in largely Catholic, peasant countries where the clerical split hampered democratic politics, that the "radical occupations" today are often associated with isolation from the towns, a reverse of the isolation once felt by workers in the towns. Schorske brilliantly linked the two papers by showing how the divorce of the working class from religion, typified by the German expression *Religion ist Privatsache* applies as well to modern socialism, which has lost its capacity to evoke a sense of mission and instead operates on the assumption that *Sozialismus ist Privatsache*. A large, appreciative audience urged the speakers to further comments on the comments.

The luncheon meeting of the Modern European History Section, presided over by Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota, went ultramodern. Walter L. Dorn, Columbia, gave his "Reflections on the Evolution of American Occupation Policy in Germany at the End of World War II." These covered three phases: the

conflicting views about National Socialism and the best way to expunge it from postwar Germany; the failure to evolve a common or coordinated long-term Allied occupation policy; and the painful, tortuous steps by which American policy took shape through a bitter triangular debate. At the angles were the War Department, with its "limited liability" short-term view of its role, envisaging a "short military clean-up operation," a "punitive spasm" that might last two months, by which time civilians would have taken charge of economic and political affairs; the State Department, which tried to look beyond demilitarization, denazification, decartelization, and kindred destructive measures to longer-range interallied policies for remolding the German economy and polity; and the Treasury, dedicated to the "tough" thesis that the root problem could be solved only by the extreme disruption of the German economy and especially of its heavy industry. From first to last, Morgenthau dominated the debate. Because of his personal friendship with Roosevelt he claimed an intimate knowledge of the President's views, and when decisions threatened to go against him he appealed to this court of last appeal, with complete success. In fighting him, the State Department committed incredibly stupid tactical blunders which alienated its natural ally, the War Department. The resulting directive was consequently an exclusively punitive document, painfully negative, which shocked those who had to administer it by its failure to consider the economic realities confronting the Army of Occupation.

At a short business meeting, the Conference welcomed the new editor of the *Journal of Modern History*, Charles Mowat, who enunciated his plans for improving the *Journal* and announced the establishment of the Higby Prize for the best article to appear in the *Journal* during the past year, in honor of Chester P. Higby, a founding father. The first award went to John C. Cairns, University of Toronto, for his article, "Great Britain and the Fall of France."

V

National history came in for attention, although in each case the general theme was sufficiently challenging to avoid the charge that the speakers were merely taking in one another's washing. All told, three sessions treated English and imperial history. The first, chronologically, bore the title of "The Gentry: 1540-1660." A session designed to explore a controversy which has had a notorious, even acerbic, run in England, it was presided over by Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago, in the absence of Wallace Notestein of Yale. J. H. Hexter of Queen's College introduced the "storm over gentry" with a witty appraisal of R. H. Tawney's rising gentry and H. R. Trevor-Roper's declining gentry. Neither of these two had proved his main point: each was the victim of economic determinism—Tawney by his preoccupation with a bourgeois revolution, Trevor-Roper by an undue concern for "the little piggies that went to court and had roast beef and the little piggies that stayed at home and had none." W. R. Emerson of Yale drove a few piles into a quagmire of ignorance by concentrating on "The Machinery and

Methods of Estate Management." *Pace* Tawney and Stone, he gave his reasons for thinking that the early seventeenth century may come to be regarded as "the golden age of the great landholder." He also dispelled some illusions by explaining the essential conservatism of land management in this century.

Perez Zagorin of McGill returned to the political implications in a paper entitled "The Social Interpretation of the English Civil War." After machinegunning Trevor-Roper's maneuvers with the "mere gentry," he offered his own interpretation of the English Revolution. It sounded rather like a compromise between Tawney and Gardiner, with a governing aristocracy becoming progressively bourgeois but the revolution itself obeying no *social* principles. An abridged discussion led to some interesting exchanges about the concept of "class." The session adjourned with the feeling that three very lively papers had done much to restore a sense of proportion.

The Conference on British Studies at a joint session presided over by Goldwin Smith of Wayne State University skipped forward a couple of centuries and concentrated on political history with a paper by Robert B. Eckles of Purdue on "The Character and Management of Political Parties in the House of Commons, 1847-1865." Although this problem has not excited such a storm as that of the gentry, it too has recently been the subject of much investigation. Eckles suggested that the upper middle classes and the aristocracy were much more closely identified in interests and ideas than has usually been believed. To illustrate this meshing and merging, he briefly analyzed the membership of the Commons upon a class basis. He also described the functions of political clubs and party whips and the continued role of patronage and concluded that the years 1847-1865 marked a period of political transition between the aristocratic system preceding 1832 and the entirely different arrangements after 1867. He likewise was of the opinion that the individual members of the Commons were quite independent of their party leaders. Francis Herrick of Mills College criticized Eckles' assumption that statistical comparisons of social and economic groups within their parties leads to a better understanding of their management. While recognizing the less creditable aspects of political life described by Eckles, Herrick emphasized that men who managed political parties and clubs were devoted to conceptions of the public interest which were very real, even if partisan. H. D. Jordan of Clark believed that Eckles had not succeeded in making an effective statistical case that political parties had real meaning in terms of class. In his judgment, Eckles might have explained more fully why the parties, despite experienced leadership, were disorganized and ineffective. He suggested that part of the explanation was the gradual emergence of a democratic public opinion to which members of Parliament were not yet attuned.

In the broader area of British imperial history, with A. L. Burt, University of Minnesota, in the chair, three speakers dealt with the critical period of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Helen Taft Manning of Bryn Mawr threw new

light on how the Whig cabinet from 1835 to 1837 faced the constitutional deadlock in Lower Canada (Quebec), which blocked British development in the strategic St. Lawrence region. As seen in London, the obstacle to be removed was the obstructive power of the assembly, where French Canadian nationalism was entrenched. In December, 1836, after a year's close study by Colonial Office experts, a plan was prepared that was more drastic than the legislative union of the two Canadas, attempted in 1822 and adopted in 1840. But the new measure was never submitted to the House of Commons, for opposition had arisen in the cabinet and the ministry was dependent on the votes of the radicals and the Irish nationalists, who would never agree to such a measure. The paper by Samuel McCulloch of Rutgers, "A Colonial Office View of New South Wales, 1838-1846," carried further the work of Paul Knaplund in correcting the traditional view of "Mr. Over-Secretary." James Stephen's minutes on the dispatches of Sir George Gipps, who as governor of New South Wales, 1838-1846, wrestled with the great problems of ending penal transportation, the agitation for a more liberal constitution, and the struggle of the big sheep-owning squatters for security of tenure, prove that the undersecretary had a penetrating comprehension of the colony's needs and an important influence in meeting them. In "Racism and the Tropical Colonies, 1833-1852," Philip Curtin of the University of Wisconsin analyzed the gradual transformation in the intellectual background of native policy for the tropical colonies, the dominance of the humanitarians' idealist concept of the Negro yielding to a more realistic view based on experience with freed slaves and on the new science of anthropology. Comments from the floor reflected appreciative agreement with the three papers.

The very active interest in French history was nourished by two sessions. One, under the chairmanship of Gordon Wright of the University of Oregon, considered the "Theory and Function of Political Police in Modern France," a somewhat unconventional topic which drew an audience of about one hundred. The first paper, by David Dowd of the University of Florida, focused on the period of the French Revolution and pointed out that the revolutionary leaders, despite their hostility to the Old Regime's police system, soon felt it necessary to improvise a substitute. At first the initiative was taken by local authorities, but the central government gradually imposed its control. Thermidor brought no weakening of the political police, which developed into a permanent institution within the administrative structure. In the second paper, Howard C. Payne, State College of Washington, addressed himself to the Second Empire. He rejected the common view that Napoleon III vastly extended the political police. Napoleon was no innovator in theory or in practice, merely increasing the emphasis on certain aspects of a theory and practice which by this time had become traditional in France. Much police power remained in the hands of the prefects, who successfully resisted the establishment of a rival Ministry of Police. Within limits, Napoleon did manage to develop a more pliable police instrument by "allying" with the

Gendarmerie. Nevertheless the Second Empire never approached the totalitarian models of our time.

Formal comment was offered by James L. Godfrey, University of North Carolina, and Leo Loubere, University of Tennessee. The former observed that the successful operation of the revolutionary political police depended mainly on the use of denunciation by private citizens and suggested that without such amateur support a political police is likely to be ineffective. The second commentator supported Payne's thesis by arguing that modern French history shows more continuity than change so far as police activity is concerned. Napoleon's dictatorship, far from being a police state, actually resembled other French regimes in that it was essentially an administrative state, with the police absorbed in the general administration. A lively discussion followed, with Beatrice Hyslop and Father de Bertier urging the need for further research in this relatively untilled field.

A quite different aspect of French history marked the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association, which considered the problem of education as an important aspect of church-state relations in nineteenth-century France. Thomas P. Neill of St. Louis University presided. In his paper on "The Church and Education in France, 1815-1848," Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, of the Institut Catholique de Paris, maintained that neither Catholics nor Liberals really wanted freedom of education. Both parties wanted a state monopoly with themselves in control, and they demanded freedom of education only when the other group was in power. Evelyn A. Acomb, State University Teachers College, New Paltz, New York, described the bitter struggle between anticlerical republicans and Catholics for control of the schools in the Third Republic. In the first campaign, from 1876 to 1886, they assured the supremacy of the state in higher and elementary education by the Ferry Laws; in the second, from 1898 to 1904, the Associations Law of 1901 and the Education Law of 1904 prohibited instruction first by members of the unauthorized orders and then by members of authorized orders as well. Discussion leaders were John T. Marcus, Carnegie Institute of Technology, and Joseph N. Moody, Notre Dame College of Staten Island. Marcus felt that Father de Bertier left the impression that Catholics and Liberals formed two monolithic blocs, and he suggested that the speaker should have stressed the divisions among the Catholic and Liberal groups. Father Moody showed that the same factors operated in the Restoration period and the Third Republic and that one must go back to the cleavages created by the Revolution to understand these factors.

One of the most satisfying features of the annual program was the evidence of substantial interest in Italian history. The American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, organized in 1955 at the Washington meeting, held its first joint session with the American Historical Association, with sixty-two in attendance. Howard M. Ehrmann of the University of Michigan presided and brought the greetings of Alberto M. Ghisalberti, President of the Istituto per la

Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. A. William Salomone of New York University explored "The Crisis of Culture and Power in the Waning of the Italian Renaissance." By the latter part of the Quattrocento, a unique "national" civilization had been created in Italy, characterized by a system of power based upon the political and juridical equality of a series of independent *Stati* and by a humanistic-universalist culture which tended not only to bind Italians in an intellectual and ideal republic of the mind and of art but also to diffuse their spiritual energies in ultra-national directions. The long crisis of the Renaissance involved the ultimate impossibility of coexistence for the full-blown universalistic Italian "national" civilization and the emergent order of national culture and power. A disparity of power and the contrast between two different spiritual, only vaguely "ideological," worlds brought on a conflict which opened in 1494 and closed in 1530, calamitously for the Italian system of power but happily not for the Italian forms of culture.

H. Stuart Hughes of Stanford University read a paper on "Italian Sociologismo: The Work of Pareto, Mosca, and Michels in a Quarter Century Perspective." These three have usually been considered together in their common insistence on certain basic notions of human behavior ultimately derived from Machiavelli—the sharp separation between rulers and ruled, the necessary role of force and fraud in government, and the ultimate degeneration of all political groups and institutions. Despite common presuppositions they diverged increasingly in their practical conclusions. Pareto and Michels moved toward a reconciliation with Fascism, while Mosca took up a position of moderate opposition to Mussolini's rule. All were influenced by personal experience of politics. In Mosca's case this was exclusively Italian, while Pareto and Michels were cosmopolitan in origin and outlook. The latter two experienced severe political disappointment and were strongly affected by Sorel's critique of ideological rhetoric. Michels, of a synthesizing mind and the least original of the three, confined himself to the study of such empirical phenomena as political parties. Mosca's approach was uncritically positivist. Pareto's positivistically-based categories proved inadequate to encompass his own penetrating insights into nonlogical conduct, and he ended by reducing these to a series of arbitrary and mechanical generalizations. The ultimate irony of Pareto's work is that it has stood up best in the very area—that of the role of elites in history—in which it most resembled Mosca's and in which Mosca had right of priority. A short business meeting followed the joint session.

As was to be expected from current preoccupations, Eastern Europe came in for consideration. There were three sessions on Russia and one on the Balkans. At the Luncheon Conference on Slavic and East European Studies, with Boyd C. Shafer in the chair, Michael Karpovich of Harvard informally recapitulated "Thirty Years of Slavic Studies" in the United States. He noted the great increase in scholars interested in Slavic speaking nations, but at the same time he felt that there was much room for improvement. Histories of Slavic nations other than Russia fail to receive adequate attention; moreover, in Russian studies, scholarly

interests focus on more recent decades. Thus, Karpovich was much concerned that all Slavic studies should be put into proper perspective both geographically and chronologically. The Conference warmly acclaimed these remarks by a dean of American Slavic historians.

In terms of this survey of achievement and needs, it is relevant to report that two periods of Czarist Russia and an important phase of Balkan history were subjected to scholarly scrutiny. "Russian Society under Nicholas I" was the subject of a session at which Michael Karpovich presided. John S. Curtiss of Duke University, in his paper on "The Role of the Army," emphasized its importance in the administration of the empire. It performed many functions which are not ordinarily associated with the army, such as keeping internal order, guarding criminals, compelling peasants to pay arrears in taxes, etc. This military machine was a heavy drain on national manpower and material resources, and yet, as was shown during the Crimean War, Russia did not obtain in return an efficient army. Nicholas Riasanovsky of the State University of Iowa spoke on "The Role of the Intelligentsia." Pointing out that much had been written on the antagonism between the government of Nicholas I and the intelligentsia, he concentrated on those intellectuals who, for one reason or another, had supported the regime and defended autocracy. Finally, Sidney Monas of Amherst College, in his paper on "Censorship and Public Opinion," dealt with the activities of the political police of the period known as the Third Section of the Imperial Chancery. He traced the attempts of this organization to shape and direct public opinion and indicated the reasons for its ultimate failure. In prepared comment, Peter K. Christoff of San Francisco State College called attention to some positive aspects of the regime of Nicholas I and raised the problem of a more precise definition of the terms "nationalism" and "autocracy" as they were used at the time.

Coming down to an episode which anticipated more recent events, Charles Morley of the Ohio State University presided over a session devoted to "1905 in Russia, Testing Time for Revolutionary Theories." The first paper, which dealt with Sergei Witte as "a revolutionary from above," was read by Theodore Von Laue of the University of California at Riverside. Von Laue explained Witte's failure by his inner conflict between mind and emotion: his head favored political concessions while his heart preferred the preservation of autocracy. The number and gravity of the problems facing Russia at the opening of the century likewise contributed to Witte's failure. Samuel H. Baron, Grinnell College, read the second paper, which analyzed the theories of George Plekhanov as one who favored "a revolution from below." His theories were formulated in the 1880's and did not fit the Russian situation as of 1905. He insisted, for example, on bourgeois-proletarian cooperation despite the fact that the middle class was lacking in revolutionary ardor. As a doctrinaire, Plekhanov was unable to alter his theories or adapt them to the given situation.

Formal comment on the two papers was made by Sidney Harcave of Harpur

College, State University of New York, and Donald W. Treadgold of the University of Washington. Both commentators were in substantial agreement with the speakers, although Harcave pointed out one further explanation of Witte's failure: he believed that Witte had become demoralized in part, at least, as a result of the frustration of ambition. Several members of the audience participated in the animated discussion which followed. Michael Karpovich of Harvard University made the observation that although the revolutionaries knew that the revolution would not conform to their theories because of Russia's peculiar conditions, none was willing to call off the revolution.

A session under the chairmanship of S. H. Thomson, University of Colorado, analyzed the dynamics of Balkan history, 1453-1800. The speakers approached the problem posed by the late appearance of Balkan nationalism from divergent points of view, yet with agreement on the results. L. S. Stavrianos of Northwestern, in "Balkan Orthodoxy to Balkan Nationalism," described the transition in the Balkans from the Age of Theocracy to the Age of Nationalism, showing how the Balkan peoples resisted assimilation by the Ottomans, by means of retention of their Christian faith and settlement in ethnic blocs, and how they were further aided by Turkish indifference to Christianity and the looseness of the Turkish political structure. The rise of Balkan nationalistic sentiment in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries he attributed to the decline in Ottoman vigor; the replacement of the *timar* landholding system by the onerous *chiflik* system, which irritated the Balkan peasantry; and the expansion of commerce and industry, which in turn created a middle class whose interests ran counter to those of the Ottoman rulers. The very diversity of these factors, however, must be emphasized, since the uprisings among the several Balkan peoples during the nineteenth century were uncoordinated, sporadic, and often in conflict with one another.

The second paper, by Traian Stoianovich of Rutgers, entitled "Balkan Merchants, Officialdom and Bourgeoisies: Prehistory of the Wars of National Independence," approached Balkan nationalism from another point of view. Consulting population statistics and consequent adjustments in supply, trade, and markets, he showed how the "privileged buyers" and certain private traders and trade associations effectively monopolized the increasingly controlled trade within the Ottoman Empire, in the Balkans, and on the Black Sea. This merchant aristocracy had its counterpart in a new class of merchants that rose from the bottom of the commercial scale. These less privileged traders made contact with non-Ottoman buyers through Adriatic ports or at trading points along the Habsburg frontier. A conflict between the privileged merchants whose business was within the Ottoman orbit and the "new" merchants, who were obliged to seek their outlets outside and thus came into contact with Western ideas, was inevitable. In the subsequent wars of independence, the "new" merchants sided with the peasantry, though some of the more prosperous would have accepted the *status quo*. The critics agreed with the general conclusions of the two speakers. Speros Vyronis of Harvard, however,

desired to emphasize the continuity of the *millet* system as a force in the preservation of Balkan nationality. Charles Jelavich, University of California, Berkeley, pleaded for more attention to the Serbian Orthodox Church and to folklore as nationalist forces. In the discussion, a number of points were raised: the ambiguous positions of the Patriarchate and the Latin church under Ottoman domination, the variant intensity of the national movements in different parts of the Balkans, and the role played by the French Revolution in precipitating them.

Although East is East and West is West, the twain do meet. Indeed, so far as the program went they met thrice—in modern Germany and Central Europe as well as in the Middle Ages. The session on modern Germany, with Oscar J. Hammen of Montana State University presiding, centered about “Conservatism in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany.” Sigmund Neumann of Wesleyan University, in “The Role of Political Parties in the Nineteenth-Century Conservative Movement,” pointed out that German parties showed two basic features: an emphasis on *Weltanschauung* and a strong class character. Ultimately, the bourgeoisie became feudalized while realistic conservatism failed to accept a leading role along the lines of a Tory democracy. William Shanahan of Notre Dame University followed with an analysis of “German Confessional Politics and German Conservatism.” Confessional politics early succumbed to a political morality based on nationalism. Catholics and Protestants failed to find a broad common ground, as shown especially in their contrasting attitudes toward the Weimar Republic. Only in 1945 did they come together in a Christian Democratic Union. In “Neo-Conservatism in Twentieth-Century Germany,” Klemens Von Klemperer of Smith College focused attention on the more neglected period following World War I. The conservatives generally turned away from monarchy and attempted to give the Republic a conservative foundation. If the Neo-Conservatives helped to pave the way for Hitler, it was not because of any basic identity of views, since they were inspired originally by the “loftiest tenets of culture.” The comment of John A. Hawgood of the University of Birmingham and of Walter Simon of Cornell University was unusually able in its pertinency, penetration, and good humor. Both commentators lauded the unity of theme shown in the papers. Hawgood suggested the value of a comparison with the current problems faced by liberal movements in Germany. Simon felt that the relationship between conservatism in the different eras needed fuller elucidation.

Facets of “Central Europe in the Twentieth Century” were illuminated at a session presided over by Arthur J. May of the University of Rochester. The audience was more than double the seating capacity of the room. Discussing “Middle Europe, 1890–1920: Aspects of a Society in Transition,” Henry Cord Meyer of Pomona College demonstrated how dominant currents in the Western heritage penetrated into the heart of Europe, only to undergo modification in that peculiar environment and then suffer severely under the impact of the First World War. William A. Jenks of Washington and Lee University examined “Hitler’s Viennese

Milieu, 1907-1913"; he argued that crude anti-Jewish superstitions propagated by a section of the clerical press of the Habsburg capital (which was analyzed in agreeable detail) and a rough, flophouse existence in the community printed an indelible stamp upon the mind and emotions of the future Nazi fanatic. In any multinationality state, democracy western-style can only flourish, Kurt V. Schuschnigg of St. Louis University contended in a paper on "The National Minority Question in Austria before and after 1918," if a large degree of home rule is conceded to the individual nationalities. Switzerland was pointed to as a model, and an ideal. For an integrated confederation of free European nations, such as the *Zeitgeist* imperatively demands, a generous measure of national autonomy would need to be granted. In the main, the commentators endorsed the emphases of the speakers, but M. L. Flaningam of Purdue University questioned whether the milieu of pre-war Vienna differed much from that of many another European metropolis, and Hajo Holborn of Yale University stressed that analogies drawn between Switzerland and other multinationality communities could easily be misleading. Pertinent remarks from the floor enriched the session.

VI

American historians had equal opportunity with their European history colleagues to sample broadly interpretative as well as specialized programs. Of the more general, two deserve particular attention because they dealt with specific topics in a fashion which attracted listeners from all fields.

Though faced with many anniversaries of more than usual appeal, the program committee could not neglect the births of Louis Brandeis and Woodrow Wilson, especially since the latter had so considerably made his first appearance on December 28. Dexter Perkins presided. Paul Freund of the Harvard Law School, formerly clerk to Justice Brandeis, in his paper, "The Liberalism of Mr. Justice Brandeis," described the great justice as one of the "most serenely implacable democrats in all history," as first and last a moralist, "a moralist who by fusing law and morals gave new depth and promise to both." Brandeis sought constantly to keep law abreast of social change, but compassionate and humanitarian as he was, he was also tough-minded in his application of moral judgments to social problems.

The joint commemoration of Brandeis and Wilson does not stand wholly on the happy coincidence of their birth year. The two men were associated in political life and ideals, and it is not the least of Wilson's achievements that he appointed Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court forty years ago; in doing so he exhibited both imagination and courage. For his part, Brandeis thought that the most extraordinary achievement of Wilson's first administration was the dissipation of the atmosphere of materialism which had enveloped Washington for forty years. As Arthur Link, Northwestern, pointed out in his paper on the contributions of Woodrow Wilson, few men left so large an impact on so many fields of endeavor. Few political leaders indeed had so many different careers. As an author

he helped transform the study of political science; as college president he sought to perpetuate the cultural traditions on which Western civilization rested; as President he initiated democratic policies and proclaimed the ideals of international concord. It is a matter of no small satisfaction that he once presided over the American Historical Association.

Utterly different in its concern, but equally appealing to historians was the session in which Lee Benson, Columbia University, and Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington, attempted to answer the question, "Can Differences in the Interpretations of the Causes of the American Civil War Be Resolved Objectively?" Their paper was distributed in advance of the session, which departed from the usual procedure by being devoted entirely to discussion; C. Vann Woodward of Johns Hopkins University presided. The paper first summarized certain writings of Charles W. Ramsdell, Arthur C. Cole, Louis M. Hacker, David M. Potter, and Allan Nevins. The authors of the paper found that differences between interpretations arose largely from the arrangement of evidence into five distinctive "chains of events" and concluded that they were unable to find any methods by which the over-all differences between the interpretations could be resolved objectively. They suggested, however, that conflict between certain "subinterpretations" did appear capable of objective resolution. As a test they undertook to examine statements of Ramsdell and Hacker concerning the movement to reopen the African slave trade in the 1850's. Again their efforts produced negative results. Benson and Pressly admitted that they did not know whether differences in interpretations of the causes of the Civil War could ever be resolved objectively but thought that the most promising method lay in the use of "objective indexes" to attack differences between "subinterpretations." Three critics discussed the paper. David Donald of Columbia University questioned the choice of historians selected for examination, found the concept of "objective indexes" unclear, and thought the paper pointless and empty of content. David M. Potter of Yale University distinguished between long-range and short-range causes of the war and thought that the authors of the paper had not asked the right questions. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University commended the authors for their insistence on factual analysis but expressed skepticism of the whole effort to achieve historical synthesis by the objective methods of the social sciences.

More specialized sessions lacked neither wide significance nor popular appeal. The meeting on early American history was marked by a good attendance despite competition with the Brandeis-Wilson Commemoration. Walter Muir Whitehill of the Boston Athenaeum presided over the consideration of three independent but significant questions on eighteenth-century America. Max Savelle of the University of Washington, in discussing "The Forty-Ninth Parallel as a North American Boundary," showed that the idea for such a boundary "was born in the office of the Hudson's Bay Company during the afternoon of August 4, 1714." The Company proposed the line in response to a request by the Board of Trade, and

the suggestion was put before an Anglo-French joint commission, meeting in 1719 in an attempt to settle the boundaries between Hudson Bay and New France. French opposition prevented acceptance of the idea, but the line did become "a sort of symbol," revived during later boundary discussions. William M. Dabney of the University of New Mexico contributed a stimulating paper entitled "William Henry Drayton and Henry Laurens in the Continental Congress." Although these two South Carolinians belonged to the same social stratum, they often assumed divergent positions on political and economic issues. Dabney accounted for this situation by showing the extent to which Laurens had tied himself to the "Lee-Adams Junto," which operated against the interests of the South. On the other hand, Drayton's actions were guided by an awareness of a distinct Southern interest. Besides pointing up the development and influence of Southern sectionalism at this early date, the paper contributed to a better understanding of the factional quarrels which plagued the Continental Congress in 1778-1779. The final paper, by Bradley Chapin, University of Buffalo, treated "The American Reception of the English Law of Treason." Chapin noted that although the strict English law of treason served as a model for colonial legislatures and judges, it was liberally adapted to local circumstances without any movement for formal reform. But during the Revolution, the definition of this high crime was restricted by legislative reforms and by the officials who put the law into action until it came to mean only direct and substantial aid to the enemy. This restricted definition, concluded Chapin, was later refined and restated in the federal Constitution. In his critical comment, Clarence Ver Steeg, Northwestern, pointed up possibilities for further exploration. Several illuminating observations from the floor contributed to the success of the meeting.

A joint session of the Southern Historical Association, under the chairmanship of Robert S. Henry, considered two phases of the history of the South during the period of the Revolution and the Confederation. "The South as a section," declared John R. Alden of Duke University, "appeared with American union during the period 1775-1789." Amendments to the new Constitution were sought, and some were obtained, as a means of protection for the special interests of the South. The central government did not vitally act against Southern interests for some years, Alden added, so that despite the early emergence of the South as a section, "manifestations of Southern sectionalism were relatively few until the Missouri controversy." Thomas P. Abernethy of the University of Virginia took up one part of the story of efforts by Southern states to colonize the lands in the West on the Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers. The particular efforts, dealt with in his paper entitled "The Yazoo Land Companies of 1789," foundered on the rocks of disputed title to the lands involved, opposition from Spain, objections by the federal government, and finally by refusal of Georgia to receive payment for the lands in the depreciated obligations of the state. Abernethy was careful to distinguish the Yazoo land companies of 1789 from the Yazoo land speculations of 1785. The

interesting discussion was led by Franklin A. Doty of the University of Florida.

Certain issues of "The Age of Jackson" were clarified at a session chaired by Richard N. Current of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina. Presenting "Some Aspects of Whig Thought and Theory in the Jacksonian Period," Glyndon G. Van Deusen of the University of Rochester analyzed the main elements of Whig thought, compared the Whig and Democratic attitudes toward monopolies, and contended that the Jacksonians exaggerated the monopoly danger. He concluded that, as between Whig and Democratic thinking, the similarities were more striking than the differences and that both parties oriented themselves around a middle-class norm (just as the Republican and Democratic parties do today). In an account of "Changing Interpretations of Jackson and Jacksonian Democracy," Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., of Princeton University noted the persistence of Whig and Democratic schools among historians. He pointed out that the Whig view prevailed until the twentieth century and, with respect to some of its features, still has strong advocates despite reappraisals by pro-Jacksonian writers such as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. After describing the flurry of conflicting interpretations which Schlesinger's *The Age of Jackson* aroused, Sellers suggested that the present controversies eventually might yield a new Democratic synthesis to replace the old Whig synthesis. In discussing Van Deusen's and Sellers' papers, William N. Chambers of Washington University stressed the importance of viewing Jacksonian democracy as a "mixed movement." He characterized Thomas Hart Benton as an opponent of large-scale commercial enterprise and indicated that Van Deusen's conception of a Whig-Democratic "consensus" did not apply to the Benton faction of Jacksonians. The session attracted many more listeners than could be accommodated in the room assigned; a considerable number remained standing near the doorway, their interest held throughout by the three unusually fine performances.

In addition to the period and regional sessions, the American historians could attend several of a topical nature. George H. Williams, Harvard, presided over the joint session with the American Society of Church History, in place of Albert C. Outler, Southern Methodist University. James H. Nichols, University of Chicago, in his paper on "The Mid-Nineteenth Century Ecumenical Issue," distinguished, in the generation preceding the Civil War, three movements which would today be called ecumenical. The Restorationist movement sought to cope with the anomalies of divisive sectarianism by making the New Testament the sole basis of Christian fellowship, but ended up as one more denomination. The Evangelical movement sought federation or a reductionist creeded consensus and found its fullest expression in the World Evangelical Alliance. The third movement was the Mercersburg School of evangelical catholicism. Ronald E. Osborn of Butler University, in "Church History and Ecumenism," after defining ecumenism as a historic phenomenon properly matter for historiography, emphasized that many church historians have been tempted by the theologians to go beyond this modest role to convert the whole discipline into an instrument of ecumenicity, thus jeopardizing

its most distinctive "ecumenical" mission of soberly laying bare the nontheological factors in the division of Christendom. He expressed the fear that the new tendency might drive a wedge between church history as it is taught in the universities and as it is taught in the theological seminaries.

Sidney E. Mead, University of Chicago, pointed out that men came to see the value of diverse and mutually corrective denominationalism and that the distinctive value of denominationalism as against sectarianism is that it makes no exclusive ecclesiological claims. Albert Outler, in the absence of H. Sheldon Smith of Duke, recognized that church history was born in controversy and argued that it should now, in an irenic spirit, be a servant of the church and be responsive to the ecclesiastical assignments laid upon it by the believing community. He also deplored the triviality of much monographic scholarship which achieved relative objectivity by isolation from the larger contexts. In conclusion, the session resolved that the Church History Society should consider further the problem of ecumenical historiography.

At another joint session, with the History of Education Society, the topic was equally broad in interest and relevant in appeal. Under the chairmanship of Lawrence A. Cremin, Teachers College, Columbia University, Oscar Handlin of Harvard University presented a paper on "The Immigrant and the Educational Crisis of the 1890's." In it he viewed the high school as the critical point in the American educational system of the 1890's; its development "set the terms within which every other part of the educational system would function." The high school was used by men and women of wealth to counter the feeling of disintegration associated with industrialism and urbanism and to restore a sense of community by disseminating a new officially defined culture among all levels of society. Because this represented imposition from above, the high school contributed significantly to a disjunction between popular and official culture, a disjunction new to American life. While the influence of immigration on these changes was limited, immigrants were widely blamed for this disjunction by those who with Brutus looked "to the stars" to explain their difficulties.

John Higham of Rutgers University criticized Handlin's paper on two principal counts: first, its assumption of an older "golden age of community" in agrarian America which had been shattered by industrialism and immigration, and second, its failure to grant that the structure of public education was clearly in evidence before the Civil War and that the gulf between popular and high culture was already manifest in pre-Civil War high schools. Merle Borrowman of the University of Wisconsin criticized Handlin's contention that the high school defined the role of elementary school and college, pointed to the plurality of functions undertaken by individual high schools during the 1890's, and maintained that the immigrants had exerted a far more profound influence on secondary education than Handlin had been willing to allow. Members of the audience pressed Handlin on his use of terms like "society," "culture," and "disjunction."

A quite different sort of intellectual crisis came in for attention in the session

"The Left, the Right, and Civil Liberties." Fred Shannon, University of Illinois, presided in the absence of David Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University. The first paper, by Harold M. Hyman, Arizona State College, Tempe, dealt with "The American Protective League: Amateur Spycatchers of World War I." This league, the brainchild of Attorney-General Thomas W. Gregory, came to number 350,000, organized in more than 3,000 units. For lack of any pro-German plots to uncover, the leaguers got themselves and the federal government in trouble by exploiting their irresponsibility for personal ends. The paper also considered the paradox of an administration deeply enmeshed in the intolerance of the period yet led by men who were repelled by vigilante excesses. George P. Rawick of Cornell University considered "Communism and Youth in the 1930's: A Study of the American Youth Congress." He rejected alike the "twenty years of treason" hypothesis and the denial of even the possibility of any Communist influence on the New Deal. The Communists of America acted as an arm of Russian foreign policy, while the Attorney-General's list of subversive organizations served as the basis of an attack on civil liberties. The American Youth Congress, founded by non-Communists, suffered an infiltration of Communists who posed as New Dealers and Popular Fronters. Eleanor Roosevelt and other supporters of the movement, unaware of the Communist influence, helped to win support from innocent enthusiasts. Nevertheless, the implications of disloyalty brought against individual members needs reexamination.

William E. Leuchtenburg, Columbia University, stressed the importance of Hyman's reference to the ambiguity of liberal values among the Wilsonians, an ambiguity illustrated by the career of A. Mitchell Palmer, author of the "red scare" in 1920 and the New Deal platform in 1932. He thought that Rawick had exaggerated the influence of the Popular Front but welcomed the scholarly concern with Communist penetration of the New Deal. Robert K. Murray, Pennsylvania State University, though praising Hyman's paper, would have liked more attention to the environmental causes for the APL. He disagreed strongly with Rawick's "relatively unsubstantiated claim that the Communists *immediately* took over the youth movement," which he thought detracted from an interesting paper.

Foreign influences on American life were examined from another angle entirely by Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, in her after-dinner address, "A Half Century of Evolution in American Diplomacy," to some two hundred members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Wendell H. Stephenson of the University of Oregon presided. The outstanding fact of international relations in the past half century, Dr. Nichols said, was the global challenge to premises of democracy that had gradually gathered adherents over a period of three hundred years. In the twentieth century, astute totalitarian use of ideological warfare placed democracy on the defensive. With advances in technology, public opinion became a strategic weapon, put to unremitting use on a global scale. Thus every nation's internal illusions, engendered by the national state, acquired high importance.

Dr. Nichols stressed, among illusions sharing in American diplomatic policy, faith in the general applicability of the democratic principle, certainty of America's pervasive superiority, assurance that United States economy could solve almost any difficulty with comparative ease, and belief that military force became the defensive tool of first importance. Working within the context of these illusions were such others as faith in moral pronouncements, in quick panaceas, and in paper promises. Unfortunately, failure to evaluate such beliefs critically and to counteract them insofar as desirable and possible weakened the global influence of the Western World. Leadership responsibility for reversing the trend rested with the United States. Fortunately, it had historic identification with the principle of liberty. On this, Dr. Nichols concluded, it needs to build a political consensus within its own nation and with many nations, implementing the principles that interdependence is inescapable and that freedom is indivisible.

American foreign policy also gained attention from three scholars who re-examined some old assumptions. L. Ethan Ellis of Rutgers chaired the session. Edwin A. Miles, University of Houston, explored the "political myth" inhering in "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight," contending that, far from being a Democratic rallying cry in 1844, the slogan only gained currency in the Oregon debates of 1846. He concluded that historians have overemphasized Oregon's importance in the Polk campaign. Robert P. Wilkins, University of North Dakota, dealt with Middle Western isolationism in World Wars I and II and attacked the thesis that North Dakota attitudes stemmed from the ethnic heritage of German immigrants, asserting that it was based rather on hostility toward Eastern business interests, concern for economic advantage, and fear lest war's alarms impede the cause of social justice. Alexander DeConde of Duke, concerning himself with "The Anatomy of Twentieth-Century Isolationism," asserted that the relatively simple isolationism of the nineteenth century became pluralistic, emotional, Utopian, and often inconsistent in the twentieth, while retaining many of its earlier ideological trappings. Comments by Selig Adler of the University of Buffalo and Bradford Perkins, of the University of California at Los Angeles, accepting the Miles thesis on Oregon, raised questions regarding the larger implications of the campaign; they queried Wilkins' emphasis on the unique qualities of North Dakota's isolationism and DeConde's emphasis on the South's tradition of internationalism.

Three sessions dealt in one way or another with American economic development. That on "Two Nineteenth-Century Railroad Leaders: A Comparison and Contrast," under the chairmanship of Ralph W. Hidy, New York University, aroused a pleasing degree of interest. In her paper on "The Early Railroad Career of Erastus Corning," Irene Neu, Southeast Missouri State College, maintained that his "efforts to control large segments of the new transportation medium were not primarily those of a businessman hoping to bring trade to his city nor of a speculator in stocks, but were rather the efforts of a merchant and manufacturer seeking iron contracts." Richard C. Overton, Bureau of Railway Economics, analyzed some

of the characteristics of Charles Elliott Perkins, president of the Burlington System from 1881 to 1901. Though the opportunities of railroading in the late nineteenth century and family connections both served Perkins well, he stood as "one who did his own thinking and made his own decisions," though he never announced them in a public speech at any time in his whole life. In a brief commentary, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., compared and contrasted the behavior and characters of Corning, Perkins, and Alfred Sloan, famed executive of General Motors and latterly the subject of Chandler's research activity.

The joint session on agricultural history, chaired by Gilbert C. Fite, University of Oklahoma, dealt with American agricultural leadership in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Weymouth T. Jordan of Florida State University discussed Noah B. Cloud, editor of the *American Cotton Planter*, and his campaign for soil conservation, crop diversification, and agricultural education. He concluded that Cloud was the most energetic agricultural reformer in Alabama in the pre-Civil War period. Roy B. Scott, University of Illinois, described the role played by Milton George in organizing and promoting the National Farmers' Alliance. After about seven years of vigorous activity and leadership on both the local and national levels, George was removed from leadership in 1887 by other Alliance men who believed that he was too conservative. Nonetheless, the Alliance movement continued to show the effects of his work and planning. James H. Shideler of the University of California, Davis, analyzed the struggle for agricultural leadership and power between Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace in the years after World War I. He emphasized Hoover's attempt to gain control over a larger share of farm marketing activities and Wallace's strong opposition to such a development. The intra-administration fight obstructed the effective farm policies so desperately needed in the early 1920's. In commenting on these papers, John Schlebecker, Iowa State College, raised the question whether the speakers had not been influenced by the great man theory of history. He thought that the development of agricultural reforms, farm movements, and farm policies might have been much the same if the agricultural leaders under discussion had never lived and suggested that they should have been placed in a broader historical context.

At the Luncheon Conference on Agricultural History, Joseph A. Batchelor of Indiana University in the chair, George L. Anderson, University of Kansas, traced the impact of agricultural change on banking in early Wichita, 1872-1876. "These were years of panic and slow recovery on the national scene, but in south-central Kansas they were years of settlement (Wichita, 1868); of growth and expansion; and of transition from the Texas cattle trade to the large scale production of corn and wheat. The boisterous 'cow-town' phase of Wichita's growth was short. The transition to a mercantile center with an extensive hinterland and reasonably complex commercial mechanism was quite abrupt. A significant component of this mechanism was the First National Bank." The Panic of 1873 found the bank

deeply involved in the Texas cattle trade. Various devices of dubious legality had been employed to extend its capacity to participate in this highly risky business. During the rapid growth of the Wichita area, the bank strained its resources beyond the breaking point and again took risks of doubtful wisdom and legality. Failure resulted. The nation at large took a century and a quarter of costly experimentation before a reasonably adequate solution for the financing of crop movements was devised. A spirited question period added information concerning the nature of the illegal practices of the bank and the fact that its failure checked only momentarily the growth of Wichita as a wheat shipping center.

The joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, under the chairmanship of Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota, was devoted to writings on lumber history. Elwood Maunder of St. Paul and Stanley F. Horn of Nashville were to read papers on "The Forest History Foundation" and Seventy-five Years of *The Southern Lumberman*," but information on the session was not supplied in time for this report.

VII

In view of the historic setting of St. Louis, it was appropriate that Latin American studies had a substantial place on the program. The annual meeting of the Latin American History Conference was attended by ninety members and friends. Honored guests were Father Ernest J. Burrus, currently associated with the University of St. Louis; Dr. Javier Malagón Barceló, Pan American Union; and Professor José Luis Romero of the University of La Plata. Conference Chairman, Engel Sluiter, University of California, Berkeley, presided. He announced the results of the annual election of Conference officers: Walter Scholes, University of Missouri, Chairman; Donald E. Worcester, University of Florida, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. Jane DeGrummond, Louisiana State University, and Gerhard Masur, Sweet Briar College, members of the General Committee. The Chairman announced that the Essay Committee had recommended that the James R. Robertson Memorial Prize not be awarded this year.

Upon completion of the business session Philip W. Powell, University of California, Santa Barbara, presented a well-received paper, "Portrait of an American Viceroy: Martín Enríquez, 1568-1583." Powell, basing his conclusions on extensive research in Mexico and Spain, described Viceroy Enríquez as a faithful mirror of his king, Philip II, and a good example of that monarch's attempt to provide able, loyal, and paternalistic government for his American realm. Viceroy Enríquez was the alter ego of Philip II during an eventful era in Mexican and Spanish history. One of his first acts as viceroy was to defeat John Hawkins and Francis Drake at Vera Cruz, thus sparking a prolonged and bitter Spanish-English fight on the seas. According to Powell, one of the greatest contributions of Enríquez was the organization of the General Court of the Indies. Enríquez upheld viceregal prestige against the demands of a restive aristocracy. He was a major formulator

of the presidio-mission-colonization pattern of the north Mexican frontier which was so effective in pacifying the Indians of that region. On the occasion of the introduction of the Inquisition into Mexico (1571), he capably kept the opposition to that institution firmly in line.

The Luncheon Conference of American Archivists, with Javier Malagón Barceló of the Pan American Union presiding, listened to a discussion by John P. Harrison of the National Archives and Records Service on "Latin American Archives and the Scholar in the United States." Unhappily, no summary of the paper or other proceedings has been forthcoming.

That scholars had been putting such archives to good use was clear from two special sessions. Under the chairmanship of John Tate Lanning, Duke University, three scholars considered aspects of late Bourbon reforms. Lyle N. McAlister of the University of Florida ("The Militia in New Spain: The Origins of the Praetorian Tradition in Mexico") showed that reforms in colonial administration introduced by the late Spanish Bourbons produced unforeseen and incidental consequences more significant than the reforms themselves. Among these innovations was the creation of a substantial military establishment in New Spain. Unfortunately, privilege and power were not accompanied by a commensurate sense of responsibility and, during the turmoil that followed the abdication of Ferdinand VII, the army emerged as an autonomous and irresponsible institution. This army consummated independence and made itself master of Mexico. Clifton B. Kroeber, Occidental College ("The Buenos Aires Consulado"), confirmed McAlister's thesis that the incidental results of the Bourbon reform were often more significant than the reform itself. The *consulado* conducted its affairs to favor the merchants of Buenos Aires over those of other cities of the La Plata system. It therefore not only looked toward independence from Spain but fostered separatism at such places as Montevideo and laid the foundation for later nationality. Charles W. Arnade of Florida State University ("Tadeo Haenke, 1761-1817") presented the career of a young scientist of the Enlightenment in the extraordinary researches in natural history, especially botany, sponsored by the Spanish crown toward the end of the eighteenth century. Haenke, a member of the famous Malaspina expedition until 1794, was ultimately attached to the intendant of Cochabamba in Upper Peru as a scientist. Though the records of his prodigious research are still lost, some of his published essays show him working capably in an atmosphere of tolerance, upon such subjects as botany, zoology, chemistry, mineralogy, geography, and medicine. To draw out discussion, the chairman asked whether the term "Bourbon" did not lead people to assume that the royal family of France was responsible for all Spanish reform in the eighteenth century. He was more seriously contested when he wondered whether, where money and property were not concerned, there were not many points of reform upon which liberal and conservative in the Spanish Empire agreed. The discussion was exceptionally lively and brought out the existence of a depository of documents relevant to one of the papers.

Political, economic, and literary aspects of nineteenth-century Latin American urbanism were explored in papers prepared respectively by James R. Scobie, U. S. Army, Theodore E. Nichols of Long Beach State College, and Arturo Torres-Rioseco of the University of California, Berkeley, for the joint session with the Conference on Latin American History under the chairmanship of Howard Cline, Library of Congress. In the absence of Scobie, Joseph Criscenti, Boston College, read his contribution which, based primarily on Argentine materials, emphasized political strains created by "supercities," consequences of expanded electorates, nascent political parties, increased public education, and the influx of immigration as elements in politics. Nichols' provocative treatment of economic phases stressed transportation revolutions and their reciprocal effect on urbanization, using Barranquilla and São Paulo as case histories; he raised the fundamental question, "What is a city?" and asked to what extent cities specializing in political, economic, or socio-cultural functions are peculiar to Latin America. Rioseco's paper on urbanism in Spanish American novels of the period was read by Charles Hale, North Carolina University. It identified and discussed in detail seven major problems used by novelists, citing numerous titles and indicating the parallel changes in novel techniques and growth of urban life itself. He warned that in "working with literary documents one must be aware of their shortcomings" as historical sources.

Commentary by Richard M. Morse, Columbia University, developed at length certain lines common to these papers. His noteworthy remarks focused on the "artificiality" of Latin American urbanization, proposing a complementary analytic view of city-hinterland relations and internal aspects of these cities, especially their "premetropolitan" traits. Morse believed that sociological, historical, and literary data indicate "that the city has never been able to come to terms with the countryside, whether in a relation of submission, coexistence or domination."

In an attempt to encourage an ecumenical view of American history the Pan American Institute of Geography and History sponsored an appraisal of "The History of the Americas," with Max Savelle, University of Washington, in the chair. The chairman placed the project in the setting of twentieth-century historiography as a collaborative effort, international in scope, conceived in terms of the whole hemisphere, beginning with the Indians, not the Europeans. He reported that of the three divisions—pre-Columbian, colonial, national—the first and second have now been completed or are nearing completion. The final stage will be a one-volume summary of the entire project with recommendations for further work, by the general chairman, Silvio Zavala.

The appraisal of Bailey W. Diffie, City College, New York, from the standpoint of a Latin American historian, was read by Milton Vanger, Oklahoma A & M College. On the basis of the twenty-odd booklets thus far published as well as the three summary volumes nearing publication, he pointed out imbalances in space and emphasis and criticized alike the uneven quality of the volumes and the concept of the project itself in the minds of the authors. More than this, he

felt that the project assumed a unity in the history of America which did not exist. Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, speaking from the standpoint of a United States historian, found the project of great significance: the presentation of the history of the United States in hemispheric setting places it in perspective. In touching upon the idea of unity, he stressed the existence of two experiences, Latin-American and Anglo-American. His greatest emphasis, however, was on the desirability of attempting to make this a scientific cultural history, with attention to folkways and cultural interchange. In the lively general discussion, many suggestions were made: the need for comparative studies, for simplicity, and for international collaboration and evaluation was pointed out and it was emphasized that in the history of America there were many common denominators and many divergencies. Nevertheless, the consensus was highly sympathetic to the continuance and even elaboration of the present project.

The ecumenical ideal also stood back of a luncheon session on Asiatic history over which Hugh Borton of Columbia University presided. Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, in his paper entitled "New Approaches to Asian History" reported on a conference on Asian history sponsored by the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London. Seventy-five scholars, two thirds of whom were European, considered the problem of historiography in reference to the three areas of South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia at a week's conference in London in July, 1956. Furber reported that the papers prepared for this conference will appear in three separate volumes, one for each area. The discussion in the conference centered on such problems as reliability of early sources, political and religious influences on historical writing, and the need to approach the history of Asia from the point of view of Asians rather than Europeans. The speaker noted that many of the Asian scholars present queried the objectivity of European historians when writing about the history of modern Asia. Furber concluded his remarks by noting that the conference had been conspicuously unconcerned with the effect of Communist penetration on historical writing in Asia in the future. As an opportunity for Western and Asian scholars to meet and to discuss mutually significant historical problems, however, it was a great success.

The second speaker, David Rowe of Yale University, reported on recent acquisitions of Chinese diplomatic archives by the Institute of Modern History of the Academia Sinica of Taiwan. He noted that this material covered the period 1850-1926 and that the Asia Foundation had become interested in publishing the most important reference volumes or "Files" on these voluminous archives. The Institute of Modern History, with the financial assistance of the Asia Foundation, has decided to begin publication of this material with the "Files on the Maritime Defenses of China," scheduled for publication in May, 1957. The "Files on Indo-Chinese Relations" have a publication date of January 19, 1958. Rowe distributed a detailed description of this material and stated that this was the most outstanding opening of new material on China's foreign relations in recent times.

VIII

The broad theme of the values and nature of history came in for diverse attention. At the annual dinner of the Association, with Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri as toastmaster, Dexter Perkins dwelt upon the theme "We Shall Gladly Teach." His address, printed in the January number of the *Review*, needs no recapitulation here.

Winners of the several Association prizes were announced by Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize went to Gordon A. Craig of Princeton University for his *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640-1945* (Oxford University Press). The George Louis Beer Prize was received by Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College, for his book, *Mitteleuropa in German Thought and Action, 1815-1945* (Martinus Nijhoff). Paul W. Schroeder, University of Texas, was awarded the Albert J. Beveridge Award. His manuscript was entitled "The Axis Alliance and Japanese-American Relations, 1941." Honorable mention went to Clark C. Spence, Pennsylvania State University, for his manuscript, "British Investment and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1901." The John H. Dunning Prize in American history was awarded to John Higham of Rutgers University for his book, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (Rutgers University Press); and honorable mention was given to John William Ward, author of *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (Oxford University Press), and to Joseph F. Wall of Grinnell College, author of *Henry Watterson: Reconstructed Rebel* (Oxford University Press). David Harris Willson, University of Minnesota, received the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize, awarded every five years, for his book, *King James VI and I* (Jonathan Cape).

Oscar Halecki of Fordham, in his presidential address, "The Moral Laws of History," before the Luncheon Conference of the American Catholic Historical Association, reiterated the Christian philosophy of history. He bade his listeners remember that Christ was central in human history and that human history was no mere "parenthesis in eternity." Although Machiavelli and Marx had divorced history from Christian principles, no history which did not accept the reality of God had any validity.

Concern with values also characterized the joint session of the American Studies Association, chaired by Irvin G. Wyllie, University of Missouri, which was devoted to a discussion of the humanistic and scientific approaches to history under the title "Where Do Historians Stand?" Happily, in view of the prevailing room temperature, the session generated more light than heat. The humanist spokesman, Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, conceded much to the social sciences in his paper, "Clio in a Strait Jacket." He urged economic historians to learn from economists, and students of Indian culture to profit by studies in ethnology. He expressed the conviction that the social sciences can improve the validity of historical data, especially that data which lends itself to quantitative analysis.

However, he deplored the efforts of Thomas C. Cochran and others to confine history to that which is measurable: this is the strait jacket in which pure social scientists attempt to confine Clio. History is neither a social science nor a humanity, but rather the indispensable link between the two. Bert J. Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College delivered the second paper, "Clio versus Science: The Dialectics of Confusion," a closely reasoned philosophical defense of scientific humanism. He rejected traditional distinctions which separate mind from matter, assigning the former to the humanities, the latter to science. Science is humanistic, and humanism is scientific, so the contest to decide whether science presents a threat to the humanistic tradition is largely one of words. The notion that science inhibits the scope of history is a misconception: science suggests general postulates which help the historian assign meaning to discrete events. Though there were no formal commentators for this session, there was ample discussion from Frederick D. Kershner of Ohio University, Robert Bremner of Ohio State University, and many others.

On quite a different level but intimately related to the values and teaching of history were three papers presented to some two hundred persons attending the session dealing with "Historians and the Teaching of History," chaired by William H. Cartwright of Duke University. George B. Carson, Jr., Director of the Association's new Service Center for Teachers described the goals and program of the Center. It will publish materials designed to help teachers keep up to date on revisions, interpretations, changing emphases, and perspective in history; arrange conferences among historians, schoolteachers, and administrators for discussion of the school history curriculum; and promote conferences and institutes to give teachers first-hand contact with new developments and interpretations. Hazel C. Wolf, of Manual Training High School, Peoria, Illinois, emphasized the need for historians to take an interest in the teaching of history in the schools. She said that the professional historian must especially be concerned with the training of history teachers for the schools. He must be concerned that only competent historians—people who bring to their classes the understanding, appreciation, and enthusiasm which emanate from a thorough grounding in the subject—be permitted to teach history, and that history teachers for our schools receive that training and inspiration for research which will keep them returning to the documents in a continuing study of history. Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas emphasized the need for university historians to establish close contacts with school history teachers. He accused professional educators of sometimes holding a monopoly over school affairs and blamed university historians for abdicating their responsibility to the schools. He said that universities have shifted their emphasis to graduate instruction and research, and he urged renewed attention to undergraduate instruction and the education of teachers on the part of university departments of history.

Another approach to the same general problem marked the joint session of the American Association for State and Local History, which had for its theme "The

Presentation of History." With Nyle H. Miller of the Kansas State Historical Society presiding, Earle W. Newton, director of state museums and historic properties of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, showing colored slides, discussed "British History in Three Dimensions." He reported that the crushing burden of taxes in the United Kingdom has brought hundreds of historic buildings into the nonprofit, education care of their national trusts. Other properties remain in private ownership but are open to the public for a fee. The British government itself cares for many monuments, including ruins of castles, etc., but no habitable structures.

James Parton, publisher of *American Heritage*, spoke on "The Marriage of History and Journalism." "There is today in America a great reawakening of interest in history. It is not an interest in history *per se* so much as it is an interest in the things connoted by the word 'heritage'—how we got to where we are and how that rediscovery can help us through the difficult problems of the present and the future. One major cause of this recent development has been the increasing *rapprochement* between the two professions of history and journalism. . . . We think of history in terms of people first, dates and battles and administrations last. Furthermore, we are as interested in the little people as in the big. Our 'beat' is to answer the question—What did men *do* there?" *American Heritage* therefore might be called a "newsmagazine of the past." Clifford Lord, director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and president of the American Association for State and Local History, closed the session with a review of the objectives of state and local historical societies. He pointed out ways the societies can best serve the public and historians in particular, and he urged more writing of state and local history.

Although more limited in its objectives than the two preceding sessions, the joint session of the American Military Institute was concerned alike with the presentation of history and the merits of a particular stress in history, under the title "Military History—Pro and Con." Richard C. Brown of the New York State University College for Teachers at Buffalo presided. Tyson Wilson of Virginia Military Institute presented "The Case for Military History and Research." He pointed out that more than forty courses in military history are now being taught in American colleges and universities and that there are numerous sources for research aid now in existence. He suggested that more military history material should be introduced into general survey courses in American history. Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., of American University examined the implications of the current popularity of military history in his paper, "A Civilian Caveat." He declared that there are dangers in the broadly inclusive type of military history, pointing out that military history, broadly defined, might encroach upon fields once the province of political, diplomatic, or social history. Such encroachments, he felt, might militarize our historical literature as well as our national life. Comments on the two papers by William T. Hagen of North Texas State College included a dis-

cussion of the difficulty of maintaining objectivity in writing military history because of intra- and inter-service rivalries and an objection to the introduction of military interpretations into general survey courses in American history. Louis Morton of the Army Historical Staff concluded the comments with a summarization of his belief that historians, regardless of the type of history they teach or write, should be servants of truth and humanity. Members of the large audience present contributed greatly to the success of this program through forty-five minutes of vigorous comments, questions, and discussion.

So the report, based almost entirely on the summaries of session chairmen, occasionally enhanced by information from other sources but oftener reduced, concludes. Happily there has been no need for the writer to bear in mind Othello's injunction. Rather he would reiterate what he said at the outset: the meeting offered a fair and, both in outlook and interest, an admirable image of what American historians are doing. Nothing more need be asked.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

The Year's Business, 1956

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1956

The profession of history is thriving, the professors are vigorous. Historians are producing articles and books at an amazing rate. They are about to teach more students than ever before. Conscious of the limitations of their research tools, they wish to fashion new ones; knowing of gaps in their knowledge, they desire to fill them; aware of weaknesses in their teaching, they wish to remedy them.

Whether all this activity is worthwhile, only the future historians of history and historians in the United States will be able to judge. If future historians are anything like the present breed, skeptical and tough-minded, they will probably find much to criticize and little to praise. But we cannot foresee the future, and we must, fortunately or unfortunately, proceed without its judgment. Your Executive Secretary and Editor can here report on activities and ideas current in the Association and in the profession at large. He is not a completely objective witness. Very likely he is too immersed in the study of history, too fond of the study and of historians.

For the Association, the year since my last report to you has been a year of transition and change. Whether or not the change has been for the better, we cannot yet know; the outlook is not unpropitious. We are now, after much effort, in our new headquarters at 400 A Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C., a remodeled house that gives us room to move about, space we had not previously had in the study rooms so generously supplied us by the Library of Congress these last fif-

teen years. A new bookkeeper, Miss Rita Shea, has taken the place of Miss Patty Washington who retired after forty-eight years loyally devoted to Association business. Miss Nancy Hall Kane has assumed the position of assistant editor of the *Review*, replacing competent Catharine Seybold who had been with us for twelve years. My secretary, who not only types my letters to you but takes care of the Job Register, is John Paul Yoder, a man of wide experience. Miss Patricia Fox helps Nancy Kane get out the *Review* and sends those requests for book reviews which so many of you receive. We are proud of our new staff. It is happy, intelligent, and hardworking.

These are changes in location, in personnel; there are other changes. Last year we reported that the Ford Foundation had granted \$148,000 for our Service Center for Teachers. That Center, directed by George B. Carson, Jr., is now in operation, preparing pamphlets on the content of high school history courses and annotated lists of books for history teachers, as well as providing consultant services when they are requested. During the year we obtained two other grants from the Ford Foundation, one of \$69,000 for the photographic reproduction of German war documents now in England and the United States, and one of \$96,000 for the long-anticipated bibliographies covering British history. The American Committee for the Study of War Documents, headed by Reginald Phelps, and the Joint Anglo-American Committee on British Bibliographies, on which Stanley Pargellis is our representative, have both plunged into their tasks. For all three of these projects, the Service Center, the War Documents, the British Bibliographies, I can report substantial work accomplished. The War Documents Committee has screened and photographed thousands of pages of German materials. The revisions of two volumes of the British Bibliographies, that for the medieval period (Gross) and that for the Tudor period (Read), are under way. Edgar Graves is doing the first and Conyers Read the second, his own volume.

From the Rockefeller Foundation, we just recently received a grant of up to \$75,000 to realize the long-hoped-for new edition of the *Guide to Historical Literature*. George Howe and his committee on the *Guide* have laid their plans, evolved their outline, and are about to begin the actual editing. For the committees that have worked out and developed these special projects, historians everywhere wish success. Their invaluable efforts will, in the future, deepen the study of history as well as strengthen the profession.

One further accomplishment of the same nature should be mentioned. For twenty-five years, American historians have been promised an index to the *Writings on American History*. An *Index to the Writings. . . , 1902-1940* is printed and should be ready for distribution by the time these words are spoken. David M. Matteson began this index in 1931; in his will he provided funds for its completion, which was carried out by one of our members, William C. Davis, an expert typist as well as scholar and editor.

Other projects are in the making. We hope that some of them will materialize.

We may, for example, try to strengthen South Asian studies in the United States through importation of outstanding scholars in the field. We may soon propose a study of the historical profession with a particular view to our needs in the next ten to twenty years. Of this last, I shall speak later.

These are special projects. What of our customary work, what of those activities which occupy us daily, and I also might say nightly? The Association for seventy-two years has attempted to serve historians, to encourage the study of history. In some ways we succeed, in some ways we fail. Your Executive Secretary and Editor, now a veteran, as he has served his first hitch of three years, is a bit battle-scarred and weary. Much is being done. Much remains to be done. Too often we wish we had the time and stamina to do that which we do better and still have the time and stamina to do more.

Much of the work of the Association, as we all know, is performed by standing committees. When your Executive Secretary assumed his position three years and three months ago, he did not then comprehend the volume of work actually performed by members of these committees, nor did he know that they, almost without exception, receive no compensation other than the satisfaction arising from service to their fellow historians. Again and again this fact ought to be stated: the members of the profession of history are not only loyal to it, they *work* for their profession. May I summarize the activities of the several committees which carry the burden of what I might call our standing duties. My summary may sound prosaic, but it records the generosity and wide range of accomplishments of our most active members.

The Beveridge Award Committee, with Ralph Hidy as chairman, considered thirteen applications and has awarded the prize of \$1,000 plus publication to one volume and honorable mention, which brings publication, to another. Francis Bowman of the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Committee tells us that the committee received over sixty volumes in European history from which it chose one for its prize of \$200. J. B. Brebner, for the Schuyler Prize Committee, reports that it examined forty-five books in British, British Imperial, and Commonwealth history before it made its choice for the \$100 award. The George Louis Beer Committee, under the chairmanship of Charles Mullett, received eighteen volumes on European international history; from among these it made its choice for the prize of \$200. For the John H. Dunning Prize of about \$140, in American history, Francis Simkins writes that over forty books and manuscripts were considered before the committee decided upon a prize volume and one for honorable mention. This year, because no volume suitable for the Watumull Prize in Indian history was submitted, Taraknath Das and his committee have made no recommendation. The Carnegie Revolving Fund Committee (Raymond Stearns, chairman), with its fund virtually exhausted, could not, unfortunately, assist in the publication of a worthy volume. (See page 771 for winners of prizes.)

From the reports of the prize committee chairmen before me and from com-

ments of members of the Association, several suggestions arise. A tremendous burden of work in reading manuscripts and books falls upon the prize committees. We may need to define the terms of the prizes more narrowly and precisely. In these days of inflation, the monetary size of some prizes hardly warrants the work of the award committees. A good many books and manuscripts are submitted which are either not eligible or insufficiently prepared. Authors ought to be warned that their manuscripts must be in final form for publication and that their books must be scholarly. But, in any case, the historians who receive the awards and all of us who pay honor to our worthy colleagues will express our gratitude to the men who made the choices. Through the years, the books to which the Association has given prizes have usually become "standard" works, points of departure in their fields.

One new prize will be offered in 1957. The Cornell University Press will make possible a biennial Association prize of \$1,500 (plus publication) for a book in American intellectual history, including biography. Appropriately, the award will be called the Moses Coit Tyler Prize.

Our Association committees cover many phases of the study of history. The Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, this year enlarged by three additional historians of American diplomacy, will report separately to the Council and to the Business Meeting upon the State Department publications in the field of history. The general report of the chairman, Edward Younger, tells us that Volume I of our *Annual Report*, the 1955 *Proceedings* volume, is in press (the proof is on the desk of the Executive Secretary at this moment), that the *Writings on American History* for 1951 has been published, that the *Writings* volume for 1952 is in press, and that the volume for 1953 is in preparation. One other major accomplishment of this committee should be noted. In 1955, the committee, along with senior historians in governmental service and your Executive Secretary, asked the Federal Civil Service Commission, by letter and telephone, to reopen the Washington register for historians and again offer examinations. This has been done, we can happily announce.

Waldo Leland, speaking for the Committee on International Historical Activities as he has long and wisely done, reveals how far-flung are the international interests of American historians. One of the members of this committee, Arthur Whitaker, attended the meeting of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences in Madrid. His report is to be found in the *Review* of October, 1956 (pp. 274-76). Our own committee has presented a critique of the 1955 Rome Congress to assist the Bureau in plans for future congresses. The next Congress of the International Committee will be held in Stockholm in 1960. Historians interested in preparing reports for this Congress are urged to send their suggestions to Donald McKay at Amherst, our representative on the Bureau. Our International Historical Activities Committee keeps us informed on the project for the History of the Americas, on the regular Anglo-American historical conferences held every

summer, and upon all international activities which may profit American historians. There has been, for example, correspondence of interest between the Russian and American members of the Bureau concerning what form cooperation between Russian and American historians might take if such cooperation should be desired, and the committee has formulated tentative recommendations. Our committee also recommends that the United States act as host for the meeting of the Bureau in 1958.

The Committee on Documentary Reproduction, headed by Robert Eckles, submits its usual full report on microfilming done and in prospect. With the Library of Congress, the committee this year began and supervised reproduction of materials in Finland, Japan, and Italy, and next year selected documents of several other countries will be duplicated on film. The Harmsworth Committee, under Carl Wittke, compiled another panel of historians from which Oxford will choose one for its distinguished professorship in American history.

The Association sends representatives or delegates to the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Historical Publications Commission, and the National Council for Social Studies. For the first, the Social Science Research Council, our senior delegate, Roy Nichols, announces the appointment of a third (after those for *Bulletins* 54 and 64) Committee on Historiography, this one headed by Louis Gottschalk. The new SSRC committee will study the methodology of history as history rather than as a social science. The American Council of Learned Societies, Joseph Strayer tells us, has survived and preserved its committee structure. Its financial stringency was temporarily relieved, and there is hope that the Council, somewhat reorganized, will continue to foster humanistic studies in America. Julian Boyd, in describing the work of the National Historical Publications Commission, indicates that work upon the "Guide to Depositories of the Archives and Manuscripts" continues and that the volume ought to appear late in 1957. Some progress is being made, too, on the documentary histories of the Constitution and Bill of Rights and the First Federal Congress. As the newspapers have announced, the papers of President Madison are being collected and will be published in a definitive and full edition. Nothing concrete, however, has been done to "fill the gap" in the *Writings on American History* for the years 1940-1947. From the National Council for Social Studies there is little new to bring you. The Council continues to be active and to publish *Social Education*, the magazine for high school teachers of history which the Association helped start several years ago. Our Association, through Fulmer Mood, has also been of some assistance to Ralph Shaw of Rutgers University, who is preparing a bibliographical work to cover publications during the years at the beginning of the nineteenth century not included in Evans, *American Bibliography*, and Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana*.

Of some interest to those seeking historical positions and those wishing to fill them is the Association's Job Register. During the two years of its active operation,

about 600 individuals have registered and between 300 and 400 are on the rolls at present. The Register has been informed of more than 140 positions and, though we have no exact information, possibly thirty or more individuals have found positions through it. The Register needs more publicity than we have been able to give it—time and personnel are lacking. It has justified its existence, but it has not yet fulfilled our hopes for it. Last year at the Annual Meeting, 147 individuals registered and the Register learned of over fifty positions. We are trying last year's experiment again, and the Job Register will again be open at the Annual Meeting in St. Louis. One common offhand comment, "The best people do not register and the best institutions do not use it," has little evidence behind it. Good people are registered and all kinds of institutions from the "Ivy League" to obscure colleges have made use of the service.

Without systematic effort on our part, the membership of the Association slowly increases. It now has nearly 6,600 members, and the *Review*, with the separate Macmillan subscription lists, goes to about 8,300 individuals and institutions. The Treasurer of the Association, Solon J. Buck, reports that we are in a sound financial condition and that we have been able to buy, remodel, and furnish the building for our headquarters without undue strain and without touching our endowment.

May I express the Association's appreciation for Solon Buck's long service. For twenty years, while he has been a distinguished historian and archivist, he has also been our financial watchdog. We have never had a deficit. Solon Buck has served without pay, and he has toiled long and difficult hours, days, weeks. This Executive Secretary can testify both to his devotion to the Association and to his accuracy and his caution in financial matters. With Solon Buck, I have worked upon four budgets, four Treasurer's reports. Never simple, these budgets and reports have become more and more complicated as our activities have multiplied. Every year the Treasurer and the Executive Secretary breathe sighs of deep relief when the work on them is completed. If anyone wants a lesson in precision, let him work with Solon Buck.

Another member of the Association to whom I should like to pay tribute is Frank Maloy Anderson. Professor Anderson, whom we all know as a learned scholar and loyal friend, may be the oldest living member of the Association, having joined it in 1896. This year he will be, I believe, attending his fiftieth meeting.

The *American Historical Review* has become thicker and thicker (Volume LXI, 1,127 pages); one member has accused us of trying to rival the Manhattan telephone directory. We have, it is true, reached the *Review's* limitation in size, perhaps even exceeded it a bit. Our readers tell us that we should not review fewer books (517 this year, 533 last), that we should run more articles (twelve articles plus seven "Notes and Suggestions" this year compared to twelve articles plus six "Notes and Suggestions" last year), and that we might expand in this or that direction, but especially in the "Personal" section (which is now larger than

ever). We cannot expand further, however, without more funds, more assistance in the editorial office. We have not only reached the maximum physical size for handling and mailing, we have perhaps exceeded the physical energies of a willing staff. We can only develop further in one direction—quality. Readers tell us that our reviews of books have grown more critical. This, I think, is true and desirable. They also tell us that they like the type of discussions represented by the essays of Zagorin and Gershoy on Becker in the October, 1956, issue. We hope to continue these when the submitted articles lend themselves to similar discussion. Your Editor has heard from time to time that we publish mostly articles by young men hoping for promotion, few by “authorities” who have “arrived.” It is true that the pages of the *Review* are open to young men as they are to every serious historian regardless of age. It is also true that during the last three years, at least, a sizable proportion of the authors, about a third, have been historians who would generally be acknowledged “authorities,” that is, older scholars who have achieved recognition in the profession.

Once again for the *Review*, I plead for more lively, provocative, and interpretative articles than we receive at present. We received this year 157 essays for consideration, compared to 147 last year. Of these, but a handful attempted to formulate, and test with evidence, new and fertile hypotheses which might enrich our understanding of the past. In American history, may I particularly note, we saw too few top-notch studies and almost none which tried to interpret American history in the venturesome fashion of Tyler, Turner, and Beard. The bold new views that these giants have led us to expect of American historians seem strangely lacking, at least insofar as submitted articles indicate.

Again your Executive Secretary has done a bit of travel. He learned, for example, about the historians of Texas, that American empire of the Southwest, and he has been in Ithaca in the winter, in Durham on a beautiful fall day, and in Pittsburgh on the opening day of the baseball season without seeing the game. Every time he leaves headquarters, he is made aware of problems of teaching and research to be solved as well as the ways various departments are solving them, and he, with much profit to the *Review*, meets historians who are qualified to review books and who wish to submit articles. Travel, according to the cliché, broadens. I should rather say it deepens understanding, increases awareness of problems and possibilities. Of both of these I have been increasingly cognizant.

Is it time in our profession for an assessment of where we are and where we are going in these years of continual crisis? The volume of research in progress is truly astounding. What does it mean, where does it lead? The number of students mounts and will become enormous during the next few years. Are we prepared for them? I hope the Association will sponsor, perhaps with funds from a foundation, a much-needed study of possibilities in the profession. I would hope that this study might concentrate upon graduate school production, graduate school requirements including those of language, and dissertation standards and

quality. But I would also hope the study might ask questions about the relation of present graduate education to liberal education, about the relation of teaching to research and publication, about needs in the publication field, about the possibilities for women in the profession, and about ways and means of making the profession more attractive to able young men and women.

You must not expect your headquarters staff to do this study. It should be done by a committee of highly qualified historians appointed by the Association. The headquarters staff (especially the Executive Secretary) is already pushed to the limits of its physical abilities. If the profession wishes the Association to expand its activities further, it will have to see to it that funds and staff are available. Your Executive Secretary and Editor has many times dreamed of the life of a teacher with time for research and writing. You should expect him to remain something of a scholar, but with his present seven-day week and twelve- to fourteen-hour day, he is exhausted before he can crawl to his own study to read a book or write a page. If the Association is to do more, to further enlarge its program, it will have to provide the means.

This is an age of change, of transition in the world and in historical study which is part of this world. Where are we going? Can we use our historical knowledge to help both our fellow citizens and ourselves? It is for us, for you and for me, to build and furnish the structure in which the historians of the next ten to twenty years may freely roam, teach their students, produce their studies. This is a time of transition, but in large measure it is an age of destruction, it is also an age for construction. In this construction, though some ideals are waning, those of scholarship must stand firm. In this period of easy negation, let us be the ones to affirm those rights to critical inquiry and humanistic study bequeathed us by historians and philosophers from Athens to Florence, Rotterdam, Paris, and London, by Herodotus and Socrates, Erasmus and Guicciardini, Voltaire and Hume—and I might add from our own America, by Jameson, Becker, and Ford.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, SHERATON-JEFFERSON HOTEL,
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DECEMBER 27, 1956, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Dexter Perkins, President; William L. Langer, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Carl Bridenbaugh, Walter L. Dorn, Herbert Heaton, Mrs. Helen Taft Manning, Robert Palmer, Richard C. Shryock, Walter Prescott Webb, C. Vann Woodward, Councilors; Merle Curti, Louis Gottschalk, former Presidents.

President Perkins called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1955 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1956, issue of the *Review* (pp. 804-11).

The Executive Secretary's report was not read as it had previously been sent to members of the Council. The Executive Secretary commented briefly upon various Association matters. He indicated that membership of the Association had increased to 6,577 (last year, 6,310). He pointed out the increase in work being done by the Association headquarters staff and asked that the Council consider additional staff. The Council authorized the Executive Committee of the Council to act on the recommendations of the Executive Secretary in this respect and established a maximum financial limitation.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, Treasurer, read sections of the report of his office for 1955-56. He singled out certain items for the Council's particular attention and indicated that the Association's assets had again increased. He stated that expenditures during the year for housing the Association were well within the savings of the last five years. He explained certain changes which had been made in the nature of the Association's report and suggested that the Council might care to appoint an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, a position provided for in the Constitution. Dr. Buck concluded with the announcement that he would no longer be able to serve as Treasurer of the Association after 1957, and he asked that the Council take appropriate steps.

For the Finance Committee, Dr. Buck summarized the budget proposals for 1956-57 and 1957-58. The Council unanimously approved small expenditures for the past fiscal year which exceeded the budget allocation for 1955-56, struck from the budget a proposed investment for 1956-57, and increased the subventions for the Local Arrangements Committees of 1956-57 and 1957-58. The approved budgets, in addition, carried certain salary adjustments for the office staff.

Professor Max Savelle of the University of Washington, Vice-President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association and 1956 representative of the Branch to the national Association, reported on the activities of the Branch for the past year (see page 791).

After considerable discussion of the costs involved in attendance at Council and committee meetings, the Council asked that the Finance Committee study the question of travel charges and allowances for members of the Council attending the annual meeting.

The Executive Secretary reported for the Committee on Committees, and the Council approved new members for the various association committees. These are listed below:

Committee on Committees.—C. E. Black,* Princeton University; Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina; Edward C. Kirkland, Thetford Center, Vermont; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on Harmsworth Professorship.—Carl Wittke, Western Reserve University, chairman; William C. Binkley, Tulane University; William Stull Holt,

* New member this year.

University of Washington; Stow Persons, State University of Iowa; C. Vann Woodward,* Johns Hopkins University.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College, chairman; Hugh Borton, Columbia University; Sydney N. Fisher, Ohio State University; Charles E. Odegaard, University of Michigan; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); Ralph E. Turner, Yale University; Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Edward Younger, University of Virginia, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; Malcolm Carroll,* Duke University; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Dexter Perkins, Cornell University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; Garrett Mattingly, Columbia University; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University; Donald C. McKay, Amherst College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Bernadotte F. Schmitt, Alexandria, Virginia; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Robert B. Eckles, Purdue University, chairman; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois (ex officio); Richard W. Hale, Jr., Wellesley College; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Charles Mullett,* University of Missouri; Fred Rodkey, University of Illinois; C. Easton Rothwell, the Hoover Library; Clifford K. Shipton, Worcester, Massachusetts; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Henry Hill, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Harold Grimm,* University of Indiana; Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University.

American Committee for the Study of War Documents.—Lynn Case, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl J. Friedrich,* Harvard University; Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia; George W. F. Hallgarten, Washington, D. C.; Hans Kohn, City College of New York; Harold Lasswell, Yale University; Koppel Pinson, Queens College; C. Easton Rothwell,* the Hoover Library; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); William O. Shanahan, Notre Dame University; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California; Sidney Wallach, New York.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Joseph J. Mathews, Emory University, chairman; Stuart Hughes, Stanford University; Carl E. Schorske,* Wesleyan University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College, chairman; Arthur Link, Northwestern University; Richard Overton,*

* New member this year.

Manchester Depot, Vermont; Walter V. Scholes, University of Missouri; Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Richard N. Current, Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers University; R. J. Rath, University of Texas.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon, chairman; William Hogan,* Tulane University; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, chairman; Zechariah Chafee, Harvard University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, New Jersey; Julius Goebel, Columbia University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Helen Taft Manning, Bryn Mawr College, chairman; Giovanni Costigan,* University of Washington; Garrett Mattingly,* Columbia University; Charles Mowat, University of Chicago.

Committee on the Job Register.—Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University; Aubrey Land,* University of Nebraska; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on South Asian History.—Holden Furber,* University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Merle Curti,* University of Wisconsin; Robert I. Crane,* University of Michigan; David Owen,* Harvard University; Earl Pritchard,* University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer,* Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on Teaching.—Sidney Painter, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; William Cartwright,* Duke University; Clement Eaton,* University of Kentucky; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; Francis Keppel, Harvard University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Edith Starratt, Sherburne, New York; Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania.

As Association representatives, the Council elected Joseph Strayer of Princeton University to the American Council of Learned Societies; David Potter of Yale to the Social Science Research Council; and Julian P. Boyd of Princeton University to the National Historical Publications Commission.

The Council turned its attention to questions arising out of the work of the Association's committees. The Executive Secretary explained that the funds of the

* New member this year.

Carnegie Revolving Fund Committee were almost exhausted. The Council decided to continue the present committee and establish an Association revolving fund with the remaining monies and any further funds which might be obtained for this purpose. The Fund has published thirty-five volumes during the last twenty-eight years from the original grant of \$25,000.

After extended discussion of the terms of the various prizes awarded by the Association, the Council asked that a committee of three be appointed to study all questions concerning these prizes, including the terms of the original grants and changes made in these terms, and that this committee report its recommendations to the Council.

The Council accepted the proposal of the Cornell University Press for a new award, to be called the Moses Coit Tyler Prize, and decided upon the appointment of a committee of five for it. This prize of \$1,500 plus publication will be awarded for the best work in manuscript in the field of American intellectual history (including biography). It will be offered in 1957, but along with all other prizes will be considered by the new committee before a final decision is reached for the period beyond 1957.

The Council considered at length and in detail the administrative arrangements for the American Committee for the Study of War Documents and the Council's tentative proposals for funds to continue its work (for a report of the Committee's recent activities, see page 792). At the conclusion of the discussion, the following motion was passed without dissent:

The Council of the American Historical Association applauds the accomplishments of the American Committee for the Study of War Documents in the photographic reproduction of German war documents. The Council looks with favor upon continuation of this photographic reproduction of German war documents. However, it will not sponsor another request for funds unless the committee is reorganized on the same lines as other Association committees and unless all funds are controlled directly by the Association.

A request of the Committee on South Asian History for a grant to bring historians of South Asia to the United States was given lengthy analysis. The Council looked with favor upon the purpose of the proposal, but it asked that the request be again referred to the Committee for recommendation on three questions: (1) whether three historians should be brought each year or whether the number might vary each year; (2) whether the terms of the visiting professors should be limited to one year; and (3) whether the Committee believed after further consideration that the American Historical Association was the best sponsoring agency.

The Council accepted the recommendation of the International Historical Activities Committee that two United States delegates be sent to the meeting of the Assembly of the International Committee of Historical Sciences in 1957, and that an approach be made to a foundation for funds to bring the Bureau of the ICHS to the United States in 1958.

For the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, Edward Younger, the chairman, made an extended report. The Council unanimously recommended that the following report and resolutions of this committee be put before the Business Meeting:

Report on State Department Publications.

At the 1955 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, the Council proposed and the Business Meeting passed a resolution, charging the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, enlarged by three historians of American foreign policy, to study the problems connected with State Department publications and to report back to the Council and Business Meeting in December, 1956.

In compliance with this resolution, your Committee has been enlarged to include Thomas A. Bailey, Samuel Flagg Bemis, and Richard Leopold, and your Committee, after extensive consultation and study of the problems involved, submits the following report:

1. The volumes of *Foreign Relations* published since inception of the series in 1861 have been found by the historical profession a highly useful instrument of research, notably improving in recent decades in scope, content, and scholarly standards.
2. The Committee hopes that this series will be continued on an expanding scale commensurate with the expansion of our foreign relations and that added appropriations for this vital work will be made by Congress.
3. We urge that the *Foreign Relations* volumes, including the *Supplements*, be published in chronological sequence. Only in this way can the documents be judged in historical context, free of contemporary partisanship.
4. We welcome the State Department's decision to appoint an advisory board of scholars in the field for its Historical Division and to make this board directly advisory to the Secretary of State.
5. Valuable as the State Department's publications have been, the Committee believes that the needs of historical scholarship can be satisfied only as long as all scholars of established ability and integrity are given access to unpublished government documents, subject to the legitimate requirements of national security.

Resolution on Access to Public Records.

WHEREAS, the American Historical Association believes that the historical profession can provide an objective analysis of past experience only by means of a full and free examination of surviving records, therefore be it

Resolved, by the American Historical Association that in a free society all qualified persons engaged in responsible historical research should have access to all public records, subject only to reasonable regulations to safeguard the documents, permit the operational use of current records by governmental agencies without undue inconvenience, ensure the national safety, and protect the private character of living persons.

Resolution on Hunter-Miller Compilation.

WHEREAS, an authoritative edition of the treaties and other international acts of the United States is indispensable to the practice of international relations and the effective pursuit of historical study, therefore be it

Resolved, that the American Historical Association deplores the discontinuation

of the Hunter-Miller compilation of the treaties and other international acts of the United States and urgently requests that the project be actively resumed and carried to completion as soon as possible.

On request of the State Department, the Council decided to select a panel of six historians from which the State Department will choose three for its advisory board. The panel is to be chosen by the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.

The Council confirmed the appointment of Mildred Campbell of Vassar as the new member of the Board of Editors to replace David Owen of Harvard, whose term expired this year.

The renomination of Percy Ebbott for membership on the Board of Trustees was confirmed.

The following plans for the Annual Meetings of the next three years were approved: December 28-30, 1957, The Statler, New York City; December 28-30, 1958, The Mayflower, Washington, D. C.; December 28-30, 1959, The Conrad-Hilton, Chicago. For 1960, the Council recommended reconsideration of place and asked simply that the meeting be held in some eastern city if satisfactory arrangements could be made. For 1957, the Council approved Oscar J. Falnes of New York University as Program Chairman and Erling M. Hunt of Columbia University as Local Arrangements Chairman.

The Executive Secretary reported on the arrangements for the new headquarters building in Washington, D. C. Professor Shryock, as Chairman of the Executive Committee and member of the Finance Committee, spoke of his visit to the new building, remarking that its acquisition, remodeling, and furnishing constituted a major accomplishment and the fulfillment of an urgent need.

The Executive Secretary spoke of the need for further action by Congress to raise the Association's charter limitation on real and personal estate. A second request for Congressional action will be made in January.

The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to present an amendment to the Constitution to eliminate mention of a specific sum for student dues.

After a discussion of the services rendered by the Job Register, the Council reaffirmed its decision of last year to increase the initial registration fee of \$2.00 to \$3.00.

The Executive Secretary brought to the attention of the Council the new volume entitled *Index to the Writings on American History, 1902-1940* and announced the decision to sell copies to individual members of the Association for \$5.00 and to nonmembers and institutions for \$10.00—prices much below the cost of the volume.

A proposal of Taraknath Das for the Taraknath Das Fund to offer a new Tyler Dennett prize was referred by the Council to the new committee on prizes.

The Council favored a proposal of the Executive Secretary for a study of the historical profession as indicated in his annual report. It approved the appoint-

ment of a committee of three to formulate a definite plan and define objectives.

A proposal to change the time of the Business Meeting to a period after lunch of the second day of the Annual Meeting met with favor on the part of the Council, but it referred the proposal to the Association Committee on the Program.

The Council appointed the following persons as members of the Executive Committee for 1957: C. Vann Woodward, chairman, Helen Taft Manning, William L. Langer, Robert R. Palmer, Solon J. Buck, Boyd C. Shafer. The Finance Committee will consist of Solon J. Buck, C. Vann Woodward, and Boyd C. Shafer. The Council appointed Robert R. Palmer and William Prescott Webb as the Committee on Resolutions.

A proposal by members of the Association for advice from the Association on centennial celebrations was referred to the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.

A proposal of Waldo Leland for a bibliography of the works of Franklin Jameson and for the publication of a collection of his writings brought varying views. The Council decided that up to \$200 from the Matteson Fund might be expended for a descriptive bibliography but that at this time it could not make any commitment for a volume of selected writings.

The Council referred to the Business Meeting without prejudice a proposal for a resolution to support the establishment of the American Museum of Immigration.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:15 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, SHERATON-JEFFERSON HOTEL,
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DECEMBER 29, 1956, 4:30 P.M.

President Dexter Perkins called the meeting to order with about 250 members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, April, 1956, pp. 811-13) were approved.

Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*, presented his annual report (see pages 774-81). The Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck, outlined the financial condition of the Association from the mimeographed report distributed to members attending the meeting. Dr. Buck noted that the ordinary financial assets of the Association amounted to approximately \$697,000; that the Association headquarters at the end of the fiscal year were valued at about \$36,900; and that foundation grants totaling approximately \$130,000 were made available during the year. He indicated that the receipts of unrestricted funds exceeded ordinary disbursements by about \$13,900 during the fiscal year. The Treasurer's report was accepted; it will be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1956.

Upon Council renomination, Percy Ebbott of New York City was unanimously elected to the Board of Trustees for a term of five years.

Dr. William C. Binkley, chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1956, presented the nominations for 1957: for President, Professor William L. Langer of Harvard University; for Vice-President, Professor Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas; for Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck of Washington, D. C. The Executive Secretary, on motion, was instructed to cast one ballot for these nominees and they were declared elected. Dr. Binkley announced that, as a result of the mail ballot for members of the Council and Nominating Committee, Professor Crane Brinton of Harvard University and Dr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library were elected to the Council for the regular four-year terms; that Professor James B. Hedges of Brown University was elected to the Council for an unexpired term of three years; and that Professors Thomas B. Abernethy of the University of Virginia, Kenneth M. Setton of Pennsylvania, and Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr were elected to the Nominating Committee. Dr. Binkley stated that Professor Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University would be chairman of the Nominating Committee in 1957. The Nominating Committee's report was accepted.

The Executive Secretary reported upon the actions taken at the Council Meeting on December 27 (for an account of Council actions, see the Minutes on pages 781-88). In his remarks, the Executive Secretary pointed particularly to the establishment of a Committee on Prizes which will examine the terms of all awards and make recommendations concerning them to the Council; to the establishment of the Moses Coit Tyler Prize in American intellectual history and biography for 1957; and to the plans for a study of the historical profession.

For the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, Professor Edward Younger of the University of Virginia reported upon the action of this committee concerning State Department publications (for his report and resolutions, see pages 786-87). Younger's report was accepted and the Association approved the resolutions.

An amendment to the Constitution, authorized by the Council, to place authority in the Council to fix the amount of student dues was defeated on a voice vote after considerable discussion.

For the Pacific Coast Branch, Professor Max H. Savelle of the University of Washington gave the annual report which indicated an increase in membership, a comprehensive program at the 1956 annual meeting of the Branch, and the good financial condition of the Branch (see page 791).

For the Committee on Resolutions, Professor Robert Palmer of Princeton read the following resolution:

Resolved: That the American Historical Association extend its thanks and appreciation to Professor Charles F. Mullett and his fellow members of the Program Committee for the preparation of a varied and interesting program, to Professor Ralph P. Bieber and his associates on the Committee on Local Arrangements, and

to all their assistants and volunteer workers, for their many labors in bringing about a pleasant and memorable meeting in the city of St. Louis.

From the floor, Professor Edward W. Fox of Cornell University presented a motion for a mail ballot to allow members of the Association to state their preference for September or December as a time for the Annual Meeting. The motion was defeated by a narrow margin.

Professor John Hope Franklin of Brooklyn College presented a resolution endorsing a national appeal for funds to establish the American Museum of Immigration. He asked that the American Historical Association endorse the project and commend it to teachers of history. This resolution was passed.

In accordance with the custom of over thirty years, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson rose to present a motion for adjournment. He prefaced his motion with remarks concerning the previous meeting of the Association in St. Louis in 1921. The meeting was adjourned at 5:55 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

The 1957 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in New York City, December 28-30, at the Statler Hotel. Oscar F. Falnes of New York University is the program chairman and Erling M. Hunt of Columbia, the local arrangements chairman.

Ray Billington of Northwestern University is chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1957. He will welcome suggestions from members of the Association for the office of Vice-President, two Council members, and two members of the Nominating Committee.

The American Historical Association will offer a new prize in 1957. Called the Moses Coit Tyler Prize, the award will be of \$1,500 plus publication for the best manuscript in American intellectual history, including biography. The Cornell University Press is providing the funds out of money available to it and will publish the manuscript. A new committee to judge the manuscripts has been appointed; Professor Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin, is the chairman. Communications concerning the prize should be sent to the Association office, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C., or to Professor Curti. Manuscripts will be received until September 1, 1957.

The Association has published the long-awaited *Index to the Writings on American History, 1902-1940*. Begun many years ago by David M. Matteson, the distinguished indexer and bibliographer, the *Index* was completed by Professor William Columbus Davis of George Washington University. By his will, Mr. Matteson provided the funds for the compilation. In order to partially recover

printing costs, the Association will sell the volume of 1,115 triple-columned pages at \$5.00 to individual members and \$10.00 to nonmembers and institutions (these prices are far below the total cost of production). The *Index* should be ordered through the Association headquarters. A limited number of copies is available.

Members of the Association may receive, without charge, the *Annual Reports* of the Association, which now consist of two volumes, *Proceedings* and *Writings on American History*. The *Proceedings* volume, which summarizes Association activities for a calendar year, generally appears about a year after these activities have taken place. The *Writings* volume, which intensively covers a year's writings in American history, generally appears four to five years after the year covered. The last-published volume of the *Writings* is for 1951; the 1952 volume is in press, the 1953 volume in preparation. The *Annual Report* volumes are published through the Smithsonian Institution by the Government Printing Office. Back issues may be purchased from the GPO or received through Congressmen, who are entitled to free copies. Members of the Association, not now on the list to receive the volumes without charge through the Association, may have their names added to the list by writing to the Association office at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C. Because the number of copies printed is limited, the Association list cannot be extended indefinitely, and members now wishing to be added to it should write immediately.

The forty-ninth meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of Oregon, Eugene, December 27-29, 1956. More than 150 people attended the sessions, despite difficulties of weather and transportation and the lure of going to the national meeting at St. Louis. The program and local arrangements were in the hands of committees headed by Donald E. Emerson and Robert W. Smith.

Many of the sessions were concerned with the traditional problems of pushing the historical frontier ever forward. There were panels on England, the United States, Latin America, and Continental Europe. Two sessions analyzed questions raised by science, religion, and labor as power forces in society. The Thursday evening session was devoted to history and the behavioral sciences, with A. L. Kroeber, Seymour M. Lipset, and Leonard Krieger participating in giving papers and Karl W. Deutsch and W. Stull Holt acting as commentators.

At the annual dinner Friday evening, President Peter M. Dunne spoke dramatically and well upon his favorite theme: "The Renaissance and Reformation, A Study in Objectivity: Legends of Black and White." The audience sensed that this might be Father Dunne's last public address, for he was waging a battle against cancer (which took his life twenty days later). At the annual business meeting, with President Dunne in the chair, reports were presented from the secretary-treasurer and the managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*. On behalf of the board of editors, Earl Pomeroy announced the reelection of John W. Caughey as managing editor for 1957 and of August Frugé as business manager.

Officers of the Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA for 1957 are as follows: Max Savelle, President; John W. Caughey, Vice-President; John A. Schutz, Secretary-Treasurer; Leland Creer, University of Utah, William Greever, University of Idaho, Francis Herrick, Mills College, Wilbur R. Jacobs, University of California at Santa Barbara, T. A. Larsen, University of Wyoming, Donald W. Rowland, University of Southern California, Benjamin Sacks, University of New Mexico, W. H. Stephenson, University of Oregon, and Herbert J. Wood, State College of Washington, Council members.

The President announced that the 1956 award of the Branch was given to Dr. Betty Unterberger, of the Liberal Arts Center, Whittier College, for her book, *America's Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920* (Duke University Press). The Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award for 1956 was given to Leonard J. Arrington of Utah State Agricultural College for his article in the *Pacific Historical Review*, "The Mormon Colton Mission in Southern Utah."

The 1957 meeting of the Branch will be held at the University of San Francisco, December 27-28; program chairman is Professor Raymond Muse of the State College of Washington.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *Secretary-Treasurer*

The American Historical Association's American Committee for the Study of War Documents has undertaken large-scale microfilming of captured documents at Alexandria, Virginia, and at Whaddon Hall in England. The Alexandria project, headed by Dr. Gerhard Weinberg, is being conducted in the Departmental Records Branch of the Adjutant General's Office. By January, 1957, this project had produced about 400,000 frames of film. Included in this material are extensive records of the NSDAP from its origins to 1945. There are the records of the *Reichsinstitut Sven Hedin für Innerasienforschung* for research on Central Asia, the *Deutsche Akademie München* for German cultural propaganda abroad, the *Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit* in Cracow, which played an important role in the German occupation of Poland, and the *Akademie für Deutsches Recht*, which aided in the formulation of German law according to National Socialist principles. A group of records of the *Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums*, pertaining to German resettlement activities in World War II, has been entirely filmed. Several small but valuable groups of documents of leading Nazis, including Hitler, Göring, Himmler, and Ritter von Epp are now on film, and the film of the records of the Smolensk Oblast Communist Party has also been included in the materials sent to the National Archives. Current filming is concentrated on the German Ministry of Economics and on a group of records dealing with German economic interests in the Far East. The National Archives has prepared a guide sheet for purchasers and users of American Historical Association film.

The Whaddon Hall project, supervised by Professor Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan, has as its purpose the microfilming of the pre-1920 files of the captured German Foreign Ministry Archives and the publication of a

catalogue of files for the years 1867 to 1920. The filming completes the work done in this field by the tripartite powers (Great Britain, France, and the United States) as well as that of some other governments and of a series of universities. Owing to the initiative of the Committee, the gaps left in microfilming the pre-1914 documents were filled just before these documents were shipped back to Germany. Screening and microfilming of the 1914-1920 files are now under way, and work will start shortly on the catalogue. Negative reels are being deposited at the National Archives.

The Committee is further pursuing the aim of making the microfilms of captured German documents available to scholars in this country and abroad and indexing the material for their use. The *Guide to Captured German Documents*, published in 1952 under the direction of Fritz Epstein and Gerhard Weinberg, is at present being brought up to date. The *Supplement to the Guide* is being prepared by an editorial board, on which the Hoover Library is represented (George W. F. Hallgarten is ex officio head of the board). It is hoped that the *Supplement* will be published before the end of this year. An interlibrary exchange of microfilms is being made possible through the cooperation and generosity of the universities which have procured the original films (negatives) or are holding positive copies. Among these are the University of California at Berkeley (568 reels of which 98 are available as positives), the University of Michigan (ca. 150 reels [positives] plus ca. 400 reels representing positives of the Committee's films made at Whaddon Hall), Florida State University (150 reels, negatives), University of Pittsburgh (339 reels, representing positives from reels of the University of California), North Texas State College (214 positives of the same kind), and Tulane University (at present one positive). A set of positives made from the Committee's negatives deposited at the National Archives, intended to be given to a Western university, will likewise be available for this purpose. The Committee hopes for funds to make positive copies of certain additional stocks of films available to other depositories in the United States and abroad.

The Committee is also selecting documents to prepare a small printed reader, to be used by history and German departments for teaching purposes. It is making an effort, in cooperation with the Committee on Library Resources, to assist in setting up a project for microfilming all major German and East European German language newspapers of the Weimar period.

In view of the danger of duplication of research work, brought about by the increasing use of identical microfilms by many scholars, an exchange of information on research in progress, based on captured German documents, appears desirable. All scholars in this and other countries at present preparing publications of this type are invited to inform the Committee (in care of the American Historical Association headquarters) of their projects.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of General "Fighting Joe" Wheeler (1836-1906), the distinguished soldier who was first a Confederate General and later a General of the United States Army, have been placed in the Library of Congress by his granddaughter, Mrs. John LeGrand. They number about 75,000 pieces and provide a record of General Wheeler's long and active career, beginning with his student days at West Point and extending through his service in the Civil War, his business ventures and legal practice, his years in the United States Congress (1881-1883 and 1885-1900), and his military service in the Spanish-American War.

A valuable addition to the Library's materials of aeronautical interest is the gift by Mr. Grover Cleveland Leoning, prominent aircraft engineer, of about 11,000 of his papers, covering the years from 1910 to 1940. The extensive personal and business correspondence includes a brief exchange with the Wright brothers and numerous letters to and from Admiral Richard E. Byrd. There are also reports, photographs, blue prints, drawings, and a series of clippings which deal with many aspects of aeronautics.

Col. Henry Breckinridge, prominent lawyer and assistant secretary of war during President Wilson's administration, has presented to the Library more than 2,000 of his papers, which cover the period 1913-1945. They consist primarily of correspondence and speeches. Several hundred papers relate to his government service from 1913 to 1916, and there is material relating to his campaign for a seat in the United States Senate in 1934 as a candidate of the Constitution party and to his part in the 1936 presidential campaign of the Republican party. These papers form a valuable supplement to the Library's extensive holdings of Breckinridge family papers.

Vice-Admiral Emory Scott Land, USN (Ret.), has presented his papers, which date from 1903 to 1952 and number about 5,000 pieces. They include correspondence, speeches, occasional brief diary notes, and photographs, and relate chiefly to Admiral Land's service as assistant chief of the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics, 1926-1928, as chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, 1932-1937, as chairman of the U. S. Maritime Commission, 1938-1946, and as administrator of the War Shipping Administration during World War II.

The United States Department of State has deposited in the National Archives 554 containers of microfilms of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Office relating to the Weimar period. The bulk of the collection consists of microfilms of documents in the files of the German Foreign Minister's office and the State Secretary's office. The data sheets describing these materials have been microfilmed by the National Archives. Inquiries concerning the purchase of copies of these microfilms should be addressed to the National Archives and Records Service, Washington 25, D. C.

The International Commission for the Bibliography of the Vatican Archives has been given official status through the signing of agreements between the Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences and the Italian Central Council for Historical Studies. The commission is concerned with an analytical listing of the documents published by the Vatican and those kept in the Vatican archives. It was in operation before World War II but had to cease its activities for want of funds. Funds for the work have now been obtained through the combined efforts of Pope Pius XII, the Italian Central Council for Historical Studies, and the Union of Institutes of Roman Archeology, History and Art.

Columbia University has made arrangements to purchase the papers of John Jay, Secretary of State during the Confederation and first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The collection comprises nearly 2,000 items written by 250 individuals, including John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington. Five unpublished letters of Washington are in the collection.

Julian P. Boyd, editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, has announced the availability of a guide to the location of some 60,000 documents and letters written by or to Thomas Jefferson that are to be found in several hundred public and private repositories. His editorial office has prepared fifty-one reels of 16mm. film of all its alphabetical, chronological, bibliographical, and source cards. This microfilm copy of all the editorial control files will be an aid to scholars during the years that the editorial work on the Jefferson papers is being carried forward. The film has certain limitations in that the control cards were prepared specifically for use by the editorial staff of the Jefferson Papers and do not conform to normal standards of bibliographical, library, or archival practice. Positive copies of the film have been presented to the following institutions: Princeton University, University of Virginia, Massachusetts Historical Society, Missouri Historical Society, University of Chicago, and the Henry E. Huntington Library. They are available on interlibrary loan, and additional positives may be purchased from the Photoduplication Department, Library of Congress.

Through a Ford Foundation grant, the Library of Congress, acting in collaboration with the Committee on Documentary Reproduction of the American Historical Association, is microfilming the diplomatic notes of the secretary of state of Finland to the tsar from 1809 to 1917. This is part of a long-range microfilming program drawn up several years ago by a special committee for the Library of Congress and the American Historical Association. A copy of the microfilm will be sent to the Library of Congress, where it will be an important addition to the materials on Finnish history.

The Ford Foundation has made a grant of \$100,000 to the University of Wisconsin for studies in the history of American philanthropy. Extending over a

period of five years, the studies will be under the direction of Merle Curti, Frederick Jackson Turner Professor of American History, assisted by Irvin G. Wyllie, formerly associate professor of history at the University of Missouri, who will devote half time to research in the history of American philanthropy. The project is intended to encourage monographic research, in part through fellowships to graduate students who will prepare dissertations (along the lines suggested in Curti's article in the January, 1957, *Review*, pp. 352-63) at the University of Wisconsin.

The American Council of Learned Societies will receive on July 1, 1957, from the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, grants for a five-year period totaling \$3,100,000. These grants, beyond the cost of maintaining a central establishment, will be devoted to fellowships, grants-in-aid, the promotion of the humanities in secondary schools, the holding of scholarly conferences, and the maintenance of foreign relations in the humanities. At the New York meeting of the ACLS, January 22-25, 1957, Frederick H. Burkhardt, now president of Bennington College, was elected president of the Council. After July 1, the ACLS will have its principal office in New York City. On or after this date, the ACLS will make specific announcements concerning its enlarged program.

The newly-elected officers of the Society of American Archivists are as follows: Lester J. Cappon, Institute of Early American History and Culture, President; Herbert Angel, The National Archives, Vice-President; Dolores C. Renze, State Archivist of Colorado, Secretary; William Overman, Firestone Archives, Treasurer. Editor of *The American Archivist* is Philip G. Bauer, The National Archives.

A new quarterly journal, to be called *Victorian Studies*, will be published this year at Indiana University. It will be devoted to the examination of English culture during the period extending approximately from 1830 to 1914. *Victorian Studies* will serve and promote an interdisciplinary interest by publishing articles in all the humanities, arts, and sciences; by publishing reviews of books from all relevant fields; by serving as a forum for the discussion of controversial questions; and by publishing the annual interdisciplinary Victorian Bibliography together with other bibliographic services. Communications should be addressed to The Editors (Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff), *Victorian Studies*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Twenty German historical research institutes (including historical commissions, but not historical seminars of universities) in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic are listed by Walther Kienast in the September, 1956, issue of *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, the organ of the German Association of History Teachers. Exact information is given on their origins and history, present staffs, completed or intended publications, and available research grants.

The History of Science Society held its annual meeting on December 28-29, 1956, at the Hotel Governor Clinton in New York City, in conjunction with the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In the first of four sessions, a symposium held jointly with Section L on the History and Philosophy of Science, Dr. Cyril S. Smith, Director of the Institute for the Study of Metals of the University of Chicago, spoke as a practicing metallurgist but stressed the long past of metallurgy as an empirical science; Dr. Frederick Kilgour, Librarian of Yale University Medical School, discussed the "History of the Wave Concept from Vitruvius to Newton and Huygens"; and Professor John J. Beer of Hanover College, Indiana, gave a case history of a German dye plant in his paper on "Coal Tar Dye Manufacture and the Origins of the Modern Industrial Research Laboratory." Papers were presented at the second session by Professor Marie Boas of Brandeis University, "Some Considerations on the History of Seventeenth-Century Chemistry"; Professor Thomas S. Kuhn of the University of California at Berkeley, on "The Caloric Theory of Adiabatic Compression"; and by Lee M. Pearson, Scientific Historian of the United States Navy Department, Bureau of Aeronautics, on "The Role of the U. S. Navy in Creating a National Agency for Aeronautical Research."

Papers included in the last two sessions, related more particularly to the interrelationship of scientific theories of antiquity and those of succeeding centuries, were "The Impact of Archimedes on Medieval Science," by Professor Marshall Clagett, University of Wisconsin; "The Medieval Theory of Supposition," by Dr. Curtis Wilson of St. John's College in Annapolis; "Whose Authority Dominated Medieval Science?" by Professor William H. Stahl of Brooklyn College; "The Transition from Egyptian to Greek Medical Theory," by Dean Saunders, University of California School of Medicine; "The Hippocratic Treatise, *Airs, Waters, and Places* in History," by Professor Genevieve Miller, Western Reserve University; and comments on the contents of a tract entitled "De Complexionibus" by Professor Emeritus Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University. Professor Pearl Kibre of Hunter College served as chairman of the program committee.

Among other highlights of the meeting were the brief account by the visiting scholar Dr. Aydin Sayili of the University of Ankara, of a manuscript containing a mathematical solution by the ninth-century Thebit ben Corat; the report at the annual luncheon by Dr. I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University on the International Congress of the History of Science held in Florence; and the award of the Ida and Henry Schuman Prize in the history of science to Chandler Fulton, of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, for his paper, "Vinegar Flies, T. H. Morgan, and Columbia University." The annual dinner featured addresses by Dr. Dorothy Stimson, retiring President of the History of Science Society, and Dr. Henry Guerlac, retiring Vice-President of Section L.

The fourth annual summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management will be offered by Radcliffe College, with the cosponsorship of the department of history of Harvard University, June 24 through August 2, 1957. Designed for col-

lege graduates who are interested in a career in archival, museum, and historical society work, the course is open also to employees of institutions in these fields. Students will devote full time to the study of archival and historical resources and their relation to the interpretation of history. With a staff of eighteen or more experts, the course will be under the direction of Lester J. Cappon, Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. Two full-tuition scholarships of \$200 each are available. Inquiries should be addressed to the Institute, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Alliance College (Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania): Emanuel Nodel appointed associate professor. *Harris Teachers College* (University City, Missouri): A. B. Bender on leave for 1956-1957 to prepare a study on the Apache Indians for the United States Department of Justice in connection with Indian claims. *University of California* (Berkeley): Robert E. Burke, head of the Manuscripts Division of the Bancroft Library, on leave for the year to teach at the University of Hawaii. *Columbia University*: Richard B. Morris on leave for the spring semester to be Carnegie visiting professor at the University of Hawaii. *Hofstra College*: Robert A. Davison appointed associate professor. *Hunter College*: Georgiana P. McEntee promoted to professor and Marie Vagts to assistant professor. *Michigan State University*: Gerald E. Critoph, of Colgate University, appointed instructor in social science. *Oregon State College*: Leonard Adolph appointed to the staff. *Purdue University*: Walter O. Forster and George H. Mayer promoted to professors. *Rutgers University*: Edward R. Tannenbaum appointed assistant professor. *Saint Mary's University* (Halifax, Canada): John MacCormack appointed professor. *West Virginia University*: Donald S. Barnhart appointed associate professor, and Robert L. Johnson, Jr., assistant professor.

RECENT DEATHS

Conrad Peterson, professor emeritus of history and government at Gustavus Adolphus College, died on July 20, 1956, in St. Peter, Minnesota. Born in Sweden in 1880, he received his B.A. from Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, in 1901 and his Ph.D. from Yale in 1906. He had served as professor of history and government at Gustavus Adolphus from 1908 until his retirement in June, 1950. He was a life member of the American Historical Association.

¹ The Review prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

Edward Schuster of New York City and Alfred Esberg of Los Altos, California, both life members of the Association, recently died. Mr. Esberg joined the Association in 1904, Mr. Schuster in 1912.

Isaac Joslin Cox, professor emeritus of history at Northwestern University, died after a long illness in San Antonio, Texas, on October 31, 1956. Professor Cox was born in West Creek, New Jersey; he graduated from Kimball Union Academy in Meriden, New Hampshire, in 1892 and from Dartmouth College in 1896. For six years after his graduation, he taught at San Antonio Academy in Texas before studying for two years on a Harrison Fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received his Ph.D. degree in 1904. Throughout his life he retained a deep devotion for San Antonio Academy and taught there as opportunity permitted, even after retirement. In 1948 he published a study on William Belcher Seeley, the founder and first principal of the Academy. Cox's college teaching began in 1904 at the University of Cincinnati, where he remained until 1919 when he went to Northwestern University as professor of history. It was at Northwestern that he became known as an outstanding teacher and major scholar in the field of Latin American studies. His interests were wide and his published works include studies of the West Florida controversy, 1798-1813, the Burr Conspiracy, the Colombian Treaty, and a well-known translation of Luis Galdames' *History of Chile*. He was a member of the seminar conference on Hispanic America held in 1935 and contributed to the published report the section devoted to Chile. Among his many historical articles are contributions to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the *Encyclopedia Americana*, the *American Historical Review*, and the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He was chairman of the department of history at Northwestern University from 1927 to 1941, when he retired from active university work. His interest in scholarship was continuous, and he pursued researches and maintained interest in writing and lecturing until ill health made such activities impossible for him.

William Edward Lunt, an authority on English constitutional and papal financial history, died in Bryn Mawr, November 10, 1956, at the age of seventy-four. He had been living in retirement on the campus of Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, where he had held the chair of the Walter D. and Edith M. L. Scull Professorship of English Constitutional History from its establishment in 1917 until his retirement in 1951. Born in Lisbon, Maine, he graduated from Bowdoin College in 1904 and received his M.A. from Harvard the following year. He was a traveling fellow in Europe for Harvard in 1907 and again in 1911, earning a Ph.D. in 1908. He taught history at the University of Wisconsin from 1908 to 1910. During the next two years Professor Lunt held the Thomas Brackett Reed professorship of history and political science at Bowdoin, and from 1912 to 1917 he taught English history at Cornell University.

His *History of England*, first published in 1928, is a standard textbook in many

colleges and universities. His two volumes on the financial history of the papacy established his reputation among scholars in this field. The first, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, was published in 1934. *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* appeared in 1939. At the end of World War I, Professor Lunt was chief of the Italian division of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace set up to establish Italian treaty boundaries.

He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and held honorary degrees from Bowdoin, Princeton, and Haverford. From 1951 to 1954, he was president of the Mediaeval Academy of America. He was a member of the Royal Historical Society, the American Historical Association, and the American Society of Church History. Between 1945 and 1947 he served on the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*.

Benjamin Platt Thomas, one of the foremost authorities on Lincoln, died in Springfield, Illinois, on November 29, 1956. Born in 1902 in New Jersey, he graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1924 and obtained the Ph.D. degree there five years later. His studies for many years centered upon Lincoln and his biography, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), was acclaimed as the outstanding one-volume work on the Civil War President. His numerous other books included *Lincoln's New Salem* (1934), *Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and His Biographers* (1947), and *Theodore Weld, Crusader of Freedom* (1950). A genial gentleman, his scholarship and his literary ability brought him the general acclaim and respect of his fellow historians.

Robert J. Kerner, one of the leading figures in Slavic historiography, died November 29, 1956. Born in Chicago in 1889 of a Czech family, Kerner received his A.B. and M.A. degrees at the University of Chicago, in 1908 and 1909. He continued his studies at Harvard under the guidance of Archibald Coolidge and received his Ph.D. in 1914. During the next fourteen years, he taught history at the University of Missouri and, as a member of the Colonel House Commission from 1917 to 1919, participated in the deliberations that ultimately led to the establishment of an independent Czechoslovakia. In 1928, Dr. Kerner joined the history department of the University of California at Berkeley, where in 1941 he became Sather Professor of History and in 1948 the first director of the Institute of Slavic Studies, which he had organized. In 1943, in recognition of outstanding scholarship, he was elected faculty research lecturer.

Owing in large part to Professor Kerner's indefatigable efforts, California became one of the acknowledged major centers for Slavic studies. Excelling as a teacher, strict and exacting in research, he was as demanding of his students as he was of himself. While at the University of California he guided over thirty students to their doctoral degrees and impressed upon them that the degree signified a state of mind, an attitude towards knowledge, rather than the mastery of facts within a certain area of learning. Dr. Kerner was a colorful and dramatic lecturer

who fired generations of students with enthusiasm, while imparting to them many of his basic concepts. A scholar of broad historical views, he developed the neglected areas of Balkan and Far Eastern history, particularly with reference to Russia. He had an uncanny ability to reduce complex data to fundamental facts and relate them to the current scene. He insisted upon the importance of knowing the foreign languages of a given area of historical investigation; much of the stimulus for the serious study of Slavic and Oriental languages in this country can be traced to his influence.

Professor Kerner's interests and scholarship are seen in his major publications, dedicated to interpreting the Slavic peoples to the English speaking world. His first important work was *Slavic Europe* (1919), a bibliography that has not been superceded. His *Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century* (1932) was a major contribution to the history of the Czechs, a people for whom he felt a warm sympathy. Another definitive work was *The Balkan Conference and Balkan Entente* (1935, with H. N. Howard), a volume dealing largely with Yugoslavia and demonstrating Kerner's view that the unity of the Balkan peoples was indispensable to their salvation. Then came *Urge to the Sea* (1942), a highly imaginative interpretation of Russian history, which with the works of two of his students, G. V. Lantzeff's *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century* and R. H. Fisher's *Russian Fur Trade*, was recognized even by Soviet scholars. His work in Far Eastern history culminated in *Northeastern Asia: A Selected Bibliography* (two volumes, 1939). After the outbreak of World War II, Kerner inaugurated the *United Nations Series* (ten volumes); he contributed essays to three of the volumes, *Czechoslovakia* (1940), *Poland* (1945), and *Yugoslavia* (1949), and edited those on Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In Professor Kerner's death, his students have lost a loyal friend and a keen critic and the Slavic field has lost one of its American pioneers and outstanding scholars.

Vincent M. Scramuzza, Roman historian, died on December 3, 1956. Born in Sicily and educated in the Liceo at Monreale, he received his A.M. at Louisiana State University in 1924 and Ph.D. at Harvard in 1929. He taught at Smith College from 1930 to 1952, being appointed to a full professorship in 1940. His prize-winning thesis, written under W. S. Ferguson, was published as *The Emperor Claudius* in 1940 and is recognized as the leading study of the subject in any language. To Tenney Frank's *Economic Survey of the Roman Empire*, Volume III, he contributed a learned section on his native Sicily. Among his lesser writings is a series of powerful reviews, which should be inseparable from the volumes reviewed. Scramuzza was beloved for being unfailingly generous and kindly, a man of deep and disciplined feeling, a spirit of true simplicity and quietude.

Claude Carson Smith, professor of history and political science at the University of Nevada, died December 12, 1956, in Reno, at the age of sixty-two. A native

of Tennessee, he received his B.A. from Carson-Newman College following service overseas in World War I. His Ph.D. was received from Stanford University in 1947. After teaching a short time at Kansas City University, in 1929 he joined the faculty of the University of Nevada, where he remained until his retirement in October, 1956. Recognized as an authority on Nevada politics and government, he delivered numerous speeches before public gatherings and contributed articles to professional magazines, but it was in the classroom that Dr. Smith won greatest acclaim. Few instructors at the University of Nevada had the opportunity to meet and influence so many students; none used his abilities to better advantage, a fact attested to not only by the continuing popularity of his classes but by the esteem in which he was held by his students and colleagues.

Thomas Waverly Palmer, Jr., associate professor of history at Boston University, died in White Plains, New York, on January 12, at the age of thirty-six. Born in Chile, he was an authority on Latin America and had recently been named coordinator of Latin American studies at Boston University. A Phi Beta Kappa at Amherst, he received his M.A. and Ph.D. in history from Columbia University. He lectured at Yale University and at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University and recently completed a book on the Latin American policy of the United States.

Peter Masten Dunne, S. J., died in San Francisco on January 15, at the age of sixty-seven, shortly after completing his term as President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. From 1934 to the time of his death, Father Dunne headed the history department at the University of San Francisco and, in 1956, the University rewarded a career of twenty-five years of distinguished teaching and scholarship by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa. Father Dunne received his doctorate at the University of California under his close personal friend, the late Herbert Eugene Bolton. His scholarly output included several highly esteemed volumes on various phases of the Jesuit colonial story in northern Mexico. Chief among these was his *Black-robos in Lower California* (1952). He remained active in the classroom until the time of his death, although he had been in failing health during the past year. A host of former students and colleagues will always honor the memory of an indefatigable and careful scholar, a genial but exacting teacher, and a man whom all admired and respected.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

As the *American Historical Review* publishes much of the very best material on Italy appearing anywhere (this is recognized in Italy, as many an American traveler and Fulbright Fellow can testify), please allow us to comment on E. P. Noether's and S. H. Hughes's recent articles on Italian history.

1. While Emiliana P. Noether's "Italy Reviews Its Fascist Past: A Bibliographical Essay" (July, 1956, pp. 877-99) furnishes a workmanlike and useful list of books, for which all readers should be grateful, the framework of her article and her evaluation of a number of books and their authors seem to leave much to be desired. As for the framework, we find that although she proposes to deal with books published since 1944 "with few exceptions," the exceptions include only works by anti-Fascists, but none whatever by Fascists and historians of the first rank, such as Gioacchino Volpe. As for evaluations, the following may be remarked. Dealing with such figures as Albertini and Salandra, she is hard on Salandra and men like him for collaborating with Fascism and hoping to "use" it for their own ends, yet she asserts, contrary to fact, that Albertini from the "very first" refused to support Fascism.

Is it sufficient to say that the chief value of Amerigo Dumini's book lies in the account it gives of Matteotti's death, and not be told that Dumini was the principal protagonist in the kidnaping and horrible demise of Matteotti? Is it much good merely to mention a book by Zuccarini, another by Rocca, and yet another by Magistrati, and not be told that the first is an archrepublican, the second a Fascist, an anti-Fascist, and a Fascist in turn, and the third the brother-in-law of Ciano? In similar instances, too numerous to enumerate, we are given the title of a book but no key to the political philosophy, affiliation, character, or, if you will, "prejudice" of its author.

Her remark that Aldo Garosci's *Storia dei fuorusciti* "falls short of being a comprehensive treatment of the subject matter, for, as the title indicates, it concentrates on the nuclei of opposition outside of Italy" is very wide of the mark; by its very meaning, the history of "fuorusciti" can deal *only* with nuclei of opposition outside of Italy.

2. H. Stuart Hughes's "The Aftermath of the Risorgimento in Four Successive Interpretations" (October, 1955, pp. 70-76) attempts to say too much in too little space and is more in the nature of an interesting conversation than of a historical judgment. With reference to "the historical writing of the immediate post-Fascist period," Professor Hughes writes: "And it was symptomatic of the time that the most inclusive reassessment of the era 1860-1900, Emilio Sereni's *Il capitalismo nelle campagne*, should have been written by a Marxist historian. This highly critical, sociologically oriented, and consciously pro-peasant-and-worker viewpoint remains the dominant historical attitude toward the decades in question. Nearly everyone who has written on internal Italian history in the past few years, myself included, has cast his work to a greater or lesser extent in this mold." Now Sereni is much more than a Marxist historian—he is a long-time Stalinist Communist. There is a world of difference between such a Communist and a Marxist. It is very wide of the mark to say that "nearly everyone" has written in the manner Mr. Hughes describes. Mr. Hughes discusses the post-World War II works by four historians (Jemolo, Chabod, Mario delle Piane, Salvemini). All of them are anti-Fascists. There is no mention of a single Fascist historian like Volpe, who has continued his indefatigable historical writing since the war.

Far more serious is the failure of Mr. Hughes to perceive that the distinctive interpretations he attributes to the postwar historians on subjects such as the "oligarchic nature" of the pre-1913 parliamentary state, church-state relations, and the functioning of the parliamentary monarchy, are not distinctive at all, but "old saws" and the patrimony of the best historical thought long before the end of the war was in sight. This grave misinterpretation points to the danger of re-

lying so much on current, postwar historical writing as to lose complete awareness of the historical perceptions of those whose thoughts continue to live in historical consciousness and cannot be condemned to oblivion.

Alassio, Italy, and New York, New York

MICHAEL R. SEVERIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Severin is, of course, entitled to his opinion, but after reading his comments, I can only suggest that perhaps he might do well to reread my article more carefully and in a more objective frame of mind. Most of his criticisms find their rebuttal in the text of the article itself.

In particular, as a historian (such I assume he is), Mr. Severin should not lift phrases out of context. His "with few exceptions" reads as follows: "A few exceptions will be made for works which, though published earlier, have been considered sufficiently important to be republished since 1944, often in much enlarged form."

Weston, Massachusetts

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I think that the following comments cover Mr. Severin's main points:

1. I do not object too strenuously to the characterization of my modest efforts as "interesting conversation," although I confess that it sounds a trifle more informal than what I had in mind. My piece was not intended to be an article—it was aptly described by the rubric of *the American Historical Review* under which it appeared: "Notes and Suggestions."

2. Of course I am aware that Sereni is a Communist. But it did not seem necessary to mention this fact. In his *Il capitalismo nelle campagne*—aside from the customary genuflections to Lenin—he says nothing that a non-Communist (or non-Stalinist) Marxist might not have written.

3. "Nearly everyone who has written on internal Italian history," etc., is obviously an overstatement. I bow before Mr. Severin's literal mindedness.

4. It was no accident that all the authors mentioned were anti-Fascists. The simple fact is that the vast majority of Italian intellectuals (including historians) fall into that category. I might add that those I cited represent at least three divergent schools of anti-Fascism. Had I known of a Fascist historian with something as interesting to say as they had, I should have included him. (Volpe I have never found very interesting.) Theoretically, I have always contended that there is no reason why a first-rate Fascist intellectual should not exist: I have simply never found one.

5. I am also aware that many of the "new" things these post-1945 historians have to say are at the same time "old." But that is precisely the point: the circumstances of the postwar period have enabled Italians to rediscover and to see in a new focus the familiar (and frequently half-forgotten) features of their late nineteenth-century heritage.

Stanford University

H. STUART HUGHES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The writer believes that it is pertinent to make some comment on Professor Hitti's review of *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, edited by Professor von Grunebaum, which appeared in the July, 1956, *Review*. This review tends to give the reader a somewhat inaccurate conception of the volume's contents. The opening statement ends with the phrase, "the contributors to this volume are

largely anthropologists." The fact is that *none* of the sixteen contributors falls under this classification—the nearest being the French sociologist, Le Tourneau. To name a few exceptions, there are: Minorsky, a historian orientalist; Schacht, an orientalist specializing in Islamic jurisprudence; Bernard Lewis, an orientalist historian; Ettinghausen, an Islamic art historian; and, certainly, von Grunebaum does not claim to be an anthropologist.

This work is published as a part of the series entitled *Comparative Studies in Cultures and Civilizations*, under the editorship of Robert Redford, an American anthropologist, and Milton Singer, but it was written by nonanthropologists to explain Muslim civilization. A more detailed review, written by Kenneth Cragg, is available in the Summer, 1956, issue of the *Middle East Journal*.

University of Michigan

GORDON H. TORREY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

By that strange trick which the human mind at times plays on the hand, your reviewer wrote "anthropologists" when he thought he was writing "philologists." The term was used in contrast with "historians." But almost all the contributors were identified by name and university and, within the limited space allotted, their theses were summed up. The one man Mr. Torrey singles out as "French sociologist"—Le Tourneau—holds the chair of "histoire de l'occident arabe" in Algiers.

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor W. F. Albright, in his review of my book *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Scholarship* (*AHR*, October, 1956, pp. 103–104) wrote: "Zeitlin brings arguments which belong for the most part in courtrooms and debating arenas, and which have little to do with serious scholarship." My contentions against the antiquity of the scrolls are based on verbal terms which were used in the scrolls and which we know positively came into usage among the Jews during the Middle Ages. Again, the references to the *halokot*, Jewish laws, in the scrolls show that they were not composed in the pre-Christian period, since we know definitely that these laws were enacted after the destruction of the Second Temple, i.e., at the end of the first century of the Christian era.

Again, I called attention to the fact that the authors of the scrolls used parentheses to indicate that the words enclosed therein were not to be read, ellipses to indicate that the author omitted words, and connecting lines to show the connection between two words. The practice of using these signs was not known to the Jews in the pre-Christian period. They came into vogue much later. Do these matters belong in the courtrooms or in the halls of learning?

Professor Albright emphasizes the importance of the carbon test of the flax "from which was made the linen in which the scrolls of Cave I were once wrapped." None of the archaeologists ever saw the scrolls wrapped in linen; they were brought to the Archbishop in a bag. The late Professor Sukenik bought scrolls, and they were *not* wrapped in linen. The story that the scrolls were wrapped in linen came from the Oriental merchants. Why has the carbon-14 test not been applied to each of the scrolls?

Dropsie College

SOLOMON ZEITLIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his reply to my review, Professor Zeitlin has provided several confirmations of my judgment as cited in his first paragraph.

Johns Hopkins University

WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

Editor's Note

This editor was told the other day by a superficial observer that the study of history was soon going the way of the classics. As a historian, the editor is skeptical of prediction. As an editor, the historian recognizes the fact that historians write increasingly for narrowing groups of specialists. As the number of professional historians is small, perhaps 7,000 to 8,000 in the United States, and as the number of specialists in each of the various fields is necessarily much smaller, the audience for a historian's writings may be small, and their publication sometimes proves difficult. Could it be true that the historian might think oftener than he does of G. M. Trevelyan's plea that history should be written to be read?

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The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe

JEROME BLUM

THE decline of serfdom in Western Europe in the same time span in which it was taking root east of the Elbe River is an often remarked upon paradox of early modern European history. This article is an effort to suggest explanations for this difference in the development of the lord-peasant relation in these two regions. The emphasis here is on the Eastern lands—Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary, Eastern Germany, Livonia, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. For convenience's sake, I have chosen to refer to these lands collectively as "Eastern Europe," although, of course, a number of them are sometimes included in Central Europe and although the countries of South-eastern Europe are not treated in this study. The history of the waning of serfdom in Western Europe is well known, so only a brief sketch is given here for purposes of comparison and contrast with the East.

Because the institution of serfdom was known in so many lands, and because it lived on in one place or another in Europe for over a thousand years,

it is well-nigh impossible to define it in precise terms that would have a pan-European application. The word "serf" or its equivalents were applied—on occasion in the same time and place—to a wide range of peasants, from people whose condition could scarcely be distinguished from that of chattel slaves to men who were nearly free. The presence or absence of certain dues or fines that had to be paid the seigneur has sometimes been proposed as a kind of litmus test of whether or not peasants were serfs, but these servile obligations were not infrequently demanded of men who are known to have been legally free. Often the serf is thought to have been a person who was bound to the soil, but this, too, is an inadequate, and for many times and places, even a mistaken concept. For the deepest and most complete form of serfdom was precisely when the lord was able (as he often was) to move his peasants about as he wished, transferring them from one holding to another, converting them into landless field hands or into household servants, or even selling, giving, or gambling them away without land.¹ On the other hand, there were periods in serfdom's history when the bondsman had the right to leave his holding, after giving notice to his lord, whereupon he became a free man.²

Nor is it any more accurate to define the serf as a person bound to the body of his lord, for this condition, too, was true only for certain times and places. In France, for example, the serf had once been attached to his lord by what Bloch has described as an indissoluble, almost corporeal bond that had nothing to do with any holding the serf might have. Thus, if a free man took over a holding formerly occupied by a serf, he remained free. In short, there was a clear distinction between personal status and tenure. Then, beginning in the thirteenth century, the "blemish of serfdom" began to adhere to the land rather than to the man, so that a free peasant who took over a tenement recognized as servile was regarded as a serf so long as he remained on the holding. Now tenure determined status. A similar development seems to have taken place in England.³ In Russia the development took just the

¹ Cf. Paul Vinogradov, *Villainage in England* (Oxford, 1892), pp. 45, 57-58, 151, 165; Karl Grünberg, *Die Bauernbefreiung und die Auflösung des gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisses in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1894), I, 55-56; Georg F. Knapp, *Die Landarbeiter in Knechtschaft und Freiheit* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 24-26; Stanislaw Kutrzeba, *Grundriss der polnischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, tr. from 3d Polish ed. (Berlin, 1912), pp. 13-14; Werner Conze, *Agrarverfassung und Bevölkerung in Litauen und Weissrussland* (Leipzig, 1940), I, 131; Francis L. Carsten, *The Origins of Prussia* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 162-63; Vasilii I. Semevskii, *Krest'iane v tsarstvovanie Imperatritsy Ekateriny II* [Peasants in the reign of Empress Catherine II] (St. Petersburg, 1881, 1901), I, 148-51.

² Dmitri M. Odinetz, "Les origines du servage en Russie," *Rev. hist. de droit français et étranger*, 4^e ser., X (1931), 254; Marc Bloch, "Serf de la glèbe: Histoire d'une expression toute faite," *Rev. hist.*, CXXXVI (1921), 236.

³ Bloch, p. 236; Nellie Neilsen in *Cambridge Economic History* (Cambridge, 1941), I, 446. The *Cambridge Economic History* is hereafter cited as CEH.

opposite course, at least so far as the serfs of the *pomeshchiki* (the seigneurs holding on service tenure from the tsar) were concerned. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these serfs were bound to their holdings (except for certain special circumstances) and not to the person of the *pomeshchik*. But this came to be disregarded by the *pomeshchiki*, who began to move their peasants about and even to sell them without land. In the eighteenth century the crown gave legal sanction to these practices so that these serfs of the *pomeshchiki* became bound to the person of their seigneurs.⁴

There was, however, one feature common to European serfdom wherever and whenever it existed: a peasant was recognized as unfree if he was bound to the will of his lord by ties that were degrading and socially incapacitating and that (as Struve put it⁵) were institutional rather than contractual. In practice, this meant that the lord had legal jurisdiction over his peasants to the complete, or nearly complete, exclusion of the state, so that to all intents and purposes the only rights the peasants had were those that the lord was willing to allow them. Concomitants of this condition were that the peasants were unable to come and go as they pleased without their lord's permission and that the lord could demand whatever obligations he wanted. In actuality, it was a general, although far from universal, rule for these obligations to be fixed and even minutely defined by custom, but it was possible for the seigneur to increase or decrease them, change their nature, or to command that they be performed in any order he wished. Yet the power of the lord over his serfs was not so great as to deprive them of their legal personality. Herein lay the difference between serf and slave. The serf, even when his status fell so low that he could be bought and sold without land, still had certain individual rights, albeit severely curtailed. The slave, no matter how well off he might be—and there were periods, e.g., seventeenth-century Russia, when at least some slaves seem to have enjoyed greater social and economic advantages than did serfs—was in the eyes of the law not a person but a chattel of his owner.

A sign of the waning of serfdom was when the central power began to intrude itself between lord and serf, chipping away at the former's legal and administrative powers and establishing norms for the obligations he could demand of his peasants. Conversely, the withdrawal of the sovereign from interference in the lord-peasant relation doomed a free peasantry to serfdom.

⁴ *Sobranie zakoneniï russkago gosudarstve* [Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire], E. P. Karnovich, ed. (St. Petersburg, 1875), I, Law code of 1649, ch. xi, art. 30, ch. xvi, art. 7; V. I. Semevskii, *Krest'ianskii vopros v Rossii v XVIII i pervoi polovine XIX veka* [The peasant problem in Russia in the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries] (St. Petersburg, 1888), II, 5-6.

⁵ Petr B. Struve, in *CEH*, I, 435.

At the beginning of the twelfth century most of the peasants in Western Europe were serfs. By the end of the thirteenth century many of them had become free or had won partial release from their bonds. By the sixteenth century all, or nearly all, of the peasants in many lands and regions were entirely free, while in the rest of Western Europe their dependence upon their seigneurs was much less than it had been three centuries before.⁶ This phenomenon was played out against a backdrop of two great secular swings in economic life: the prosperity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the depression of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Western Europe were years of expansion, marked by increasing population, the growth of old cities and the founding of new ones, the bringing into cultivation of much new land, the spread of the use of money, and rising prices. These developments set off sweeping changes in the organization of the predominantly self-sufficient manorial economy. The opportunities offered by the growth of demand and the rising price levels stimulated some lords to produce directly for the market. But the majority of seigneurs, impelled by their growing need for cash resulting from the increased use of money and the higher standard of living, abandoned their own agricultural operations and converted the obligations owed them by their peasants into money payments. Apparently, they believed they could realize a greater gain, and at the same time save themselves much work and trouble, by becoming rent receivers rather than by producing for sale. In addition, the inducements offered to attract settlers to new lands that were being opened up and the offer of freedom made by the cities to the people who came to live in them compelled lords to grant concessions to their peasants to keep them from running off. These concessions usually took the form of commuting dues and services into cash and of general improvement in peasant status and tenure.

As a result of these seigneurial adjustments to the changed conditions, by the later thirteenth century many serfs had become free tenants, paying a money rent. Others who did not win complete freedom were relieved of all or many of the old obligations. Even those whose only gain was the conversion of their labor service into money dues were better off, for now they were freed of the many abuses that had often attended the performance of

⁶ Josef Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Munich and Berlin, 1928-1929), I, 136-52; Eileen Power, "Peasant Life and Rural Conditions (c. 1100 to c. 1500)," *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, 719; Edward P. Cheyney, "The Disappearance of English Serfdom," *English Hist. Rev.*, XV (1900), 20; Henri Sée, *Les classes rurales et le régime domanial en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1901), pp. 201-207, 260-62, 277-78; François L. Ganshof, "Medieval Agrarian Society in Its Prime: France, the Low Countries, and Western Germany," *CEH*, I, 317-18, 320; Alfred J. Doren, *Italianische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, 1934), I, 211-17.

this obligation; they could spend all their time on their own work (or nearly all, for when the labor service was retained it was only for a few days a year); and the real value of their fixed commutation fees declined because of the price rise. Studies based on partial data for England indicate that by the turn of the thirteenth century one third to one half of the peasants there were free. In France serfs apparently formed a minority of the total peasant population, and in Flanders the process of emancipation had been just about completed. In Western Germany, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the peasantry had not advanced so far on the road to freedom, but their status was improved over what it had been. There were seigneurs in these lands, especially those who chose to engage in production for market, who imposed heightened labor obligations on their peasants and sometimes even reduced free men to the status of serfs, but these cases represented exceptions to the general trend of the lord-peasant relation of the era.⁷

In contrast to the prosperity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were times of severe economic contraction in most of Western Europe. The depression, which was especially marked from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century, was primarily agricultural. Grain prices showed a long secular decline, land prices fell sharply, and above all, there was a great shrinkage in the amount of tilled land. Abandoned holdings became a major feature of the rural landscape. Investigators of this protracted slump attribute it primarily to a drop in European population and a resulting decline in demand.⁸ Yet, remarkably enough, the process of emancipation, instituted under the stimulus of the preceding boom period, was continued, and in some lands carried to completion, largely because of these hard times of the late Middle Ages. Seigneurial revenues declined because the abandoned holdings produced a drop in their rental incomes and because lords reduced obligations in an effort to hold their peasants and to attract new ones to take over empty tenements. The incomes

⁷ Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 109-14, 119-24; Power, pp. 727-28; Ganshof, pp. 290-96, 312, 317, 320; Sée pp. 202-207, 245-53, 260-62, 267-74, 276-78, 617-22; Cheyney, p. 20; Evgenii A. Kosminsky, "Services and Money Rents in the Thirteenth Century," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, V (1935), 32-38, 40-41, 43-44; Georg A. H. von Below, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft des Mittelalters* (Jena, 1937), pp. 70-74; Hans Nabholz, "Medieval Agrarian Society in Transition," *CEH*, I, 499, 511, 529.

⁸ The outstanding work dealing with this depression is Wilhelm Abel, *Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (2d ed.; Stuttgart, 1955). Cf. also Friedrich Lütge, "Das 14./15. Jahrhundert in der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, CLXII (1950); Michael Postan, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The North," *CEH*, II; *id.*, "Die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, CLXVI (1954); *id.*, "Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2d ser., II (1950); *id.*, "Revisions in Economic History: The Fifteenth Century," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, IX (1939). For the fall in urban population see Karl F. Helleiner, "Europas Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft im späteren Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, LXII (1954).

of those seigneurs who produced for the market, or who sold part of the goods they received as payments in kind from their peasants, fell because of the price decline. Moreover, operating costs of the lords who raised goods for sale rose, because the population decrease and the consequent scarcity of hired labor forced up wages. Meanwhile, the prices of most nonagricultural goods that the lords purchased apparently fell less than did farm prices, other nonagricultural prices seemed to have remained unchanged, and some actually went up. The lords tried to escape their unfavorable position by such devices as borrowing heavily, seeking governmental or military posts, persuading their governments to set maximums on prices and wages, leasing out their demesnes, shifting from grain to sheep, attempting a "manorial reaction" by reimposing heavy dues and restrictions, and even resorting to banditry.⁹

The continuing concessions made by the seigneurs to keep their present tenants and to attract new ones freed those who still were bound of many of the old obligations, or commuted them into money payments, and improved their tenures. Still others won freedom by going to a town or to another manor where they were given free leaseholds; some gained it because the death toll of the plagues of the fourteenth century had broken the continuity in the keeping of the manor rolls on many estates, so that seigneurs were sometimes unable to prove the servile status of their peasants; and some were freed by royal fiat. By the sixteenth century, serfdom had disappeared in most of Western Europe and where it was retained was generally much less onerous than it had once been.¹⁰

To gain an understanding of the development of serfdom in Eastern Europe it is necessary to go back to the era of colonization, when, beginning in the twelfth century, many Germans began to infiltrate across the Elbe and when increasing numbers of Russians moved northeastward out of the Dnieper valley into the forested tableland bounded by the Oka and Volga Rivers. The scanty data on life in Eastern Germany before the colonization indicate that the land belonged to men of the upper class and that the peasantry were bound to the soil or were entirely unfree.¹¹ In Livonia (modern

⁹ Lütge, pp. 184-85, 201-205; Power, p. 734; Nabholz, pp. 538-54; Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 144, 146; Ephraim Lipson, *The Economic History of England* (London, 1945), I, 145-47; Georg Caro, "Probleme der deutschen Agrargeschichte," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, V (1907), 442-43.

¹⁰ Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 118-19, 120-22, 136-37, 145-47, 149-51, 153; Nabholz, pp. 530-33; Cheyney, pp. 29-30; Lipson, I, 129-30. Despite the improvements in their condition, peasants in nearly every Western European land revolted during this era. It has been suggested that these risings came because of the amelioration, for, as has often been observed, it is then that the handicaps and injustices of an inferior status are felt most keenly. Nabholz, pp. 500, 560-61; Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 154-55.

¹¹ Hermann Aubin, "The Lands East of the Elbe and German Colonization Eastwards," *CEH*, I, 362.

Estonia and Latvia), the non-noble population had been divided between free cultivators with a hereditary right to their holdings and the unfree.¹² In Poland, the rural population on the eve of the German colonization included a decreasing number of free peasants who owned their own land, free peasant renters, and slaves. The last-named class had been increasing mainly because a long series of wars had provided many war captives who were the chief source of slaves, although people were also enslaved for debt or as punishment for a crime, and there were some who voluntarily became slaves for protection. Some of these unfree people rendered constant service to their owners, while others were settled on the land. As time went on, the distinction between the landed slaves and the free renters began to become blurred, for they lived together on the estate and paid the same kinds of dues and obligations. The chief differences were that the free man had the right of freedom of movement and his obligations were fixed, while the unfree peasant could move only with the lord's permission and had to do whatever the lord demanded. Actually, the slaves were protected from undue exploitation by custom and by the lord's realization that his bondsmen would flee if he pressed them too hard.¹³

In Bohemia, too, the rural population had been divided between free men and slaves. The majority had been free and had owned their land, although some were renters of large proprietors. The slaves were recruited from war prisoners and from criminals. By the end of the twelfth century, as a result of the growth of large-scale landowning by members of the ruling class, all save a few of the free men had become renters, holding their land in return for obligations paid the landlord. They still could move about as they wished, but they had become subject to the lord's court although they could appeal a seigneurial decision to the royal courts. Some of them had obtained a hereditary right to the use of their holdings, but many were tenants at the lord's will and could be dispossessed by him whenever he chose. There were still many slaves, though some had been settled on the land and their position began to approach that of the free peasant renters.¹⁴

Similarly, the rural population of Silesia at the time the German colonization began was made up of peasant renters and slaves. The condition of

¹² Arveds Schwabe, *Agrarian History of Latvia* (Riga, 1929), pp. 13-14.

¹³ Adam Krasinski, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Bauern-Verhältnisse* (Cracow, 1898), I, 34, 170-71; Kutrzeba, pp. 12-15; K. von Rakowski, *Entstehung des Grossgrundbesitzes im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert in Polen* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 8-9; Jan Rutkowski, *Histoire économique de la Pologne avant les partages*, tr. from Polish (Paris, 1927), p. 22.

¹⁴ František Palacký, *Geschichte von Böhmen* (Prague, 1836-1867), I, 168-73; II, Pt. I, 31; Anton N. Iasinskii, *Očerki i issledovaniia po sotsial'noi i ekonomicheskoi istorii chekhii v srednie veka* [Outlines and investigations in the social and economic history of the Czechs in the Middle Ages] (Iuriev, 1901), I, 244-45; Ernest Denis, *Fin de l'indépendance bohème* (Paris, 1890), I, 253; Wilhelm Weizsäcker, "Das deutsche Recht der bauerlichen Kolonisten Böhmens und Mährens im XIII. und XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, LI (1913), 480-82.

the renters there, however, was inferior to what it was in Bohemia. Their obligations were unfixed, they were unable to leave without the permission of the lord, and they were his tenants at will. As in Bohemia, some of the slaves had been settled on the land.¹⁵ In Hungary, after the Magyar invasion the peasants, except for slaves, had been free, but in the succeeding centuries their status deteriorated and their holdings became absorbed by the estates of the nobles and gentry. In the thirteenth century a legally uniform peasant class was created. The members of this group were guaranteed personal freedom and the right to own movable property but were settled on the lands of the seigneurs and were bound to the performance of certain obligations. Increasing numbers of the slaves were assimilated with this class. In Lithuania most of the peasantry owned their farms, but after the Christianization of the country and the union with Poland, peasant land was absorbed by noble estates and the legal position of the peasantry became steadily worse.¹⁶

In Russia the status of a large sector of the peasantry had declined during the tenth to thirteenth centuries (the Kievan era) with the development of large-scale private landowning. Many of the once free peasant communes had been absorbed into estates owned by the princes and by clerical and lay lords, and the people had been reduced to renters, landless laborers, indentured workers, and even slaves. A distinction began to be made between these peasants and those who still lived in their own free communes, with the former being considered of an inferior and dependent status.¹⁷

The general pattern that emerges from this survey is a trend toward the loss of their old freedoms by a large part of the peasantry in these lands of Eastern Europe. But this tendency was reversed—for a time—in Eastern Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary, and Lithuania, by the influx of German colonists that began in the twelfth century, and in Russia by the migration from the Dnieper region into the Oka-Volga triangle.

The sovereigns and seigneurs of the countries to which the German colonists migrated were eager for the new settlers to come, not only because they would increase the population but also because the technical skill of the Germans, gained from their experience with the more advanced state of economic development in the West, was superior to that of the native popula-

¹⁵ Felix Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte der Grundherrschaft in Schlesien," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germanistische Abt., XVI (1895), 185-86; Günter Dessmann, *Geschichte der schlesischen Agrarverfassung* (Strassburg, 1904), pp. 10-13.

¹⁶ Alexandre Domanovszky, "Zur Geschichte der Gutsherrschaft in Ungarn," *Wirtschaft und Kultur: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Alfons Dopsch* (Baden bei Wien, Leipzig, 1938), pp. 443-44, 449, 450; J. Rutkowski in *CEH*, I, 405-406; Zenonas Ivinskis, *Geschichte des Bauernstandes in Litauen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 39-62.

¹⁷ Jerome Blum, "The Beginnings of Large-Scale Private Landownership in Russia," *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 781-90; *id.*, "The Smerd in Kievan Russia," *American Slavic and East European Rev.*, XII (1953), 125-29.

tion. That meant there would be greater yields from the land and thus increased revenues for the princes and the seigneurs and the establishment of new towns and the growth of old ones would be promoted. The colonists, for their part, could be persuaded to come only if they received assurances that they would be rid of princely and seigneurial burdens that weighed upon them at home and that they would get more land for themselves, under better terms.

The lords of the host countries were willing to meet these conditions. The settlers were allowed to organize their towns and villages according to what was called the "German law" rather than according to local law and custom. The German codes the colonists adopted as models—several were used—allowed greater freedom and autonomy than was permitted to the natives of the lands in which they settled. Most of the newcomers had not enjoyed the protection and privileges guaranteed by these statutes before they migrated, but they seized the opportunity now offered them. When they founded their new villages they formed communes, each headed by a mayor who was usually the promoter who had recruited them in their homelands. The mayor, whose office was hereditary, ran the communal government and was head of the village court. This court made its decisions according to the German law and was independent of the lord on whose land the village was located. The colonists received their holdings either directly from the sovereign, or from church and lay lords, on free hereditary tenure. Their rental obligations were fixed and were simple and few, with labor services exceptional and at most for only a few days a year. Moreover, they usually received exemptions from all payments of dues and services for as long as twenty years after first settlement. Although they were renters, and so did not get title to their tenements, they were able to sell the use of their land to others, and they had a hereditary right to the use of their holding. They were in no way bound, being able to move from their village and holding at will, save that they were required to have met all their obligations and to have left the holding in good condition. As a general rule, the departing peasant was supposed to find a suitable replacement, but with so many colonists streaming in this must have been easy to do. The obligations they owed the sovereign of the land in which they settled were very small, and sometimes they had to pay none.¹⁸

¹⁸ Aubin, "The Lands East of the Elbe," p. 378; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 29-31, 39-42, 63-64, 88; Palacky, II, Pt. I, 93-94, 159-60; Weizsäcker, "Das deutsche Recht," pp. 499, 504, 509; Dessmann, pp. 19-22, 25; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 112-13; Krasinski, I, 40-63; Kutrzeba, pp. 36-38; Rutkowski, *Histoire*, pp. 27-29; M. J. Warszawski, *Die Entwicklung der gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Verhältnisse in Polen und die Bauernfrage im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Zurich and Leipzig, 1914), pp. 8 n., 9; Rutkowski in *CEH*, pp. 416-17; Walter Kuhn, *Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung in der Neuzeit* (Köln, Graz, 1955), I, 147.

These inducements, combined with the pressure of growing population west of the Elbe, persuaded great numbers of Germans to seek new homes in the broad eastern reaches of the Baltic plain and in Bohemia and Hungary. The native population of these regions was small and little of the soil was tilled, and that poorly, so that there was plenty of room for the newcomers. The colonization movement was well organized; professional agents were hired by princes and private lords to recruit settlers. Some notion of the size of this eastward movement is gained by estimates that 1,400 villages with a total population of about 150,000 were established in East Prussia alone¹⁹ and another 150-180,000 settled in Silesia.²⁰

Initially, the extensive concessions given the German newcomers distinguished them sharply from the mass of the native peasantry. But it was not too long after their arrival before the privileges of the Germans began to be extended to the people among whom they had settled. The competition between landlords for peasants in this age of expansion compelled the seigneurs to make concessions to the native population. Moreover, the lords were perhaps all the more willing to do this because, as will be pointed out below, the granting of the privileges of the German law was a major step in advancing seigneurial, and reducing royal, power over the peasants. Another advantage that accrued to both peasants and lords was that under the German law the peasants' obligations to the state were greatly reduced, leaving the peasant more for himself and, ultimately, more for his lord. So from the thirteenth century on, the autochthons in Eastern Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, and northern Hungary began to enjoy all or part of the privileges that had at first been extended only to the German newcomers. The transformation proceeded rapidly—in Bohemia, for example, all save a very few of the Slav villages were said to have been under the German law within a century after the inception of German colonization of that land. In fact, groups of native peasants were apparently sometimes sent out as colonists—probably because the colonizers could not get enough German settlers—and established new so-called "German villages" under the "German law."²¹

The result of this extension of the rights of the German colonists to native peasants was a general improvement in their status and tenure. Now, instead of the conditions of rural life being determined by the will of the

¹⁹ Aubin, "The Lands East of the Elbe," pp. 396-97.

²⁰ Dessman, p. 16.

²¹ Palacky, II, Pt. I, 160; Werner Stark, *Ursprung und Aufstieg des landwirtschaftlichen Grossbetriebs in den böhmischen Ländern* (Brünn, 1934), p. 13; Weizsäcker, "Das deutsche Recht," p. 525; F. L. Carsten, "Slavs in North-Eastern Germany," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, XI (1941), 61-75; Zygmunt Wojciechowski, "La condition des nobles et le problème de la féodalité en Pologne au moyen âge," *Rev. hist. de droit français et étranger*, XVI (1937), 75; Rutkowski, *Histoire*, pp. 30-31; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 64-65, 125-26; Rutkowski in *CEH*, I, 417.

seigneurs, most of the indigenes in the lands of German colonization became hereditary tenants with fixed obligations and rental agreements made by free arrangements between themselves and their landlords. They were allowed to form village communes with their own mayors and courts, were relieved of many of the services they formerly had paid the sovereign, and had the right of coming and going as they pleased. True, most of those Bohemian and Polish peasants who had been owners of their holdings were converted into tenants, but the number of these peasant proprietors had been steadily diminishing before the colonization era. Far more important, the serfdom that had held so many of the native peasantry and that had been on the increase before the Germans came, all but disappeared. So did slavery, for just about all of the descendants of the thralls of the earlier period had risen into the free renter class. In Prussia rebellious natives had been enserfed by the Teutonic Order at the time of the conquest, but by the fourteenth century they had become assimilated with the German peasantry and the marks of their bondage had been abolished.²²

After the conquest of Livonia by German crusading orders in the thirteenth century, Germans became the landlords and burghers, but only a small number of German peasants were settled on the land. The rights of the free native peasantry to the hereditary use of their holdings continued to be recognized, slavery was done away with, and those who were regarded as unfree had relatively light burdens and restrictions placed upon them by their lords.²³ After the Polish-Lithuanian Union of 1385, the German law had been applied in the more important towns of Lithuania and White Russia. Out in the country, however, it was adopted only in the province of Podlachia, which, lying next to Poland, was open to direct Polish influences and was separated from the rest of Lithuania by still unsettled wilderness.²⁴

So as a result of the German colonization, itself in large part a consequence of the population growth in Western Europe during the prosperity of the High Middle Ages, peasants of Eastern Germany, Livonia, Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, and in parts of Lithuania and Hungary came to enjoy more freedom in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than the great majority of them had known in the immediately preceding era, or were to know for

²² Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 38-39, 66-69; Wojciechowski, p. 75; Rutkowski, *Histoire*, p. 26; Krasinski, I, 172-73; Palacky, II, Pt. I, 158, II, Pt. II, 26-27, 30-31, III, Pt. II, 38-39; Stark, p. 13; Adolf Bachmann, *Geschichte Böhmens* (Gotha, 1899-1905), II, 88-89; Friederich von Bezold, *Zur Geschichte des Huseitentums* (Munich, 1874), pp. 56-57; Iasinskii, I, 323-24; Frederick G. Heymann, *John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution* (Princeton, 1955), p. 42.

²³ Heinrich Bosse, *Der livländische Bauer am Ausgang der Ordenszeit* [Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte, XXIV] (Riga, 1933), pp. 339, 455; Schwabe, pp. 21-25, 30-34, 40-41.

²⁴ Conze, I, 63.

many centuries to come. In addition to being responsible for these improvements in peasant status, the German colonists deserve most of the credit for promoting the economic development of the lands to which they migrated. The people of the East had been far behind Western Europe. Relatively few in number and with much land at their disposal, they had carried on a primitive form of agriculture, using such extensive systems as slash-burn and field grass husbandry with no regular pattern of field rotation. They often were more active in cattle raising, hunting, and fishing, than in settled tillage, and raised relatively little grain. Their cities and towns were few and small and, in general, there was little development of urban life and industry. The German colonists, stimulated by the inducements offered by the owners of the land on which they were invited to settle and equipped with superior technical knowledge and tools, cleared and reclaimed land, built dikes, introduced innovations such as windmills, the three-field system, and better farm implements, and established and peopled new towns and cities. Their example of industry and efficiency and their innovations were adopted by the native peasants, who, with their improvement in status and tenure, now had new incentives. As a result, settled farming with regular field systems and with emphasis on grain culture became much more common in the eastern lands to which the Germans came, and the new urban centers served as markets and distributing points for the output of the new agriculture.²⁵

In Russia the decline of the Kievan federation in the twelfth and thirteenth century and the colonization of the northeast in these centuries by migrants from the Dnieper valley, reversed the trend toward deterioration in the condition of the peasantry, just as the German colonization had done farther west. The Russian princes who held sway in the Oka-Volga triangle sought to increase the size and strength of their realms and to aggrandize their revenues, by inducing settlers to come in and clear the forests and push out the ill-defined frontiers of their princedoms. They invited peasants to settle as free renters holding directly from the prince, offering them long exemptions from all obligations, light dues when they did have to start paying them, communal autonomy, and freedom of movement. Private and church lords who established manors in the new regions also made similar bids, although usually not including as much communal autonomy. Slavery continued, but as in the rest of Eastern Europe, the slaves began to be settled

²⁵ Werner Wittich, "Epochen der deutschen Agrargeschichte," *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik* (Tübingen, 1922), VII, 14; G. von Below, "Die Haupttatsachen der älteren deutschen Agrargeschichte," *Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1920), p. 43; Aubin, "Medieval German Society," p. 397; Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 257-58; Warszawski, pp. 7-8, 10-11; Conze, I, 62-63.

on the land in return for payments to their masters, and soon their status began to approximate that of the free renters.²⁶

At the end of the centuries of expansion, the peasants of Eastern Europe, like those of the West, seemed headed toward continued improvement in their condition. But in the succeeding era of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries East and West followed diverging roads, one leading to more serfdom and the other to freedom. The exiguity of the data leaves much in the dark about the economic history of Eastern Europe during these last centuries of the Middle Ages, but the available evidence seems to indicate clearly that the lands east of the Elbe, like those to the west, were going through a long period of depression and contraction. The onset of the slump was apparently heralded by the drying up of the stream of colonists when the decline in western European population ended the pressure that had induced people to move from their crowded homelands to the thinly settled East. It has been suggested that the downturn in economic life in the East was not as severe as it was in the West, but the available information, particularly for the fifteenth century, points to a very sizable slump, above all in agriculture, and a major decline in population. This was evidenced by the increasing scarcity of peasant renters and laborers, by falling grain prices, and, above all, by the large number of abandoned holdings. From the Elbe all the way across to the Volga, the sources of the period tell of depopulated villages and empty homesteads and of the efforts made by princes and lords to find and hold peasants to till their empty fields. The loss in population was brought on, apparently, by the same kinds of causes that produced the population fall in the West, for the records of the era for all the Eastern lands are filled with accounts of wars, invasions, feuds, civil strife, plagues, and crop failures.²⁷

The landed nobility and gentry, dependent for their incomes primarily

²⁶ Alexandre Eck, *Le moyen âge Russe* (Paris, 1933), pp. 86, 275-76, 301-304; J. Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, 1925), I, 77-80, 210-12; Vasilii I. Sergeevich, *Drevnosti russkago prava* [The ancient times of Russian law] (St. Petersburg, 1909-1911), I, 233-34; Boris D. Grekov, *Krest'iane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do XVII veka* [The peasants in Russia from the earliest times to the 17th century] (Moscow, Leningrad, 1946), pp. 515-26.

²⁷ Postan, "The Trade of Medieval Europe," pp. 196-97, 207, 209-10; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 101-102, 106-107; Martin A. L. Wehrmann, *Geschichte von Pommern* (Gotha, 1904-1906), I, 174-210; Heinz Maybaum, "Die Entstehung der Gutsherrschaft im nordwestlichen Mecklenburg," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Beiheft VI (1926), 114-16; Kuhn, I, 70-72; Palacky, III, Pt. III, 333-34, V, Pt. I, 296-97; Dessman, pp. 46-47; Domanovszky, p. 455; Schwabe, pp. 41-43; Bosse, p. 355; Marian Malowist, "Le commerce de la Baltique et le problème des luttes sociales en Pologne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles," *La Pologne au X^e Congrès international des sciences historiques à Rome* (Warsaw, 1955), p. 132; Julian Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369-1600* [Prices in Cracow in the years 1369-1600] (Lvov, 1935), p. 174; Maksim M. Kowalewsky, *Die ökonomische Entwicklung Europas* (Berlin, 1901-1914), V, 435-36; Gustav Alef, *A History of the Muscovite Civil War* (MS dissertation, Princeton University, 1956) pp. 371-75; Ivinskis, pp. 64-73, 153.

upon the payments in cash and kind made them by their peasants, like their analogues in Western Europe were especially exposed to the effects of the depression and depopulation. Their position was worsened by a fall in the value of the currency in Mecklenburg, Prussia, Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. This monetary depreciation reduced the value of the cash dues and rents received by the landlords. Those seigneurs who sold goods on the market suffered additionally because of the price decline. In some lands, e.g., Bohemia and Russia, the situation grew so bad that many lords were unable to hold on to their manors, so that there was much turnover of property.²⁸

Eastern European seigneurs, like those of the West, searched for avenues of escape from the deterioration in their economic condition. Some of their efforts were the same as those made in Western Europe. In Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Livonia they tried to hold down the price of labor by having their sovereigns impose wage ceilings; in Poland maximums were set on the prices of city goods; they borrowed heavily, as in Mecklenburg and Russia; and in Eastern Germany, in Silesia, and in Poland some nobles turned to brigandage.²⁹

But they also adopted measures which were not used in the West, and it was precisely these steps which led to the ultimate enserfment of the peasantry. Instead of reducing obligations, as was the general practice in the West where the lords tried to hold their peasants and attract new ones by asking less of them, seigneurs in Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, Brandenburg, Prussia, and Lithuania imposed new and heavier obligations, notably in the form of labor dues and cash payments.³⁰ Another way in which the response of Eastern lords to the shortage of renters and laborers differed from the West was the manner in which they handled the problem of peasant freedom of movement. In the West the peasants were able to gain increased personal liberty from their seigneurs in this period. In Eastern Europe, in every one of the states discussed here, from the mid-fourteenth century, and especially during the course of the fifteenth century, steady encroachments were made upon the right of the peasant to come and go as he pleased. In land after land the

²⁸ Hans Rosenberg, "The Rise of the Junkers in Brandenburg-Prussia," *American Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (1944), 230-31; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 112; Palacky, III, Pt. II, 298-99; Malowist, p. 132; Illarion I. Kaufman, *Serebrianyi rubl v Rossii ot ego vozniknoveniia do konca XIX veka* [The silver ruble in Russia from its origin to the end of the 19th century] (St. Petersburg, 1910), pp. 13, 26-28; Maybaum, p. 108; Stepan B. Veselovskii, *Feodal'noe zemlevladienie v severo-vostochnoi Rusi* [Feudal landowning in north-east Russia] (Moscow, Leningrad, 1947), I, 78, 165-69; Kuhn, I, 146; Denis, I, 256.

²⁹ Kuhn, I, 146-49; Malowist, p. 132; Maybaum, pp. 112, 116-18; Stanislaw Hoszowski, *Les prix à Lwow* (Paris, 1954), p. 15.

³⁰ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 104-105, 108-109; Maybaum, pp. 108-109; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," p. 133; Walther Maas, "Zur Entwicklung der polnischen Agrarstruktur vom XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrssch. für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XX (1928), 494; Denis, I, 255-56; Ivinskis, p. 162-63; Rutkowski in *CEH*, I, 410-11.

same kind of restrictions came to be imposed, although in some places their number was greater and their details more elaborate than in others. In Poland, Prussia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lithuania peasants were forbidden to leave their holdings without the permission of their masters, and in Russia they could depart only at a certain time.³¹ Peasant renters in Prussia, Brandenburg, Bohemia, Silesia, and Poland were required to provide a suitable replacement and pay up all arrears before they could give up their tenements, and in Russia they had to pay a large fee.³² In Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Livonia, Poland, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Russia lords were forbidden to lure away peasants from other seigneurs, or agreed not to accept one another's peasants, and were supposed to return runaways who had settled on their estates to their original lords;³³ severe punishments were ordained in Prussia, Poland, and Bohemia for the runaways and sometimes for those who received them.³⁴ Cities in Prussia, Pomerania, and Bohemia were ordered not to receive peasants who could not prove they had their lord's permission to leave their villages,³⁵ and treaties were made between neighboring sovereigns in Prussia, Poland, Livonia, and Russia agreeing not to take peasants from one another's realm and to return fugitives.³⁶ Peasant indebtedness was also used in Livonia and Russia as a device to hold peasants. The hard times and the war devastation had compelled many renters to borrow from their lords and the terms of repayment often bound these debtors to their seigneur-creditor.³⁷ Still another method, employed in Lithuania, Russia, and, apparently, in Livonia, was to deny freedom of movement to a peasant who had remained on a holding for a certain length of time, e.g., thirty to forty years.³⁸

By the end of the fifteenth century then, from the Elbe to the Volga, most of the peasantry were well on their way to becoming serfs. During the next century both obligations and restrictions continued to be increased, so that by the end of the sixteenth century the process of enserfment was just about

³¹ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 103, 110; Kuhn, I, 148; Palacky, V, Pt. I, 297; Eck, pp. 306-308; Conze, I, 49; Grünberg, I, 101-102; Krasinski, I, 66-67.

³² Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 103; Krasinski, I, 66-68; Stark, pp. 58-59; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 117-18; Art. 57, *Sudebnik* of 1497 in *Akademii Nauk, Sudebniki XV-XVI vekov* [Academy of Sciences, The law codes of the 15th and 16th centuries] (Moscow, Leningrad, 1952), p. 27.

³³ Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 151; Ivinskis, p. 113; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 103, 110; Kuhn, I, 147-48; Bosse, pp. 358-59; Conze, I, 49; Stark, p. 59; Rakowski, p. 15; Rutkowski in *CEH*, I, 405.

³⁴ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 103-104; Palacky, V, 292-93; Warszawski, p. 25.

³⁵ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 103, 110; Bachmann, II, 733.

³⁶ Kuhn, I, 148; Bosse, p. 364; Power, p. 736; Sergeevich, I, 235.

³⁷ Bosse, pp. 355-65; Ivinskis, pp. 30-31; A. Eck, "Les non-libres dans la Russie du moyen âge," *Rev. hist. de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., IX (1930), 40-41.

³⁸ Conze, I, 49; Schwabe, p. 44; Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 210-12.

completed, even though the laws that spelled this out were not issued in some lands until the seventeenth century, and even though there were still groups of peasants who had managed to escape the lot of their fellows.

Why was the fate of the rustics east of the Elbe so different from that of the Western peasantry? Why was the promising growth of improved conditions in the prosperous twelfth and thirteenth centuries subverted in the succeeding centuries? Why did the economic downturn of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries not evoke the same changes in the lord-peasant relation that it did in the West?

The answers to these questions are provided, I believe, by four developments in Eastern Europe that went on contemporaneously and that were interrelated in a manner unique to this vast region. These four developments were: first, the increase in the political power of the nobility, and especially of the lesser nobility; second, the growth of seigneurial jurisdictional powers over the peasantry living on their manors; third, the shift made by lords from being rent receivers to becoming producers for the market; and, finally, the decline of the cities and of the urban middle class.

Though the extent to which the nobility, and particularly its lower ranks, was able to dominate the political life and administration of the respective states and the form its supremacy took varied, the phenomenon was common to all of the major Eastern lands. The nobles' rise to political power began to evidence itself in some lands in the fourteenth, became much more prominent in the fifteenth, and continued on into the sixteenth century. This, of course, was precisely the era when in the West the new monarchies were establishing themselves on the ruins of the feudal order. In striking contrast, the political ascendancy of the Eastern nobility, with the exception of Russia, was at the expense of the sovereign. This weakening of the central power was attributable, variously, to foreign and civil wars, dynastic rivalries and ambitions, and the increasing financial stringency brought on by unsuccessful military ventures and by the decline in princely revenues caused by the depression of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Candidates for empty thrones gave nobles bribes, gifts of villages, and promises of wide concessions to win their votes in the elections of monarchs, and gave still more to hold their support after they were chosen. Sovereigns sold and pawned crown lands to nobles to raise needed cash, borrowed from nobles, granted them new and broader powers in state administration in return for their acquiescence in the introduction of new fiscal measures to relieve pinched princely purses, and supported the nobles in their struggle for supremacy over the cities and in their demands for greater powers over their peasants. The

nobility, for its part, did not hesitate to demand the highest possible price for its support, feeling no compunctions about filling power vacuums that appeared as the central authority weakened or taking over prerogatives formerly reserved for the sovereign or the greatest lords.³⁹

In Russia a strong central power emerged from the political anarchy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the persons of the princes of Moscow who, in the latter part of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries, established themselves as the supreme rulers of the Russian land. But the new tsars, as the Muscovite sovereigns now called themselves, had won their eminence over rival princes and the great nobility who had contested for power with them only with the support of the lesser boyars and the gentry. In return for their assistance, these men were rewarded with land and peasants and with increasingly extensive privileges and were raised to positions of eminence in the state's administration. And so in Russia, despite the establishment of a royal autocracy, the nobility, and particularly the lesser nobility, gained in political power and formed a cohesive group sharing the same general interests.⁴⁰

The growth of the political influence of the nobles was of critical importance for the ultimate appearance of serfdom in Eastern Europe. It gave them the power to make successful demands of their sovereigns for a freer hand in dealing with their peasants. As a consequence, there was a progressive withdrawal of the state from the lord-peasant relationship in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This left the way open for the seigneurs to solve the labor problems raised by the depression of the fifteenth and the prosperity of the sixteenth centuries by gradually converting their erstwhile free tenants into serfs.

The second crucial development in the establishment of serfdom in Eastern Europe was the growth of seigneurial jurisdictional and administrative privileges. This phenomenon was intimately associated with the political dependence of the central power upon the nobility's support, for in allowing these powers to the seigneurs the rulers were voluntarily yielding many of their sovereign rights over the mass of their subjects.

³⁹ Rosenberg, pp. 6, 15, 232; Maybaum, pp. 147-49; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 112, 165, 168-69; J. Jessen, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Gutswirtschaft in Schleswig-Holstein bis zum Beginn der Agrarreform," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, LI (1922), 24; Kutrzeba, pp. 70-73; Krasinski, I, 99-100, 124; Warszawski, pp. 20-21; Vilho Nütemaa, "Der Binnenhandel in der Politik der livländischen Städte in Mittelalter," *Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Annales*, LXXVI (1952), 154; F. Rachfahl, *Die Organisation der Gesamtstaatsverwaltung Schlesiens vor dem 30 jährigen Kriege* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 53-56; Denis, I, 214-15, 218, 232-34; Stark, p. 48; Heymann, *Žižka*, pp. 39-41; Ivinskis, pp. 108-13.

⁴⁰ Veselovskii, I, 162-64, 264.

In Eastern Germany from the beginning of the colonization jurisdictional lordship (*Gerichtsherrschaft*) over their peasants had been given to private landlords, especially church foundations, because the size and unsettled condition of the various realms, the poor communications, and the inadequate central administrative organization made it physically impossible for the ruler to exercise a large degree of centralized control. Then, after the cessation of colonization, the weakening of the central authorities had led to a constant growth of seigneurial jurisdictional authority, for the rights and prerogatives that had been retained by the sovereigns were given, sold, and even pawned to nobles by weak and needy rulers.⁴¹ In Livonia, also, many private landlords had been given extensive jurisdictional powers from the beginning of the German penetration there, but in the fifteenth century these privileges were much extended.⁴²

In Poland the sovereign began transferring some of his jurisdictional powers over the peasants to seigneurs in the thirteenth century. At first these grants of immunities, freeing their recipients from royal intervention on their lands, were made to individual lords, clerical and lay, but in the latter part of the fourteenth century they began to be given to all members of the nobility. The result was the gradual exclusion of the crown in the lord-peasant relation. This was explicitly recognized by the throne in the early sixteenth century when the king ordered that the royal courts would no longer hear cases between peasants and their lords. The process was hastened by the spread of settlements under the German law. In order to establish a village under this dispensation the landlord had to get permission from the king for the peasant-settlers to be free from royal jurisdiction, i.e., the Polish law. The villages were then under the jurisdiction of their mayor and his court. But the seigneurs wanted to supplant this village autonomy by their own domination. Aided by legislation issued by the weak kings of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, they succeeded in making the mayors their creatures and thereby gained juridical and administrative control over the peasants. Thus the German law, originally a powerful force in improving the status of the Polish peasantry, had become a means of diminishing peasant freedom.⁴³

In Bohemia immunities began to be given to church lords in the twelfth and to lay seigneurs in the thirteenth century. At first the jurisdictional rights

⁴¹ G. F. Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preussens* (Leipzig, 1887), I, 33-34; Rosenberg, pp. 15-16; Maybaum, pp. 40-75; Jessen, pp. 12-14, 18.

⁴² Bosse, pp. 449-50; Schwabe, pp. 26-29.

⁴³ Kutrzeba, pp. 27-30, 80-85; Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," pp. 491-92; Warszawski, pp. 35-38.

that were granted were limited, but in the course of the fourteenth century they were made much more extensive. By the early fifteenth century the power of the lords over their renters was so firmly established that they attempted to forbid them from appealing manorial court decisions to royal tribunals and by the latter part of the century were successful in gaining acceptance of this principle. In addition, the lords of Bohemia, and especially of Moravia, were often able to lay claim to the tithes paid by their peasants to the church and to name the priests in their villages.⁴⁴ In Silesia the special grant of immunity from the ducal law necessary to establish a village under German law was early used by the lords there to gain control over their peasants. By the end of the thirteenth century the village mayors had often been reduced to the position of seigneurial officials, and the right of lower justice had come to be recognized as an appurtenance of landowning. In the next two centuries the nobles were able to increase the range of their powers with the decline in the strength of the central government.⁴⁵ In Hungary, too, during these centuries the lords were able to get extensive legal and administrative control over their peasants.⁴⁶

In Russia, during the Kievan period, the princes had apparently allowed lords to have important powers over the people who lived in their villages. After the center of Russian life moved to the northeast, grants of immunities became much more general and much more complete, because of the inability of the princes to control their realms, because of their need to win the support of their nobles, and because the nobles needed the power to make concessions that would attract settlers to their lands. By the end of the fourteenth century these judicial and administrative prerogatives had come to be regarded as traditional rights of the landlord. The peasant who lived on a private estate had become the subject of his lord and was without the right of appeal to the prince's court. Also, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the princes made grants of many free communes to nobles, presumably to gain their support in the civil wars of the period. Still other communes, in order to protect themselves in those troubled times, voluntarily turned themselves and their lands over to powerful lords and monasteries. These acts converted the erstwhile free peasants into subjects of these lords. With the emergence of a strong central power in the latter fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries, the range of the immunities was restricted by imperial action. But a large reservoir of power over his peasants was left with the seigneur, as part of the mutually advantageous bargain the Moscow

⁴⁴ Otto Peterka, *Rechtsgeschichte der böhmischen Länder* (Prague, 1928-1933), I, 63-65; Grünberg, I, 98; Stark, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁵ Rachfahl, *Die Organisation*, pp. 50-53; *id.*, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 142, 146, 149-51.

⁴⁶ Domanovszky, p. 448.

princes made with their nobility in the formative years of the Russian absolutism.⁴⁷

By the end of the fifteenth century then, in each of these lands the noble had become the government so far as the peasants who lived on his manor were concerned. He was their judge, their police chief, their jailer, their tax collector, and sometimes he chose the clergyman in their church. Although the extent to which this transfer of sovereignty from prince to seigneur varied in and between the different lands, for all practical purposes the peasants on privately owned estates became more the subjects of their lords than of the throne. The result was that the nobles, in pursuit of their private economic interests, by the exercise of their public powers levied for their own use obligations originally imposed for the benefit of the prince, tightened the restrictions on the freedom of movement of their peasants, demanded increased amounts of dues and services, changed the terms of peasant tenure, and even evicted peasants from their holdings. Through entirely legal means the lords were able to set themselves up as the despots of their villages and to press their people into a condition of subjection and dependence upon them.⁴⁸

The third development that I believe explains the ultimate enservment of the Eastern European peasantry was the great increase in seigneurial production for market in the fifteenth and especially in the sixteenth centuries. During the immediately preceding period noble income from land had been predominantly in the form of rents in cash and kind paid them by their peasants.⁴⁹ Lords had, of course, raised goods on their own account and some of their output had been sold on the market.⁵⁰ But typically, seigneurial production had been unimportant, had gone primarily to meet the lord's own needs, and had been produced mainly by slaves and by hired workers drawn from among landless peasants and cotters.⁵¹ The fact that small and often no labor obligations were demanded of the peasants—when required it was frequently three to six and even just one day a year—evidences the insig-

⁴⁷ Grekov, *Krest'iane*, pp. 114-15, 124; Veselovskii, I, 104, 114-16, 137-42; Odinetz, pp. 263-65; George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1948), pp. 203-204; A. Eck, "Le grand domaine dans la Russie du moyen âge," *Revue Historique du Sud-est européen*, XXI (1944), 119-20, 122.

⁴⁸ Maybaum, pp. 79-85; Jessen, pp. 79-81; Rosenberg, p. 232; Palacky, III, Pt. II, 39; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 151-53; Warszawski, p. 38; Odinetz, pp. 267-68.

⁴⁹ Wittich, pp. 14-15; Schwabe, pp. 41-42; Stark, p. 9; Domanovszky, pp. 452-53.

⁵⁰ Gustav Aubin, "Der Einfluss der Rezeption des römischen Rechtes auf den deutschen Bauernstand," *Jahrb. für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, XCIX (1912), 732-33; Rosenberg, pp. 228-29; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 58, 73-74; F. Rachfahl, "Schleswig-Holstein in der deutschen Agrargeschichte," *Jahrb. für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, XCIII (1909), 460; Veselovskii, I, 157-58; Grünberg, I, 98.

⁵¹ Maybaum, p. 108; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 59; Bosse, pp. 419-21; Rakowski, pp. 13-14; Grünberg, I, 97; Veselovskii, I, 155-56.

nificance of the noble's own production.⁵² Furthermore, the goods that were sent to market, whether by seigneurs or by peasants, seem to have been in large, and possibly in largest, part animal and forest products, indicating an emphasis—at least insofar as production for sale was concerned—on animal husbandry and forest industries rather than on tillage.⁵³ Finally, a sizable proportion of the goods that the seigneurs sold undoubtedly represented surplus from the produce paid them as rental charges by their peasants, rather than their own production.⁵⁴

There is evidence indicating that the crisis of depopulation and the abandoning of holdings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had the same effects on the organization of some Eastern European manors that it had in the West, insofar as diminishing the importance of seigneurial production was concerned. Apparently, a number of Eastern seigneurs commuted peasant labor services into quitrents, turned over what demesne they had operated to their peasants as leaseholds, and, in Russia and Lithuania, settled slaves on demesne land and empty peasant tenements, thereby converting them into peasant renters.⁵⁵

But a far more widespread seigneurial reaction in Eastern Germany, Livonia, Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Hungary to the economic downturn was to increase demesne. As the fifteenth century wore on, nobles began to depend less on rental income and more and more on production for market, especially grain production.⁵⁶ At first, the expansion of the demesne was at the expense only of abandoned land, although apparently by the end of the century occupied holdings started being taken over.⁵⁷ In order to get the labor they needed for their growing demesnes, the seigneurs increased the

⁵² G. Aubin, "Der Einfluss," p. 733; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 128-30; Schwabe, p. 40; Grünberg, I, 97; Domanovszky, p. 456; Veselovskii, I, 155.

⁵³ August K. F. Skalweit, "Gutsherrschaft und Landarbeiter in Ostdeutschland," *Jahrb. für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich*, XXXV (1911), 305; Rosenberg, pp. 229-30; Raths, pp. 19-20; Ivinskis, pp. 155-59; Veselovskii, I, 152-56.

⁵⁴ Cf. Wilhelm Naudé, *Die Getreidehandelpolitik der Europäischen Staaten vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1896-1931), I, 255-58; Rosenberg, p. 234.

⁵⁵ F. L. Carsten, "The Origins of the Junkers," *English Hist. Rev.*, LXII (1947), 150-54; Schwabe, p. 42; Veselovskii, I, 220.

⁵⁶ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 107-108; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 130-31; Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," p. 491; Stark, pp. 21-22; Domanovszky, pp. 454-55.

⁵⁷ Siegfried Korth, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des ostdeutschen Grossgrundbesitzes," *Jahrbuch der Albertus Magnus Universität zu Königsberg, Pr.*, III (1953), 160; Carsten, "Origins of the Junkers," p. 153; Rakowski, p. 33; Grünberg, I, 100; Postan, "Trade of Medieval Europe," p. 197. This tendency to concentrate more on market production seems often to have been most marked among the lesser nobility. G. F. Knapp, and others after him, have suggested that this was attributable to changes in military organization and in methods of warfare which displaced the knight and compelled him to turn his attention to agriculture in order to earn his living. Cf. Knapp, *Bauernbefreiung*, I, 37-38; Wittich, p. 16; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 132-33; and more recently, Stark, pp. 15-16. Modern scholars have pointed out errors and inadequacies in this explanation. Cf. Maybaum, pp. 145-47; Carsten, "Origins of the Junkers," p. 146; Rosenberg, pp. 228, 228 n.

labor services required of their peasants. They made sure that the peasants would be available to perform this obligation by having their monarchs issue laws limiting peasant freedom of movement and by restrictions they imposed themselves. Because of the seigneurial acquisition of jurisdictional privileges over them, the peasants were powerless to resist these seigneurial encroachments and demands save by such illegal acts as flight or revolt.⁵⁸

So increased demesne and increased peasant exploitation were the ways by which many seigneurs of the East tried to adjust to the economic depression. Then at the end of the fifteenth century Europe entered a new era of prosperity that was to last in much of Europe until well into the seventeenth century. This new upswing was characterized by an increase in population and by an over-all rise in agricultural productivity. In the western half of Europe, however, demand soon outran supply so that an acute shortage in bread grains developed—a phenomenon aggravated by the conversion of much arable land into pasture in England and on the Continent. Agricultural prices rose sharply, and their ascent accelerated when American treasure began to flow into the Old World in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ Those lords in Eastern Europe who had already taken measures to increase their demesne production as a defense against depression, now seeing the chance to profit from the heightened demand and rising price levels in the West, intensified their efforts and stepped up their grain output. Others quickly followed their example. This activity was most pronounced among those landlords who lived near the Baltic and along the great river systems of Eastern Europe, who enjoyed a comparative advantage in shipping commodities to Western Europe over those whose estates were less accessible.⁶⁰ The share of grain in total exports rose steadily; e.g., a study of shipments down the Vistula from the fourteenth century shows that grain displaced timber in the second half of the fifteenth century as the most important commodity in this commerce.⁶¹

Polish price data of the sixteenth century provide an idea of the profits to be made from the sale of grain. At Danzig, chief staple of the grain trade for the entire Baltic region, notations from the second half of the century show that rye prices, measured in silver, rose by 247 per cent, barley by 187 per cent, and oats by 185 per cent, between 1550 and 1600. Prices of other

⁵⁸ Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," pp. 495-96; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 110-11; Bosse, pp. 385-86; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 132-33; Grünberg, I, 101-103; Rath, p. 35.

⁵⁹ Wilhelm Abel, *Agrarkrisis und Agrarkonjunktur in Mitteleuropa von 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 48-57; J. Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku* [Prices in Danzig in the 16th and 17th century] (Lvov, 1937), pp. 171-72.

⁶⁰ Skälweit, p. 308; Rosenberg, p. 233; Rutkowski, *Histoire*, p. 32; Kuhn, I, 158; Stark, pp. 27-28; Bosse, pp. 386-88; Jessen, pp. 56, 83; Rachfahl, "Schleswig-Holstein," p. 460.

⁶¹ Rath, pp. 19-21.

foodstuffs, wages, and manufactured goods rose much more slowly.⁶² Prices from Cracow and Lvov, two other major Polish trade centers, show the same trend; e.g., in Cracow between the end of the fifteenth and the end of the sixteenth centuries rye went up in price more than six times over, the price of oats and wheat quadrupled, and the price of barley doubled. In contrast, cloth prices at Cracow increased by less than 60 per cent, linen prices fell by 43 per cent, and a combined index for building materials and fuel shows an increase of a little over 90 per cent—the prices of some individual commodities in this group remaining stable or even falling during the century. Wages of semiskilled and unskilled labor rose by 118 per cent (between 1521–1525 and 1596–1600).⁶³

In order to meet the heightened demand for grain, new land began to be taken under cultivation by seigneurs and empty holdings were repopled. Up to the second half of the sixteenth century there still seems to have been enough abandoned or virgin land to satisfy seigneurial ambitions for demesne expansion, so that land held by peasants was only occasionally absorbed. But then the expropriation of peasant holdings became much more general, so that an ever-increasing number of peasants were reduced to cotters, left without any land at all, or had the size of their holdings much reduced.⁶⁴ The methods of expropriation and its extent varied. Sometimes the lord bluntly took land away from his peasants or seized the common. Often he bought it, though the sales frequently must have been forced. Or, instead of putting a new family on a holding that fell vacant, he made it part of the demesne. Sometimes he took for his own use land that peasants had cleared or common they had converted into arable land without first getting the lord's permission.⁶⁵

Demesne expansion, then, carried on in the fifteenth century in Eastern Germany, Livonia, Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Hungary as an adjustment to the downward economic trend, was greatly stimulated in these lands in the

⁶² Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku*, pp. 169–70.

⁶³ Pelc, *Ceny w Krakowie*, pp. 127, 130–31, 135; cf. Hoszowski, pp. 208–13. Price data are either lacking or are too scanty, so that this comparison between grain and other prices cannot be made for the other Eastern European lands. But judging from the Polish experience, and from the fact that in Western Europe increases in grain prices outstripped the amount of increase in the prices of manufactured goods and wages (Abel, *Agrarkrisis*, pp. 20–21), it seems reasonable to assume that this phenomenon was common to all the grain producing lands of Eastern Europe. If this assumption is correct, the century must have been a golden age in a literal sense for the landowning class, while those who earned their livings from processing goods, or from the sale of their labor, were now occupying the lower blade of the price scissors, reversing the situation of the preceding period of depression.

⁶⁴ Kuhn, I, 110, 154, 156–57; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 149, 155, 158, 161; Jessen, pp. 60–61; Schwabe, p. 46; Rakowski, p. 33; Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 163–65; Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," pp. 492–93.

⁶⁵ Rutkowski, *Histoire*, p. 103; Bosse, p. 388; Stark, pp. 39–44; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 155; Rosenberg, p. 234 n.

next century by the new prosperity. Similarly, the restrictions on peasant freedom and the rise in their obligations, especially the labor service, adopted by seigneurs under the pressure of hard times, became much more intense in the succeeding era. Increased labor dues and immobilization of the peasant labor force were inevitable corollaries of expanded demesne farming. The most extreme demands for additional labor services seem to have been made by the Polish lords. The work obligation there prior to the time when it began to go up had been one to three, and at most six, days a year for each full-sized peasant holding (a holding whose size was considered the norm for the support of a peasant household). Then during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the seigneurs began to require many more days. Their demands were given legal sanction by statutes of 1519 and 1529 which set a standard obligation of one day a week. This norm was soon exceeded and by the middle of the century three days, and by the century's end six days, per week had become the established practice. Moreover, as the decades went by, the relation between size of holding and obligation disappeared, for with the increase in demesne and in peasant population the holdings kept getting smaller. Labor dues were demanded of peasants regardless of whether or not they occupied a holding. It has been estimated that the amount of labor actually received from each full-sized holding rose from one day per week in the first quarter of the century to six by 1581, twenty-four by 1603, and thirty-two by 1618.⁶⁶

In the East German lands, where labor services, when required, had originally been three to four and, rarely, six days a year, they ran around two days per week by the mid-sixteenth century. During the second half of that century the obligation continued to go up, so that by the end of the century in Mecklenburg three days a week had become standard. In the early seventeenth century in Brandenburg and Pomerania-Stettin it was ordered that peasants were to be liable to unlimited labor services.⁶⁷ In Bohemia the norm was also increased but the rise was much more moderate, the obligation running around twenty-four days a year.⁶⁸ In Silesia laws of 1559 and 1562 established high norms,⁶⁹ and in Hungary a decree of 1514 ordered one day of labor per week for each full-sized holding.⁷⁰

Actually the legal norms seem often to have been exceeded, for the lord's jurisdictional powers meant the peasant could not effectively resist seignorial demands for extra days even if they were specifically prohibited by

⁶⁶ Warszawski, pp. 30-34; Maas, "Zur Entwicklung," p. 495.

⁶⁷ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 79-80, 156-58, 162; Kuhn, I, 154.

⁶⁸ Stark, pp. 22, 64-65.

⁶⁹ Rachfahl, "Zur Geschichte," p. 165.

⁷⁰ Domanovszky, p. 459.

statutes. Sometimes devices that had at least an air of legality were used to get more labor services, such as splitting up holdings and demanding work dues from each occupant and sentencing village malefactors to additional days of unpaid work.⁷¹

The limitations on peasant freedom of movement, established during the fifteenth century either as written law by sovereign edicts or as custom through seignorial initiative, were greatly expanded during the sixteenth century. In state after state much stricter regulations were issued in the first decades of that century. These ordinances and the many supplementary ones put out during the rest of the century and on into the seventeenth century prohibited the peasant and his family from leaving their holding without the lord's permission, put the labor of the peasant's children at the lord's disposal, and placed limitations on the peasant's freedom of choice in selecting a spouse. An especially frequent subject of legislation concerned the recovery and punishment of runaways and sometimes the punishment of those who received them.⁷²

Still another method used in the preceding century to hold peasants on the land and increase their labor services was further developed in the sixteenth century. This was peasant indebtedness. The rise in obligations compelled many peasants to borrow from their lords. The terms of these loans deprived the debtor of his freedom of movement and required him to pay his debt by working for the seigneur.⁷³

In Lithuania seignorial demesne production for market was unimportant until the sixteenth century, with the exception of Podlachia, in the southwest corner of the state, where development during the fifteenth century resembled that in neighboring Poland. Labor services, when required, were for only a few days a year. Yet already in the fifteenth century nobles had acquired extensive legal and economic powers over their peasant renters, and limitations had begun to be placed on the peasant's freedom of movement and on his rights in the disposal of his property. In the next century, as more and more Lithuanian nobles began producing grain for the market, the labor obligations and the restrictions were increased. By the middle of the century (1557) a norm of two days of work a week per full-sized holding was set for those peasants who were required to render regular labor dues in addition to their other obligations. The other peasants on the manor paid their obligations in cash and kind, plus a small labor service of around

⁷¹ Kuhn, I, 154; Warszawski, pp. 32-34; Stark, pp. 58, 63-64.

⁷² Krasinski, I, 77-83; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 106, 149-51, 157, 159-60, 162-63; Warszawski, p. 28; Domanovszky, p. 451; Rachfahl, "Schleswig-Holstein," p. 458; *id.*, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 158-60; Stark, pp. 60-61; Denis, I, 259.

⁷³ Bosse, p. 450; Rath, pp. 36-37.

twelve days a year. At first, the latter type of peasant predominated, but the continued expansion of seigneurial demesne led to increased emphasis on regular labor services, so that the former group came to outnumber those who were not responsible for labor dues. Moreover, the two-day norm quickly proved insufficient for some seigneurs, so that soon after its establishment they were compelling their people to do three days a week. Simultaneously, the restrictions on peasant freedom became progressively more severe, until by the latter part of the century the rustic was so completely bound to the will of his seigneur that the law even permitted the lord to sell his peasants.⁷⁴

In Russia, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, demesne production when it existed was used primarily to meet the lord's own needs, and peasant obligations were paid almost entirely in kind and to a much smaller extent in cash, although there were exceptional cases where seigneurs produced important amounts of goods for market sale.⁷⁵ Then, in the course of the sixteenth century, and particularly in its second half, tax assessment rolls show that demesnes assumed increasing importance in many manors in every part of the state.⁷⁶ This expansion in seigneurial production was in part a response to the growth of the domestic market and in part a result of the increased need of the seigneurs for cash as the use of money spread in Russia. Unlike the other Eastern lands, it was not attributable to foreign demand for grain, for, as stated earlier, Russia did not become a grain exporter until the seventeenth century. The appearance of the lord on the market was accompanied, as elsewhere, by a multiplication of the labor services demanded of the peasants and by new restrictions on their freedom of movement, often made illegally by the lords through use of their jurisdictional authority. In addition, the growth in numbers and political importance of the lesser nobility (*pomeshchiki*), at the expense of the great lords, contributed to the increase in the burdens of the peasants and the decrease in their freedom. The *pomeshchik*, with his small holding and his own heavy obligation of state service, perforce had to demand more than the great proprietor who could afford to take less from the individual peasant because he had so many of them.⁷⁷

As in the rest of Eastern Europe the increased exploitation of the peasantry received official sanction from the throne in decrees and ordinances

⁷⁴ Conze, I, 48-49, 54-56, 61-62, 65, 90-92, 130-31; Ivinskis, pp. 113-14.

⁷⁵ S. A. Tarakanova-Belkina, *Boiarskoe i monastyrskoe zemlevladienie v novgorodskikh piatinakh v domoskovskoe vremia* [Boyar and monastic landowning in the Novgorodian districts in the pre-Muscovite period] (Moscow, 1939), p. 63; Veselovskii, I, 155-58.

⁷⁶ Nikolai A. Rozhkov, *Sel'skoe khoziaistvo moskovskoi Rusi v XVI veke* [The rural economy of Muscovite Russia in the XVI century] (Moscow, 1899), pp. 129-30, 134-37, 156-60, 168-74, 176-80, 186-89.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 284; J. Blum, "Prices in Russia in the Sixteenth Century," *Jour. Econ. Hist.*, XVI (1956), 194-95.

issued from the end of the fifteenth on into the first half of the seventeenth century, and particularly from the 1580's on.⁷⁸ Peasant indebtedness also served in Russia, as it did elsewhere in the East, to bind the peasant to the will of his seigneur-creditor.⁷⁹

By the second half of the sixteenth century the peasant had come to be regarded in many cases as part of his lord's property, even though the seigneur did not yet have the right to buy and sell peasants.⁸⁰ In the last quarter of that century Russian economic life suffered a calamitous decline because of a mass flight of the population from the old regions of settlement, brought on by a series of political, military, and natural disasters.⁸¹ After a brief period of recovery in the 1590's the country was engulfed in the Troubles (1604-1613), when depopulation again became a serious problem. To hold people on the land and to save the landowning class from ruin during these trying periods, still more severe restrictions were placed on peasant freedom.

The result, then, insofar as the Eastern European peasant was concerned, of the seigneurial adjustment to the bad times of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the prosperity that followed, in combination with the growth of noble political and jurisdictional power, was a steady diminution in peasant rights and a proportionally steady increase in seigneurial claims to their labor and land.

The trends which led finally to enserfment were accentuated by the last of the four factors I have posited above as explaining why serfdom rose in the East at the same time that it was declining in the West. This final development was the decline of the cities and of the urban middle class in the lands of Eastern Europe. The experience of Western Europe suggests that the enserfment of the peasantry and its corollary, the economic and political supremacy of the landed nobility, might have been avoided if the burghers of the East had been as powerful as their opposite numbers in Western Europe.

From the thirteenth on into the fifteenth century the cities of Eastern Germany, Bohemia, Livonia, and Poland, acting often in cooperation with the central power, had proven themselves a match for the nobility. They grew steadily, fed by a stream from the countryside of peasants who still had the right to move about as they pleased.⁸² Then, in the fifteenth century,

⁷⁸ Sergeevich, I, 271-77; Grekov, *Krest'iane*, pp. 807-943.

⁷⁹ Vasilii O. Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoi istorii* (Moscow, 1904-1921), II, 416-17.

⁸⁰ Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 205-206.

⁸¹ Blum, "Prices," pp. 196-97.

⁸² Naudé, I, 253; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 89; F. G. Heymann, "The Role of the Towns in the Bohemia of the Later Middle Ages," *Jour. World History*, II (1955), 326-29; *id.*, *Žižka*, pp. 44-45; Warszawski, pp. 12-13.

they began to lose ground. Their retrogression was attributable in large part to the decline, internationally, of the Hanseatic League (to which many of the Baltic cities belonged), the weakening through military defeat of the Teutonic Order whose members had controlled much of the Eastern trade, the loss of markets and the trade contraction resulting from the depopulation, wars, invasions, and domestic strife of the era, and, in the Baltic, to the growing competition of the Dutch and English.⁸³

In addition to these factors, the decline of the cities was much accelerated by the anti-urban policies followed by the East German, Livonian, Polish, and Bohemian nobility.⁸⁴ The seigneurs of these lands exerted pressure on their governments from the early fifteenth century on for restrictions on the cities and for concessions that would promote their own economic interests at the expense of the burghers. One of their primary aims was to break urban monopolies of foreign and domestic trade. They were also determined to put an end to the cities' practice of receiving runaway peasants, and they were resentful of what they considered unfair prices charged for city products. By virtue of their political power, they succeeded in carrying through much of their program, to the great detriment of the urban centers. Thus they bypassed the cities in trading, selling their grain to foreign merchants who were now allowed to come to their estates, or exporting it themselves. The protests of the cities against these violations of their old privileges were to no avail.⁸⁵ Nobles were also given favorable tariff provisions for their shipments that gave them a price advantage over the shipments of the bourgeois merchants. Urban commercial privileges were assumed by the seigneurs, particularly the right to the sale of beer, which had been a chief source of burgher income. Through the steadily mounting restrictions on peasant freedom of movement the nobles succeeded in stopping the flow of peasants upon which the cities depended for their continued growth. In Poland, from the early fifteenth century, maximums began to be set on prices of city-made goods at the insistence of the nobility.⁸⁶

Hit hard in the fifteenth century by the depression and deprived of much of their function by seigneurial encroachments in this and the succeeding century, most of the Eastern European cities, instead of benefiting from the upswing of the sixteenth century, stagnated into sleepy provincial towns;

⁸³ Niitemaa, p. 137; Bachmann, II, 677; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 117-20, 126.

⁸⁴ Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 145-48, 172-73; Niitemaa, p. 185; Warszawski, p. 52; Denis, I, 237-39.

⁸⁵ Niitemaa, pp. 138-39, 153-65; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, pp. 170-73; Stark, p. 27; Maybaum, pp. 119-20; Rosenberg, p. 235.

⁸⁶ Rath, pp. 37-40; Carsten, *Origins of Prussia*, p. 171; *id.*, "Origins of the Junkers," pp. 165-66; Denis, I, 242-43; Stark, pp. 59-60; Krasinski, I, 84-85; Bosse, pp. 368-72; Hoszowski, p. 15.

lesser towns degenerated into mere villages. Meanwhile, in the West, the cities were entering upon a new period of growth in both size and importance that was to transform state and society in the Western lands. This difference in urban development was a matter of fundamental importance not only for the history of the lord-peasant relationship but for European—and world—history as well. For it meant that the claims of the Eastern European nobility to predominance in all aspects of social, political, and economic life were left uncontested. Try as they might, the peasantry alone lacked the leadership and the strength to overthrow this noble supremacy and win freedom for themselves, as the many peasant risings of this and later eras showed all too clearly. The decline of the cities, then, is of fundamental importance in explaining why Eastern Europe remained a backward agrarian society in which such institutions as serfdom, rejected in the West, were able to flourish.

In Russia, too, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seigneurs gained extensive commercial privileges and tariff exemptions for themselves. But unlike the rest of Eastern Europe the Russian cities grew in size and importance from the later fifteenth century on.⁸⁷ Indeed, their growth apparently provided the chief market for expanding seigneurial production, for as was pointed out earlier, little or no grain was exported. Interregional trade, however, was not in the hands of city merchants but was carried on mainly by landlords, particularly monasteries, by a special class of traveling merchants, and by the tsar himself, who, working through his agents, was the chief trader of the realm. And so in Russia, too, an important bourgeois class failed to develop.⁸⁸

In summary, it appears that some of the factors that explain the rise of serfdom in Eastern Europe were common to all of the lands of that region, while others were not. This latter group includes the strength of the sovereign, the Western European demand for Eastern grain, and the decline of the cities. In Eastern Germany, Livonia, Silesia, Poland, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Hungary the central power grew weaker, while in Russia it gained in strength, and yet serfdom was established in all these lands. The increase in the Western demand for grain did not affect Russia or Hungary. Moreover, the deterioration in the condition of the peasantry in all the Eastern lands and, in most of them, the expansion in seigneurial production had been under way well before this new demand for eastern grain arose.

⁸⁷ Pavel P. Smirnov, *Posadskie liudi i ikh klassovaia bor'ba do seređiny XVII veka* [Burghers and their class struggle to the middle of the 17th century] (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947-1948), I, 21-27, 76-77.

⁸⁸ Blum, "Prices," pp. 192-94.

The decline of the cities, important in the other Eastern lands, was not an element in Russia, although the failure of a strong urban middle class to develop there was of much importance in explaining why serfdom appeared.

Among the factors which were present in all the Eastern European lands was the acquisition by the nobles of political power in the state, which enabled them to reduce the peasants on their manors to a position of dependence upon them. Still another constant was the type of adjustment made to the depression of the late Middle Ages and to the upswing of the sixteenth century.

The collapse of the old seigneurial order in the West has been sometimes attributed to the growth of money economy, or to the increase in commerce, or to the development of capitalism.⁸⁹ But in the East money economy, trade, and capitalism (as evidenced in the capitalistic farming of the seigneurs) also grew, and yet serfdom was established. It seems to me that the most important reason for this divergence in the evolution of the lord-peasant relation in the two regions lay in their differences in political development. In the struggle for domination of the state, the nobility of the East won out over the princes and the town, or, as in Russia, became the class on which the throne depended. As a result, the Eastern nobility, in pursuit of what it conceived to be its own best interests, was able to establish economic and social control over the peasantry and to dominate over the townsmen.

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⁸⁹ Cf. Grekov, *Krest'iane*, pp. 375-76; Norman S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), pp. 24-31; Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York, 1936), p. 84; Nabholz, pp. 503-504.

The Cultural Impact of the Flemish Low Countries on Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England*

JOHN J. MURRAY

FROM the time when the first visitors arrived from across the Channel, the inhabitants of the British Isles have had their habits and mores altered by ideas from the Continent. Historians have treated at some length the cultural impact of Celt, German, Scandinavian, Frenchman, Spaniard, and Italian, but they have too often ignored the significance of the Flemings. This is indeed curious, for cultural currents from the Flemish speaking Low Countries seriously although quietly helped to shape the flow of British life, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the long run, their significance was perhaps equal to and in some respects superior to the combined influences of Italy and France. From the Low Countries across the North Sea, England received much that was later assumed to be indigenous. The poet who sang "Saxon, or Norman, or Dane are we" could well have added Fleming.

There are many ways by which one nation comes to adopt the customs of another. Not the least important of these is warfare, and soldiers have always been catalysts of cultural change. English and Scottish contingents in the Low Countries fought side by side with the Flemings against the troops of Alva and his successors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The soldiers serving under Sir Henry Morgan, Sir John Norris, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Francis Vere, or the Earl of Leicester came to know and appreciate Flemish ways and as a result took many Flemish customs—military and social—back to Britain with them.

While the military marched, Flemish civilians flocked to England by the thousands seeking to escape the rapine, slaughter, and economic chaos resulting from Protestant and Catholic furies that alternately swept the Low Countries. The Flemings came as "strangers" and attended their own Dutch

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speaking churches,¹ but their children born in England were British. Many became Anglicans, adopted British habits, and changed their names. But when Willem van der Straaten became William Stretes, and Hoek became Leeke, and Haerstricht, the Flemish manufacturer at Bow, became James, they did not desert completely the old ways and the old customs. Though they intended to be English, the strangers could see no reason to abandon the amenities of life to which they had been accustomed. Thus they continued to buy Dutch paintings and Flemish books and to send their children to schools in Leiden, Utrecht, or Amsterdam. When they built their homes, they incorporated in them nostalgic reminders of their Flemish ancestry. Dickens, who knew his London well, had Scrooge eat his gruel in the house of a former Dutch merchant, seated beside a Dutch fireplace decorated with Delft tiles.²

Refugee traffic between the two countries ran both ways: Flemings came to England and Englishmen went to the Netherlands. In the seventeenth century, the United Provinces, especially Holland, offered more real toleration than any other place in Europe.³ Jews from the Iberian peninsula, Protestants of various shades and hues from all over Europe, and even Catholics could find a refuge in Amsterdam, which at least shielded them, although it might not offer them all the freedoms they desired. First Protestants, then Catholics, then Nonconformists left England for the Low Countries, which opened their doors also to English political refugees. The Pilgrim fathers were not a unique group so far as seventeenth-century Holland was concerned, and it is to be remembered that they did not embark for the New World before they had acquired some Dutch ideas and customs.

Economic activities also provided a pathway for Flemish ideas. From the Low Countries, England drew many artisans and craftsmen, and these Flemish refugees brought new crafts with them.⁴ The coming of the "new Draperies" to England is directly connected with the Elizabethan settlements of Flemish refugees in Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, London, and elsewhere.

¹ John Stowe, *A Survey of London* . . . (London, 1603), p. 178. See also W. J. C. Moens, *The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers 1571-1874* . . . Austin Friars, London . . . (Lymington, 1884).

² Charles H. Wilson, *Holland and Britain* (Toronto, 1946), p. 29.

³ An example of the British attitude toward Amsterdam may be found in John Donne's "The Will," in *The Penquin Poets, John Donne*, John Hayward, ed. (Harmondsworth, 1950), p. 59:

My faith I give to Roman Catholiques,
All my good works unto the Schismatics of Amsterdam.

⁴ W. J. C. Moens and W. C. Waller, eds., *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, Publication of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol. XII (Lymington, 1905), app. x, pp. 95-101 (cited hereafter as *Colchester Register*). See also Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1950); Johan F. Bense, *Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third* (The Hague, 1925); William Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England* (London, 1897).

During Elizabeth's reign, eleven thousand artisans from Ghent, mostly weavers, came to England,⁵ and many settled in or near St. Katherine's by the Tower, in London. Thus Ben Johnson, in *The Devil Is an Ass*, alludes to this foreign population:

To Shoreditch, Whitechapel and so to St. Katharine's,
To drink with the Dutch there and take forth their patterns.

In 1621 ten thousand strangers were reported to be in London, the greater part being Flemish weavers.⁶ Small wonder the distich:

Hops, Reformation, Bays and Beer
Came into England all in one year.⁷

The town of Norwich opened its gates to four thousand Flemish strangers, the majority of whom were in the cloth trade. Thomas Fuller philosophized:

It is an ill wind that bloweth no man good, even storms bring Wrecks to the Admiral. The cruelty of Duke D'Alva, as it blew the Dutch of their own brought them into this city [Norwich] and with them their Manufactures, which the English quickly learned from them, until Norwich became the Staple of such commodities for the whole land.⁸

Dutch workers and factors made paper, hats, thread, bone-lace, wire, tapestries, jewelry, and other commodities for British home and foreign markets.⁹ High standards of manufacture were introduced into many crafts by Dutch artisans and maintained by them.

In spite of some local animosities, the immigrants prospered. Poverty was rare among them, and they provided not only for their own poor but for the poor of their hosts as well.¹⁰ Both King and Parliament, however, levied heavy charges on them,¹¹ and as a result some returned to Holland or migrated to the New World. The bulk of them bent with the political winds, persevered against the Raleighs and the Lauds, and took firm root in their adopted land.

Dutch money financed many English industries, and English commerce

⁵ Norman G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (London, 1953), p. 18.

⁶ Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots* (London and New York, 1867), pp. 87, 98, 101-103.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), II, 274.

⁹ Smiles, *The Huguenots*, pp. 98, 101-102, 105, 361-62; anon., *The Dutch Drawn to the Life* . . . (London, 1664; this appears to be a reprinting of Owen Feltham, *A Brief Character of the Low Countries under the States* . . . [London, 1652, 1659, etc.]), p. 8; Lionel Cust, "The Painter HE (Hans Eworth)," *Second Annual Volume of the Walpole Society, 1912-1913* (Oxford, 1913), II, 9; Bense, *Anglo-Dutch Relations*, pp. 114 ff.; Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants*, pp. 150-77, 217.

¹⁰ *Colchester Register*, pp. vii, xxiv.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, xxiv, xxviii. See also various entries in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*.

up to 1640 became increasingly dependent upon Dutch banking and commodities.¹² Dutch merchants resident in England moved close to the Court,¹³ and Dutch prosperity led English economists more and more to adopt Dutch financial theories. Dutch doctrines on insurance, banking, stock exchange, etc. were eventually incorporated into the British financial structure. There is hardly a writer on economic policy from Mun to Burroughs who does not refer to Holland as the model for British commerce to imitate and the great rival to be overtaken if England was to establish economic hegemony. Sir Thomas Gresham modeled the Royal Exchange on the Antwerp Bourse;¹⁴ Sir Balthazar Gerbier, a Dutchman, outlined a plan for a bank for England in 1641;¹⁵ and fifty-three years later, under a Dutch king, the Bank of England came into existence, with Sir James Houblon, grandson of a Flemish immigrant, as its first governor and with many Dutch merchants as stockholders.¹⁶ Amsterdam money in 1695-1697 came to the rescue of the Bank and saved it from a possible failure by taking over its protested bills.¹⁷

Another pathway for the transference of ideas was the exchange of scholars. The impact of Erasmus upon Cambridge and Oxford and of Boerhaave upon Edinburgh is well known. We need only to mention that many Dutch professors were at British universities, and British students went to the Netherlands. Two English students, for example, were at Leiden within six years of that university's founding in 1575, and the first candidate for the medical degree there belonged to the English nation. By 1617 thirty English students were enrolled at Leiden in various disciplines.¹⁸ By another generation there was a regular stream of Britishers to the universities of Leiden, Utrecht, and Amsterdam, ranging from the diarist, John Evelyn, and the economist, Sir William Petty, to the jurist, Boswell's father, and the physician, Sir Thomas Browne.

One way to evaluate the importance of the Low Countries influence on England is to study the numerous Flemish words that crept into the English language. These have been called "a miniature of the Dutch gift" to the English way of life.¹⁹ Professor George N. Clark, it is true, has argued that the Dutch influence was limited because most of the words adopted were

¹² Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p. 123; Samuel Lamb, *Seasonable Observations Humbly Offered to his Highness the Lord Protector* (London, 1658), pp. 9-10.

¹³ Various volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, especially those covering the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I.

¹⁴ Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, p. 192, pt. ii; Stowe, *Survey*, p. 194.

¹⁵ Hugh Ross Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits* (London, 1949), p. 80.

¹⁶ *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1891 ed.), XXVII, 417.

¹⁷ Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p. 125.

¹⁸ John J. Keevil, *The Stranger's Son* (London, 1953), p. 9.

¹⁹ George N. Clark, *The Dutch Influence on the English Vocabulary*, (Oxford, 1935), p. 172.

those "used in daily life."²⁰ He points out that the English took over no Dutch words for philosophical or religious concepts, for political institutions and practices, or for courtly or aristocratic social life.²¹ He does not mention two important facts, however: the Low Countries, because of the dominance of the rising middle class, did not need many words for the aristocracy; and, what is more important, Latin was still the language of scholarship, science, and theology during the period of Low Country greatness. The greatest difficulty here is the common origin of many words and the similarity between English and Flemish in the fifteenth century. A pamphleteer could comment two hundred years later that "most of our old words are Dutch,"²² and Richardson, a grammarian of the same period, could point out that with the burred "r" a Scot could "with more facility attain the Dutch language" and that many Dutch words represented the old English forms.²³

The test of language shows very clearly England's debt to the Low Countries in maritime ventures. As might be expected, the English language abounds with Dutch nautical and marine terms, for the Dutch in many respects were schoolmasters for the promoters of British navigation. "Yachts," "pinks," "hoys," "fly-boats," "herring-busses," "pinnaces," "hookers," and "sloops" are Dutch-designed boats which became a part of British shipping and their names a part of English vocabulary.²⁴ The Dutch modification of the lateen sail and the subsequent introduction of fore-and-aft rigging brought with it such terms as "boom" and "vang" along with sundry designations of sails.²⁵ Words such as "harpoon," "caulk," "becalm," "capstan," "skipper," "scurvy," "keelhaul," "ballast," and "balk," among others, bear testimony to Dutch maritime predominance in the seventeenth century.²⁶ In 1671 when Nicholas Witsen of Amsterdam published his classic work on naval architecture, Pepys wanted the book fully translated, and in the meantime had his friend James Houblon abstract it for him. That the Dutch had schools to teach the mechanics of shipbuilding and that "strangers" could "come and learn as well as natives" greatly impressed Pepys.²⁷

The influence of the Low Countries on English shipping extended further. In 1608 the Dutch gave to seamen the first binoculars, and later in the cen-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

²² *The Dutch Drawn to the Life . . .*, p. 67.

²³ Edward Richardson, *Anglo-Belgica, The English and Netherdutch Academy in Three Parts . . .* (Amsterdam, 1677), pp. 26, 32-33.

²⁴ Clark, *Dutch Influence*, pp. 166-71.

²⁵ Edward Keble Chatterton, *Sailing Ships; the Story of Their Development from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1909), pp. 282-85.

²⁶ William Falconer, ed., *A New Universal Dictionary of the Marine . . .* (London, 1815), pp. 29, 37, 199. See also Clark, *Dutch Influence*, pp. 166-71; *The New English Dictionary*, s.v.

²⁷ *Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes*, Joseph R. Tanner, ed., Naval Records Society Publication, Vol. LX (London, 1926), p. 183.

ture they pioneered in the development of marine clocks.²⁸ The explorations of Dutch sailors opened up hitherto unknown seas. Explorers such as Schouten and Le Maire, first around Cape Horn; William Janszoon, first to touch Australia; Hertogszoon, Houtman, and their successors, exploring the coast of that continent; and Tasmain, the discoverer of New Zealand and Tasmania and the first to sail around Australia, added to Britain's knowledge of and interest in the South Pacific.²⁹

Dutch map makers, too, added immeasurably to the sailor's knowledge of the seas. "The reform of cartography in the sixteenth century owed much to the achievements of Mercator and Ortelius."³⁰ In the seventeenth century, Flemish predominance in map-making continued unabated, though Amsterdam replaced Antwerp as the great mart for maps, globes, and sea charts. Perhaps the greatest of the seventeenth century map makers was the house of Blaeuw, whose maps were unexcelled for workmanship and beauty.³¹ For the British seamen, the most important map maker was Lucas Wagenaer, whose marine charts, first appearing in the *Spiegel der Zeevaerdt* (1584), they used so extensively that eventually "Waggoner" became a synonym for sea atlas.³² English map makers borrowed freely from Dutch cartographers, though with varying success. Pepys considered *The English Pilot* (1671) by John Sellers to be "little less than transcripts of the Dutch maps" of Wagenaer, and he labeled the six Scripture maps of Joseph Moxon as "taken from the Dutch and . . . infinitely inferior to them."³³

One reason for Dutch success in cartography was Dutch superiority in engraving and printing. From Lucas van Leyden, through Van Dyck and Rembrandt, down to Jan Luyken, the last of the great Dutch engravers of emblemata, Flemish printing houses poured forth magnificent prints that were widely copied in England.³⁴ The Flemish refugees John and Martin Droeshout are well known to students of Shakespeare because of their engraved portrait of the great dramatist.³⁵ Of more fundamental importance to English engraving was Sir Anthony van Dyck whose *Iconographiae*

²⁸ Abraham Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (2d ed.; London, 1950), pp. 76, 114-15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

³¹ Redmond W. Cross, "The Dutch Cartographers of the Seventeenth Century," extract from the *Geographical Review* (New York, 1918), p. 69; Joseph Moxon, *A Tutor to Astronomy and Geography or an Easie and Speedy Way to Know the Use of Both the Globes, Coelestial and Terrestrial* (London, 1674), "Letter to the Reader"; Ronald V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-makers* (2d ed.; London, 1952), *passim*.

³² Tooley, p. 127. See also NED, *s.v.* Waggoner.

³³ Pepys, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 12, 113.

³⁴ Arthur Mayger Hind, *A Short History of Engraving and Etching* (Boston, 1908), pp. 71, 114-16, 141; Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery* (London, 1939), I, 183.

³⁵ Hind, *History of Engraving*, p. 138.

"formed the pre-eminent factor in fixing a standard for future engravers of portrait."³⁶ The Van de Veldes did the same thing for marine engraving.³⁷ In the late seventeenth century, a school of engraving developed in Holland in which the engraver made use of etching in conjunction with the engraved line. A common mordant used was a dilution of hydrochloric acid with chlorate of potash, a mixture known in England as "the Dutch bath."³⁸

Dutch booksellers worked closely with their engravers and printers. The printing firms of Cock, Galle, and Van de Passe had representatives all over Europe, and England was no exception.³⁹ Prints from the house of Hondius-Janszoon and Blaeuw were well known to British buyers, who bought emblems along with landscapes and maps. Emblem books were introduced into England from the Continent during the reign of Elizabeth and had a tremendous vogue throughout the next century. Francis Quarles, the most renowned of England's emblem poets, borrowed all but ten of seventy-nine emblems from the books of two Flemish Jesuits, Herman Hugo and Philippe de Mallery.⁴⁰ British emblem writers such as Edward Arwaker, Christopher Harvey, Philip Ayers, and Geoffrey Whitney all plundered Flemish artists for their engravings.⁴¹ The emblems of Jacob Cats, Dutch poet and statesman, had a considerable vogue in England, and Sir Joshua Reynolds obtained inspiration as a youth from a book of Cats's emblems, which his Dutch grandmother had given him.⁴²

Flemings played a definite role in the history of English printing. It is nearly impossible to separate booksellers from printers in the sixteenth century, but from 1483, when Flemish printers first began to issue books for the English market, to 1640 over two hundred Flemish printers and booksellers had some connection with England.⁴³ Christopher Plantin, Martinus de Keyser, the Elseviers, the Blaeuws, and Hans Luft printed books specifically for English buyers.⁴⁴ Others such as Christoffel van Ruremund and his

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 142. See also, by the same author, *Van Dyck, His Original Etchings and His Iconography* (Boston, 1915).

³⁷ William Aspenwall Bradley, *Dutch Landscape Etchers of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 1918), pp. 24-26.

³⁸ Hind, *History of Engraving*, p. 6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.

⁴⁰ Gordon S. Haight, "The Sources of Quarles's Emblems," *The Library*, XVI (1936), 188-209; Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London, 1948), p. 117.

⁴¹ Praz, *Imagery*, I, 117, 145, and *passim*; Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, p. 132.

⁴² John Leighton and Richard Pigot, eds., *Moral Emblems with Aphorisms, Adages, and Proverbs of All Ages and Nations, from Jacob Cats and Robert Farlie* (London, 1865), p. xii.

⁴³ Figures compiled from E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London, 1905), and R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640* (London, 1910). See also Adrianus M. Ledebor, *Alphabetische Lijst der Boekdrukkers, Boekverkoopers en Uitgevers in Noord-Nederland . . .* (Utrecht, 1876).

⁴⁴ Maria E. Kronenberg, "De Geheimzinnige Drukkers Adam Anonymus te Bazel en Hans Luft te Marburg Ontmaskert (1526-1535)," *Het Boek*, VIII (The Hague, 1919), 241-80;

brother Hans sold their books personally in England, and their vending of English Bibles brought them into conflict with the authorities.⁴⁵ A third group, in which were Emanuel van Meteren, Stephen Mierdam, and Nicholas van de Berghe, settled in England and became British subjects.⁴⁶

These booksellers and printers of Flemish birth and extraction were in the forefront in the battle for men's minds and souls waged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A steady stream of Bibles and Protestant tracts were smuggled into England from the Low Countries.⁴⁷ After Parma was able to save the Southern Netherlands for the Spanish crown and for Rome, Antwerp and Brussels became focal points for the printing and distribution of Jesuit and other Catholic books. Allen, Harding, Rainolds, and Broughton all had books printed in Antwerp for English Catholics at home, and printers who later went to Douai often learned their craft in the Southern Netherlands.⁴⁸ The Calvinist presses in the United Provinces were also active. Some printers, especially those in Amsterdam, were on both sides, or perhaps we should say they ranged themselves solely on the side of mammon. Along with the religious and devotional books, newsletters were issued giving information about the tide of battle. The first newspapers (corantos) published in the English language came off Dutch presses,⁴⁹ and in the second half of the seventeenth century, Londoners relied heavily upon Dutch sources for their European news.⁵⁰

Dutch printers emigrating to England for religious, economic, or other reasons brought with them a knowledge and skill in printing far superior to that of their English colleagues. English printers were dependent upon Dutch type foundries until the eighteenth century.⁵¹ At that time, Caslon brought out his own beautiful type cuts, which were, however, based upon types by Christopher van Dyke. The university presses at Cambridge and Oxford both obtained a large number of type founts and matrices from

id., "Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (Early Sixteenth Century)," *The Library*, 4th ser., IX (1929), 153-61; Duff, *English Book Trade*, pp. 21, 95; Ernst W. Moes, *De Amsterdamsche Boekdrukkers en Uitgevers in de Zestiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1900); Harold B. Copinger, *The Elsevier Press* (London, 1927), *passim*; Henry R. Plomer, "The Importation of Books into England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *The Library*, 4th ser., IV (1924), 146-50.

⁴⁵ Duff, *English Book Trade*, p. 140; Kronenberg, "Printing in the Low Countries," pp. 148-50.

⁴⁶ Duff, pp. 33, 72-73, 105.

⁴⁷ Kronenberg, pp. 147-48.

⁴⁸ See Duff, above, and McKerrow, *Dictionary*, s. v. See also *The Short Title Catalogue*.

⁴⁹ J. B. Williams, "The Earliest English Corantos," *The Library*, 3d ser., IV (1913), 437. See also Folke Dahl, *Dutch Corantos, 1618-1650, a Bibliography . . .* (The Hague, 1946).

⁵⁰ Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p. 67; Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and Their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660-1668* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), p. 37.

⁵¹ Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, rev. by Alfred P. Johnson (2d ed.; London, 1952), pp. 33 ff. and 114.

Holland,⁵² and Oxford even imported Peter Walpergen, a Dutch type founder.⁵³ Joseph Moxon, one of the earliest standard authorities on printing, along with James Watson, author of the *Art of Printing* (1713),⁵⁴ preferred Dutch type, Dutch workmen, Dutch presses of the Blaeuw model, and Dutch ink, which in reality was the Dutch varnish that supplied the base for all British inks.⁵⁵ England bought most of her paper through Dutch wholesalers, although a considerable portion of it was manufactured in France.⁵⁶

Flanders served as the outlet for disseminating information during the seventeenth-century religious conflicts in England, and its thinkers actually contributed many important ideas to British theological arguments. The new devotion (*devotio moderna*) found in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century developed into the sixteenth-century Christian humanism of Erasmus. In the next century, there was a strong revival of doctrines such as freedom of will and religious toleration in the United Provinces. The movement toward Christian humanism in the revolt against orthodox Calvinism led by Jacob Arminius and his followers had important repercussions in England. There was a direct, traceable progression of latitudinarian ideas from Erasmus, through Arminius and Grotius, to Milton and John Locke. In fact, English religious policy "was profoundly influenced throughout the first half of the century by religious developments in Holland. In few periods in English history has thought been so vitally affected by ideas and occurrences in a foreign country."⁵⁷

An understanding of the Dutch influence on British religious thought and theology is necessary for full comprehension of English ecclesiastical history. The relationships of Erasmus to the Oxford Reformers and of the Marian exiles to Puritanism are oft-told tales, but the significance of Dutch Arminians and of Stuart exiles upon subsequent British religious development warrants further exploration. The religious literature of the period reveals how closely the English religious struggles in the 1640's mirrored the Dutch conflict of the 1610's.⁵⁸

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.

⁵³ Daniel B. Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Uses*, (2d ed.; Cambridge, Mass., 1937), II, 97.

⁵⁴ William J. Couper, "Watson's 'History of Printing,'" *The Library*, 3d ser., I (1910), 425-26.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 426; Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises or the Doctrine of Handy-work Applied to the Art of Printing* (reprinted from the first edition of 1683; New York, 1896), I, *passim*, and II, 330. See also Charles T. Jacobi, "Printing Inks," *The Library*, new ser., VII (1906), 72.

⁵⁶ Dard Hunter, *Papermaking through Eighteen Centuries* (New York, 1930), pp. 245-46.

⁵⁷ Wilbur K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932-1940), II, 319-20.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* See also Douglas Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration: A Study in the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600-1650* (London, 1938), p. 271.

The controversy of the Dutch Remonstrant followers of Arminius with the orthodox party in the Netherlands was "followed with breathless interest in England." British ecclesiastics sat at the Synod of Dort (1618-1619), which condemned the Remonstrant divines and political leaders,⁵⁹ and in England the charge "Arminian" was soon applied to all those who opposed orthodox Calvinism and who, like the "ever-memorable" John Hales, an official observer at Dort, had said "Good-night to John Calvin."⁶⁰ Divines such as Baillie, Gillespie, Rutherford, and Edwards were all familiar with the Dutch theological debate waged at Dort, and they were loud in their praise of orthodox champions, such as Gomarus, Walaeus, Triglandius, and Voetius, as well as violent in their condemnation of Uitenbogaerd, Vossius, Episcopius, and other followers of Arminius.⁶¹ Richard Baxter, a pseudo-Presbyterian, reserved much of his venom for the jurist Hugo Grotius, whose religion Baxter had "newly discovered" to be Arminian, Socinian, and Papist; to the Anglicans, Pierce and Hammond, Grotius appeared as prelatist and peacemaker.⁶²

The opponents of the Presbyterians, especially the Independents, were not so prone to rely upon the works of Dutch theologians and based their arguments mainly upon the Scriptures. Yet they showed a familiarity with Dutch religious doctrine, which is understandable, for the five leading Non-conformists seated in the Assembly of the Divines in the 1640's had all been exiles in Holland during the Laudian regime and their return to England gave Independency its initial momentum.⁶³ That arch-Leveller, John Lil-

⁵⁹ The best account of the Synod as seen through English eyes is "Mr. Hales's Letters from the Synod of Dort to the Right Honourable Sir Dudley Carlton . . .," in *The Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton College . . .*, John Pearson, ed., (London, 1659).

⁶⁰ James Hinsdale Elson, *John Hales of Eton* (New York, 1948), p. 1; John J. Murray, "John Hales on History," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XIX (1956), 232.

⁶¹ The number of pamphlets and sermons on this matter is legion. Representative tracts are: Robert Baillie, *A Review of the Seditious Pamphlet Lately Published in Holland by Dr. Bramhall . . . Entitled His Fair Warning against the Scots Discipline . . .* (Delft, 1649) and *Anabaptism, the True Fountaine of Independency, Brownisme, Antinomy, Familisme and the Most of the Other Errors* (London, 1647); Samuel Rutherford, *The Covenant of Life Opened, Or, A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace* (Edinburgh, 1655); Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia: Or a Full Answer to the Apologetical Narration . . .* (London, 1644) and *Gangraena or a Catalogue and Discovery of the Many Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries . . .* (London, 1646). For good secondary accounts see Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, pp. 271-73 and *passim*; Jordan, *Development of Religious Toleration*, II and III, *passim*.

⁶² Richard Baxter, *The Grotian Religion Discovered* (1658); *Five Disputations of Church-Government and Worship* (London, 1659), pp. 31-36, and *A Key for Catholicks* (1659), pp. 385-86; Thomas Pierce, *The New Discoverer Discover'd: By Way of Answer to Mr. Baxter, His Pretended Discovery of the Grotian Religion . . .* (London, 1659), pp. 166-83; Henry Hammond, *A Continuation of the Defence of Hugo Grotius in an Answer to a Review of His Annotation* (London, 1657), pp. 1-20.

⁶³ Jordan, *Development of Religious Toleration*, II, 319-20, III, 369; Aart A. van Schelven, *Het Calvinisme Gedurende Zijn Bloeitijd, Deel II: Schotland-Engeland-Noord-Amerikē* (Amsterdam, 1951), p. 219.

burne, spent some time in Holland,⁶⁴ and Milton, who had been taught Dutch by Roger Williams, undoubtedly obtained much of his Arminianism from Dutch thinkers.⁶⁵

Congregationalism drew strength from the Netherlands as well as from New England. The English separatists, during their stay in the Low Countries, "had been very considerably influenced by their Arminian and Anabaptist neighbours." Some shifted creeds like John Canne, who in 1640 set up "the famous Broadmead Baptist Church" at Bristol, and it was from men such as Canne that the "Baptist movement in England received its real inception." Others returned from the Netherlands with convictions that "were speedily to convert Congregationalism into the great spiritual force which was to be so important in the history of religious and political liberty—Independency." From the twenty-four preachers in the English congregations in Holland, "Congregationalism in England gained its leadership after 1640."⁶⁶

Both sides in the theological conflicts raging in England during the seventeenth century drew examples from Dutch religious and political life. The defenders of orthodoxy and foes of toleration found Amsterdam to be a "University of Religion" which lacked "either order or pruning," where "Peddlers of Religion" had "leave to vent their toies, their Ribands and phanatick Rattles." Amsterdam to them was a city whose god was gain and whose government "rather than hinder Traffique tolerates anything."⁶⁷ Unfortunately for stern Calvinist and rigid Anglican, the god of gain had a tremendous appeal, and hopes for prosperity could be used to counteract emotional bigotry. The ecclesiastic, Roger Williams, the pamphleteer, Owen Feltham, the economist, Sir William Petty, and the statesman, Sir William Temple, along with a host of writers saw Amsterdam's commercial greatness to rest in part upon toleration.

While in exile in 1685, John Locke became closely associated with Philip van Limborch, a Remonstrant professor at Amsterdam, and addressed to him a letter expressing his ideas on toleration, which four years later Limborch published in Latin. Between the time of the letter's composition and its publication, Locke led a pleasant life at Rotterdam among his Dutch friends. All that was needed was a Protestant wind and a Dutch king to put into action the ideas expressed in what was to be the *Essay on Toleration*.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ John Lilburne, *A Worke of the Beaste . . .* (1638), pp. 10–12.

⁶⁵ DNB, s.v. See also Williams (above, fn. 49), p. 57.

⁶⁶ Jordan, *Development of Religious Toleration*, II, 224, 230, 262, 277.

⁶⁷ Feltham, *Brief Character*, pp. 44–47; *Dutch Drawn to Life*, pp. 49 ff.

⁶⁸ John W. Gough, *John Locke's Political Philosophy* (Oxford, 1950), p. 195. See also Abraham J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederland* (Haarlem, 1852–1878), s. v. Limborch.

In the arts, as in other fields, Dutch influences were notable. In the period before English music reached its great peak, Flemish polyphony merged with the active native tradition. If John Dunstable left his mark upon the Flemish polyphonists of the fifteenth century, they "in turn repaid those of the sixteenth century in England with interest."⁶⁹ Such Flemish musicians as Johannes Okelghem, Josquin des Prés, and Orlande de Lassus, through the subsequent developments of the Italo-Flemish and Franco-Flemish schools of music, left their mark on English music.⁷⁰ The Netherlands maintained importance in the manufacturing of musical instruments:

The industrial and commercial spirit of the Dutch found a rich field in the manufacture of musical instruments and in music printing and publishing. Dutch harpsichords were famous all over the world, and the instruments built by members of the Ruckers family, apparently impervious to the destructive effects of time, preserved their unsurpassable purity and beauty of tone for many generations. Music publishing developed into an important industry, and the well-equipped printing offices of Antwerp found a ready market all over Europe.⁷¹

Dutchmen taught the "Laying on Colours in Oyl, the working of Pictures in Glass" to the English.⁷² The influence of the Flemish painters upon those in England began as far back as the Flemish primitives. Touching the portrait painters of the Tudors, it reached its greatest significance in the seventeenth century. Within the short space of thirty-five years (1634-1668), the Dutch words "easel," "etch," "maulstick," "landscape," and "sketch" were added to the English language,⁷³ while at the same time the artists Van Dyke, Rubens, Huysman, and others enjoyed a tremendous vogue in England.

The fashion of having one's portrait done by Flemish painters has sometimes provided the historian his only real idea of the appearance of many historical personages. The two Gheerharts, the De Critzes, Hans Eworth, Antonis Mor, Lucas de Heere, Joos van Cleef, to mention a few, reveal the character of various Tudor and Jacobean figures and illustrate the clothing of their times. What the portrait painters did for people, the two Van de Velde and Hendrick Corneliszoon Vroom did for ships. Pepys could ask in his *Naval Minutes*, "What sea-scape of our nation have we ever had like Vandervelde or others?"⁷⁴ and much later Macaulay would declare that the Van de Velde did some of the finest sea pieces in the world.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Eric Blom, *Music in England* (rev. ed.; London, 1947), p. 28.

⁷⁰ Cecil Gray, *The History of Music* (New York, 1928), pp. 61, 64, 104, 114; Paul Henry Láng, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, 1941), pp. 175, 177, 193-94, 230, 277, 285, 289.

⁷¹ Láng, pp. 420-21.

⁷² *Dutch Drawn to Life*, p. 8.

⁷³ Clark, *Dutch Influence*, p. 170.

⁷⁴ Pepys, *Naval Minutes*, p. 365.

⁷⁵ Chatterton, *Sailing Ships*, p. 287.

The significance of Dutch landscape artists on those of Britain is perhaps most vividly shown by the art exhibition held in 1954 at Norwich Castle, which illustrated the close connection between the Dutch landscape painters of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and the Norwich School of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. John Sell Cotman's work was hung alongside of that of Cuyp and Ruysdael; Constable's "Trees near Hampstead Church" and his "Yarmouth Jetty" were next to Adriaen van de Velde's "Woodland Scene near The Hague" and Simon de Vlieger's "The Beach at Scheveningen." Gainsborough's "Bumper," a study of a dog in a landscape, looked curiously like the next picture, Jan Wyants' "Greyhound in a Landscape." John Crome's "Study of a Burdock," when placed with Rachel Ruysch's "Butterflies and Foliage" showed that both artists were "inspired by the serpentine contours of the leaves and incidental details around them." Joseph Stannard's works bore the impact of William van de Velde the Younger and Jan van de Capelle, and all of the Norwich School indicated now and then the stamp of the masterful Hobbema.⁷⁶

The Norwich School exemplified a latent influence, but Dutch landscapes were well known in England in the seventeenth century. Pepys, on viewing a painting of Simon Verelst, the self-styled "God of Flowers," considered it "the finest thing that ever, I think I saw in my life; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced again and again, to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no."⁷⁷ John Evelyn bought "landscapes and drolleries" to send to England,⁷⁸ and many of his countrymen purchased Dutch masterpieces for their galleries and had their walls and chimney pieces done by Dutch artists. The old Netherlandish naturalistic style also exercised a profound effect on the later development of British water colors.⁷⁹ Flemish collectors and dealers, such as Gerbier and De Critz, did much to foster art in England and to preserve the masters for posterity.⁸⁰ The English debt to them during the dispersal of the Royal and Buckingham collections cannot be overstressed.

In architecture, the British style was modified by the Dutch Renaissance style. Throughout the reign of Henry VIII, building trends followed the

⁷⁶ Francis W. Hawcroft, "East Anglia's Debt to Holland," *Country Life*, CXVI (1954), 204-20.

⁷⁷ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Henry B. Wheatley, ed. (Boston, 1892), XVI, 272 (entry for April 11, 1669).

⁷⁸ *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (London, 1889), I, 22 (entry for August 13, 1641).

⁷⁹ Charles F. Bell, "Fresh Light on Some Water-colour Painters of the Old British School, Derived from the Collection and Papers of James Moore, F.S.A.," *Fifth Annual Volume of the Walpole Society* (Oxford, 1917), p. 56.

⁸⁰ Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits*, p. 28; Rachael Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family of Painters," *Second Annual Volume of the Walpole Society* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 55-56.

Italian or the French version of the Italian, but from 1550 on, British architects tended to copy the Dutch.⁸¹ The trend was undoubtedly accentuated by the great number of books on architecture published in the Low Countries. Architects from John Thorpe in the sixteenth century to Christopher Wren in the early eighteenth century were familiar with current Dutch authorities on architectural design, and they incorporated many Flemish characteristics in their own work.⁸² The British adopted more Dutch models of elevation than of plan, and they toned down the extravagant and fantastic curves which the Dutch loved so ardently.⁸³ But Wren steeples and Jacobean gabled houses bear testimony to Flemish influences. Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (1588), with its gables and elaborate strap work is in the Dutch Renaissance style at its heaviest. In East Anglia, Dutch inspiration is everywhere noticeable, "the most prominent feature being the brick gable, which silhouettes the sky in an almost unlimited number of shapes and forms." Blickling and Raynham Halls, the White Hart Inn at Scole, the Red Lion at Eaton, and the delightful street fronts of King's Lynn are excellent examples reflecting the impact of the Netherlands upon East Anglia.⁸⁴ Hampton Court as remodeled by Mary Stuart became characteristically Dutch. Wren designed shelves, cornices, and tiered chimney pieces; Verrio did frescoes on the staircases and ceilings; and Grinling Gibbons made wood carvings "that even today are the admiration and despair of the wood-worker."⁸⁵

British household interiors, like their exteriors, sometimes became Flemish Renaissance. Architects designing seventeenth-century houses incorporated Dutch staircases, chimney pieces, and tiles. Dutch furniture was in great demand. Those who could afford it had Dutch designers and workmen make their furniture; some who could not had the superior Dutch models copied. These designs are known to us today "under English and not Dutch titles."⁸⁶ The Flemish bow, C-scroll, and curve can be found at least individually if not collectively in all chairs made in the late Stuart period, and chairs with scrolled front legs in the Dutch manner were afterwards "modified and adopted by Thomas Chippendale, and became the design basis of his Rococco manner."⁸⁷

⁸¹ John A. Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture in England: A Historical and Descriptive Account of the Tudor, Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods, 1500-1625* . . . (London, 1901), pp. 8-9.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

⁸⁴ Hawcroft, *op. cit.* (see fn. 76).

⁸⁵ Esther Singleton, *Dutch and Flemish Furniture* (London, 1907), p. 282.

⁸⁶ Aymar Embury, *The Dutch Colonial House; Its Origin, Design, Modern Plan and Construction* (New York, 1919; published in 1929 under the title *Building the Dutch Colonial House*), p. 99.

⁸⁷ Herbert Ceszinsky and Ernest R. Gribble, *Early English Furniture and Woodwork* (London, 1922), II, 228.

In 1662 a Dutch resident in London, Johannes Fromanteel, made the first long case, or perhaps we should say grandfather, clock; shortly thereafter Dutch woodworkers were producing clock cases and sometimes clocks for English customers.⁸⁸ One of these clocks merrily ticked away in Dickens' "old curiosity shop." Dutch examples of marquetry and inlay were put to excellent use, not only in the manufacture of clock cases but also in the making of chests and cupboards.⁸⁹ "Veneer" is a Dutch word, and the Dutch were the first to produce a native lacquer that could compete with those of the Orient. Dutch traders not only monopolized the lacquer trade but also controlled a good portion of the porcelain trade from the Far East.⁹⁰ Porcelain manufactured at Delft predominated in the British markets until the middle of the eighteenth century. Up to the beginning of the reign of Charles I, Flemish tapestry makers dominated the British markets.⁹¹

The Dutch made remarkable contributions to British agriculture. In the sixteenth century a light plow that could be drawn by two horses was invented in the Netherlands, and it was introduced into Norfolk and Suffolk during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹² Farmers in the Netherlands employed crop rotation, and in the seventeenth century Sir Richard Weston advocated the application of such Flemish methods to British agriculture. He initiated the planting of Dutch clover,⁹³ so that in Norfolk and the Fen country, clover cultivation was practiced some years before 1700. Thirty years later, a decided impetus was given to the practice of crop rotation when Charles Viscount Townshend, who had spent a part of his political career in the Netherlands, quit his office of Secretary of State and returned to Raynham, his Dutch-style home, to farm his lands according to the "Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders."⁹⁴

Perhaps of greater significance than the Dutch impetus to large-scale farming was the stimulus given to truck gardening. Before the coming of the Flemings, the art of gardening seems to have been lost by the English and there was "hardly . . . a Messe of Rath-Ripe pease but from Holland, which were dainties for Ladies, they came so far and cost so dear."⁹⁵ Queen Katharine of Aragon had her table supplied from the Low Countries for she

⁸⁸ Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, IV, 80; Ceszinsky and Gribble, II, 38-39.

⁸⁹ Ceszinsky and Gribble, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁰ Singleton, *Dutch and Flemish Furniture*, pp. 226-98.

⁹¹ Albert F. Kendrick, "The Hatfield Tapestries of the Seasons," *Second Annual Volume of the Walpole Society*, p. 89; Singleton, pp. 156-57.

⁹² Wolf, *History of Science*, p. 455.

⁹³ John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. by Oliver Lawson Dick (London, 1949), p. xlv; Paul Hardacre, "The Royalists in Exile during the Puritan Revolution, 1642-1660," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XVI (1952-53), 368.

⁹⁴ Wolf, *History of Science*, p. 454.

⁹⁵ Fuller, *Worthies*, III, 77.

was unable to obtain the makings for a salad in all England. In the sixteenth century, a cabbage from Holland was deemed to be an acceptable present.⁹⁶ When Aubrey compiled his *Lives* in the mid-seventeenth century, he talked to a Mrs. John Ashe, then eighty, who remembered when all cabbages came from Holland, and to an elderly gentleman in Somersetshire who could recall when the first carrots were introduced.⁹⁷ The Dutch immigrants changed asparagus, artichokes, and water cress from aphrodisiacs and women's remedies to edibles.⁹⁸ By 1699, when Evelyn wrote his *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets*, he could find in London gardens the ingredients needed to fill the salad bowl. The proper preparation of a salad had become a fit subject to be discussed by the Royal Society.⁹⁹

The formal gardens of Hampton Court were as Dutch as the Queen's bed (which Pepys found to be particularly noble¹⁰⁰). It would be hard to imagine a Hollander without flowers, and Dutch color was added to the fragrance of the English flower garden.¹⁰¹

The Dutch brought thither with them, not only their profitable craft, but pleasurable curiosities. They were the first who advanced the use and reputation of Flowers in this City [Norwich]. A Flower is the best complexioned grass, (as a Pearl is the best colored clay) and daily it weareth Gods Livery, for he cloatheth the Grass in the Field. . . . Great the Art in meliorating of flowers, and the Rose of Roses (*Rosa Mundi*) had its first being in this City. As Jacob used an ingenious invention to make Laban's cattle speckled or ring-straked, so much the skill in making Tulips feathered and veriegated, with stripes or divers colours.¹⁰²

Dutch botanists as well as Dutch gardeners added to Britain's horticultural development. Mattias de l'Obel or Lobelius (1538-1616) was born in the Netherlands and "ended his days in England, where he was in charge of the royal gardens under Queen Elizabeth and King James." His name is commemorated in the ornamental flower called Lobelias. The *Hortus Floridus* of Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, published in 1614, was translated a year later into English.¹⁰³ British herbalists owed much to the famous

⁹⁶ Smiles, *The Huguenots*, pp. 93-94.

⁹⁷ Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, pp. xliii, xliv.

⁹⁸ The following works, among many, present in part the changing attitudes toward certain vegetables: Thomas Hyll, *The Profitable Arte of Gardening . . . with the Phisick Helpes Belonging to Eche Herbe* . . . (London, 1568) and *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (London, 1577); William Turner, *The First and Seconde Parties of the Herbal of William Turner Doctor in Phisick* . . . (Cologne, 1568); John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (London, 1597); William Ram, *Rams Little Dodeon, a Brief Epitome of the New Herbal* . . . (London, 1606); Tobias Venner, *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam* . . . (London, 1628); John Evelyn, *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets* (London, 1699).

⁹⁹ Evelyn, *Acetaria*, p. 108. The great Robert Boyle presented a paper on salads to the Society.

¹⁰⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, 220 (entry for May 12, 1662).

¹⁰¹ Eleanor Sinclair Rhode, *The Old English Gardening Books* (London, 1924), pp. 3, 39-41.

¹⁰² Fuller, *Worthies*, II, 274.

¹⁰³ Spencer Savage, "The 'Hortus Floridus' of Crispijn van de Pas the Younger," *The Library*, 4th ser., IV (1924), 181.

herbalists of the Low Countries, especially Rembert Dodoens, Charles de l'Ecluse, and L'Obel. "The most famous English herbal, Gerard's, is virtually a translation of the *Pemptades* of Dodoens." Henry Lyte's translation of Dodoen's *Cruydtboek* was the standard work on herbs in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and Parkinson "incorporated a large part of de l'Obel's unfinished book in his *Theatrum Bontanicum*."¹⁰⁴

Engineers from the Low Countries altered the face of England and shamed the British by their industry, "which makes them seem as if they had a faculty from the worlds Creation out of water to make dry land."¹⁰⁵ Dutch engineers like Vermuyden, Westerdijk, and Kievet put submarginal and marsh lands into production.¹⁰⁶ Dutch investors backed, among other similar ventures, the drainage projects of the Zeelander Cornelius Vermuyden in York, Lincoln, and the Great Level of the Fens; a single Dutchman is said to have invested £3,000 in the drainage of the Isle of Axholm.¹⁰⁷ Richard Weston, in about 1645, brought out of Flanders "the Contrivance of Locks, Turnpikes, and tumbling Boyes for Rivers."¹⁰⁸ Charles II, during a yachting party on September 11, 1680, had a discussion with Pepys on how it came "to pass that England has at all times served itself with strangers for engineers."¹⁰⁹ By far the majority of those foreign engineers were Flemings.

Dutch influences altered the patterns of English life in both basic and trivial matters. New industries meant new commodities; new tools and scientific instruments made new tasks possible. New ideas emanating from Dutch thinkers gave direction to British thought. New eating habits and new drinking habits became established. The Dutch word "brewery" took the place of the English word "brewhouse," and even the vaunted Norfolk dumpling was a Dutch innovation. In 1662, Pepys and Evelyn for the first time saw ice skating as we know it today.¹¹⁰ The stylish ruffle of the reign of Elizabeth and the widespread use of lawn and cambric can both be traced to the Low Countries, as can the use of starch.¹¹¹ On the streets, the new coach from Antwerp, often pulled by mares from Flanders, appreciably changed the London scene.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ Eleanor S. Rhode, *The Old English Herbals* (London, 1922), p. 93.

¹⁰⁵ Feltham, *Brief Character*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁶ Lawrence E. Harris, *Vermuyden and the Fens* (London, 1953), evaluates the engineering genius of Vermuyden. See also Samuel Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers* (London, 1897).

¹⁰⁷ Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁸ *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, p. xlv.

¹⁰⁹ Pepys, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, 382; Evelyn, *Diary*, I, 394.

¹¹¹ Stowe, *Survey*, pp. 467-68, 869; *NED*, IX, pt. i, 832.

¹¹² John Taylor, *All the Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet* (London, 1630), p. 240; Gervase Markham, *Cheape and Good Husbandry for the Well-Ordering of All Beasts . . .* (London, 1616), p. 43.

The Flemish strangers themselves gave a colorful twist to English history. Some were sober and hard-working artisans; some were godly and walked with the saints; but others were more of the flesh than of the spirit. It required a troop of soldiers to remove one group of Dutch prostitutes from a manor house, which they had purchased for business purposes.¹¹³ Some of the newcomers were merchants, bankers, goldsmiths, engineers, architects, and doctors; others were freaks, acrobats, artists, and entertainers. Some sank down into the depths of the London underworld while others rose to mingle with the high and the mighty. One, Isaac Doreslaer, helped brief the legal arguments that sent Charles I to the scaffold;¹¹⁴ another, John de Critz the second, lost his life before Oxford fighting for the Royalist cause.¹¹⁵ A doctor of Dutch descent and Leiden trained, Baldwin Hamey the Younger, treated one of Cromwell's generals for a venereal disease and used part of his wealth to buy back a father's ring for an exiled king and to endow the Royal College of Physicians. He and a Dutch colleague were among the few men in the medical profession who did not desert their London posts during the plague.¹¹⁶

An attempt has been made here to place in proper perspective the great debt that Britain owes to the Flemish Low Countries during the period in which modern Britain was developing. In some ways, the Flemings played a role in modern English history not unlike that exercised by the Normans during the Middle Ages. The Low Countries were the bridge over which many European concepts and customs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries crossed into England. Normandy had accomplished a like service in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. England was to follow suit in relation to the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Just as European thought was given a definite British tinge before it came to Boston and Philadelphia, so did the characteristics of the Renaissance and Reformation receive Flemish overtones before they arrived in Norwich and London.

Coe College

¹¹³ Nicholas Goodman, *Hollands Leagver; or an Historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Dona Britanica Hollandia, the Arch-Mistries of the Wicked Women of Eytopia* (London, 1632); Shackerley Marmyon, *Hollands Leagver: An Excellent Comedy* (London, 1632).

¹¹⁴ *DNB*, s.v.

¹¹⁵ Poole, "The de Critz Family," *Walpole*, II, 56.

¹¹⁶ *DNB*, s.v.; Keevil, *The Stranger's Son*, pp. 116-17, 145.

Trends of United States Studies in Latin American History*

CHARLES GIBSON AND BENJAMIN KEEN

I

WHEN United States historians in the first half of the nineteenth century began to give attention to Latin America, professional and public interest in the subject was confined almost wholly to the colonial period. The Latin American independence movements and the creation of new national states received notice in United States political and journalistic writing but remained largely unattractive to historians until the twentieth century. Within the colonial period, United States preferences were expressed in the selection of a limited number of themes, among which the discovery by Columbus and the two conquests by Cortés and Pizarro predominated. These lent themselves to the prevailing romanticism of United States historical writing. In the hands of Washington Irving and William H. Prescott they achieved a remarkable popularity.¹ It may be suggested that the reception accorded to these topics coincided with an effort to disassociate America from the more complex history of Europe, where in the absence of clear-cut starting points no such dramatic or episodic reconstruction at a point of origin could be achieved. In practice, discovery and conquest were far more accessible, bibliographically speaking, than were any subjects of the later colonial or postcolonial periods, and they fit more easily the sense of nostalgic admiration for the Hispanic past that characterized United States romanticism. The first two United States historians to deal seriously with topics outside the United States—Irving in the *Life of Columbus* and Prescott in *Ferdinand*

* This article combines papers read by the two authors at the session on "Latin American Historiography: A Progress Report" of the meeting of the American Historical Association on December 28, 1955. The session was arranged by Dr. Howard F. Cline, to whom the authors express their thanks for a critical reading of the first version of this combined paper. In the light of other commentaries made upon this presentation it seems appropriate to state explicitly that (1) no serious student of Latin American history should depend exclusively upon work written in the United States, and (2) the authors' emphases and critical observations in this article depend upon evaluations that are in part subjective and with which there is not a universal agreement.

¹ Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, 3 vols. (New York, 1828); Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés*, 3 vols. (New York, 1843), and *History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas*, 2 vols. (New York, 1847).

and *Isabella*—both selected Hispanic themes and both wrote of the American discovery.² A compatibility between the subjects chosen and the wider ambient of United States literary taste is suggested further by the fact that Irving and Prescott, each independently of the other, undertook researches on the conquest of Mexico in the 1830's. Only after Irving relinquished the topic did Prescott complete his famous work.³

The tendency to concentrate upon the spectacular and early themes of Latin American history survived the romantic age and remained dominant through the first years of scientific historiography in the United States. The writings of Justin Winsor, John Fiske, and John Boyd Thacher at the turn of the nineteenth century illustrate the application of scientific, or incipiently scientific, methods to standard romantic themes. Even Hubert Howe Bancroft, from whose monumental work much of the twentieth-century historical writing on Mexico and Central America has derived, devoted more attention to the period of Cortés' lifetime than to the whole of the remainder of prerevolutionary New Spain.⁴ Discovery, conquest, and exploration—the last reflecting interests in areas of the United States previously under Spanish authority—were topics wholly suited to scientific research. They possessed apparently controllable bibliographies; their historiographical tradition included much nonsense that could be satisfactorily debunked; they comprised that portion of colonial Latin American history of which everyone had heard. Conquest especially fit the familiar conception of Hispanic America as a land that had never fully emerged from the brutality of its colonial past. And the continued dependence of United States students upon the themes of the romantic age goes far to explain their nearly absolute neglect of Brazil.

In the early twentieth century the first major United States scholar in the study of the Latin American sixteenth century was Edward Gaylord Bourne. He designed *Spain in America* primarily to inform the American reading public on those features of Hispanic colonial history pertinent to the history of the United States. Bourne's emphasis, like that of his predecessors, lay in Spanish North America, but he was additionally concerned with the trans-

² Irving, *op. cit.*; Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1839). See Prescott's own remarks on this coincidence in the preface of *Ferdinand and Isabella*.

³ See the correspondence exchanged between Irving and Prescott in 1838-1839 and further commentary in George Ticknor, *Life of William Hickling Prescott* (Philadelphia, 1875), pp. 157-63.

⁴ Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols. (Boston and New York, 1884-1889); Fiske, *The Discovery of America, with Some Account of Ancient America and the Spanish Conquest*, 2 vols. (Boston and New York, 1892); Thacher, *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains, As Revealed by Original Printed and Manuscript Records . . .*, 3 vols. (New York and London, 1903-1904); Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 6 vols., *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, IX-XIV (San Francisco, 1883-1888).

mission and modification of European institutions, topics that were then at the forefront, significantly, in Anglo-American colonial history as well.⁵ With Bourne the continuity of subject matter from the nineteenth century was not wholly broken, nor were Bourne's researches conducted in isolation, as the contemporaneous work of Woodbury Lowery and George Parker Winship testifies.⁶ Bourne's merit lay in the originality and acumen with which he interpreted sources, in the objectivity of his observation, and in the critical insights he applied to Spanish colonization prior to 1580. He did not pursue his subject in detail beyond the sixteenth century, but he did succeed, through an unequivocally scholarly presentation, in laying a positive assessment of early Hispanic colonization before the American public. He may justifiably be termed the first scientific historian of the United States to view the Spanish colonial process dispassionately and thereby to escape the conventional Anglo-Protestant attitudes of outraged or tolerant disparagement.

Bourne was the author of a single major work. Following his death in 1908, leadership in Hispanic colonial history shifted from the east to the west coast, and its character underwent some changes. Bernard Moses, whose early study (1898) of Spanish rule in America had been undistinguished, later made an admirable effort in the *Spanish Dependencies in South America* and *Spain's Declining Power in South America* to establish a chronological structure for the entire colonial period as soundly developed as that for the sixteenth century.⁷ Moses, to be sure, lacked the perspicacity of Bourne. He offered the first course in Latin American history in the United States, and his writings betray a classroom proclivity hardly comparable with the erudition and maturity of Bourne. It is true that he embraced a large subject with enthusiasm and fortitude, but it is equally true that his writings are no longer read; subsequent monographic studies have corrected and complemented them at many points. A large part of the monographic literature of Moses' later period continued to reflect particular interests in

⁵ Bourne, *Spain in America, 1450-1580*, *The American Nation: A History*, III (New York and London, 1904), and "The Relation of American History to Other Fields of Historical Study," in H. J. Rogers, ed., *Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904* (New York, 1906), II, 172-82.

⁶ Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York and London, 1901), and *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida 1562-1574* (New York and London, 1905); Winship, ed., *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542, from the City of Mexico to the Grand Canon of the Colorado and the Buffalo Plains of Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska, as Told by Himself and his Followers* (New York, 1904).

⁷ *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America: An Introduction to the History and Politics of Spanish America* (New York and London, 1898), *The Spanish Dependencies in South America: An Introduction to the History of Their Civilization* (New York and London, 1914), and *Spain's Declining Power in South America, 1730-1806* (Berkeley, 1919).

areas of the United States previously under Spanish authority: the eighteenth-century Texas of Herbert E. Bolton,⁸ Spanish California of Irving B. Richman and Charles E. Chapman,⁹ Louisiana and the Philippines of James A. Robertson,¹⁰ and the Louisiana-Texas frontier of Isaac J. Cox.¹¹ Two of the monographs of this same period, moreover, remain among the foremost ever produced in the United States: Herbert I. Priestley's *José de Gálvez*¹² and Clarence H. Haring's *Trade and Navigation*.¹³

Separating Hispanic American history as an autochthonous entity, disciplining its method, and educating the historical profession to regard it seriously were the tasks confronting the United States Latin Americanists of the second decade. The process in its early stages was part and parcel of a broadening of American, i.e. United States, history in several new directions. The relation of those labors of Bolton, Chapman, Robertson, and Cox to the prevailing regionalism of United States history is close and evident. The United States connection may as clearly be seen in the bibliographies of the period, beginning in 1907 with William R. Shepherd's *Guide* to Spanish archives and the similar work of J. A. Robertson for American transcripts, through the Bolton *Guide* to Mexican archives, Roscoe R. Hill's compilation for Cuban material on the United States, and the Chapman *Catalogue* for the Southwest and Pacific coast.¹⁴ Only following this bibliographical preparation, organized principally under the direction of J. Franklin Jameson and the Carnegie Institution Department of Historical Research and focused

⁸ *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., III (Berkeley, 1915).

⁹ Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847* (Boston and New York, 1911); Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California: The Northwestward Expansion of New Spain, 1687-1783* (New York, 1916).

¹⁰ Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1911); Emma H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, 55 vols. (Cleveland, 1903-1909).

¹¹ *The Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, 2 vols. (Austin, 1906-1913).

¹² *José de Gálvez, Visitor-general of New Spain (1765-1771)*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., V (Berkeley, 1916).

¹³ *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918); see also his pioneering work, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the XVII Century* (London, 1910).

¹⁴ Shepherd, *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 91 (Washington, 1907); Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives Relating to the History of the United States, Which Have Been Printed or of Which Transcripts Are Preserved in American Libraries*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 124 (Washington, 1910); Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 163 (Washington, 1913); Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles procedentes de Cuba Deposited in the Archivo general de Indias at Seville*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 234 (Washington, 1916); Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo general de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., VIII (Berkeley, 1919). See also Hill, *American Missions in European Archives*, Pan American Inst. Geog. and Hist., Commission on Hist., Pub. 22 (Mexico, 1951).

on United States history in regions or as a whole, did the exclusively Hispanic American bibliographies—first of R. Hayward Keniston and then of Cecil Knight Jones—make their appearance.¹⁵ The transition from a domestic to a borderland to an exclusively Latin American context characterized United States research of the first quarter of the twentieth century and set it sharply apart from the work of Europeans and Latin Americans.

The act that most strikingly signalized the separation of professional Hispanic American history—particularly, at first, in its colonial aspects—as a specialty in United States scholarship was the founding of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Cincinnati in 1916.¹⁶ The publication of this periodical from 1918 to 1922 and from 1926 continuously to the present ranks as an achievement of the Hispanic Americanists of the United States equaled by those of no other non-Hispanic nation. The *Review's* early issues, corresponding to the interests of its editors, were concerned to a large degree with colonial subjects. The articles and book reviews of the first issues reveal the historians' professional attitudes at this critical moment. They express the enthusiasm aroused by the discovery and demarcation of a new historical field, a field, however, that in its practical cultivation was not yet clearly separated from the Hispanic antecedents of the United States. A preponderant interest in Latin America still depended—and would for many years continue to depend—upon the connection with Florida or Georgia, Texas or California.

Encompassing this regionalism, seeking to identify its common denominators, and relating it to the totality of America, there appeared in the 1920's the only over-all interpretation of Hispanic American history ever devised in this country. The celebrated unitary hemisphere thesis of Herbert E. Bolton was developed during its author's early years at the University of California. Bolton's publications of the period dealt principally with colonial Hispanic America in relation to areas of the modern United States. *The Colonization of North America*, written in collaboration with T. M. Marshall, appeared in 1920, shortly after Bolton began his lectures on the history

¹⁵ Keniston, *List of Works for the Study of Hispanic American History* (New York, 1920); Jones, *Hispanic American Bibliographies, Including Collective Biographies, Histories of Literature and Selected General Works* (Baltimore, 1922). The second edition of the latter, greatly expanded, is entitled *A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies*, Library of Congress, Hispanic Foundation, Latin American Ser., 2 (Washington, 1942).

¹⁶ Charles E. Chapman, "The Founding of the Review," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, I (1918), 8–20; William Spence Robertson, "Introduction," in Ruth Lapham Butler, *Guide to the Hispanic American Historical Review, 1918–1945* (Durham, N. C., 1950); Lesley Byrd Simpson, "Thirty Years of *The Hispanic American Historical Review*," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (1949), 188–204; Howard Cline, "Reflections on Traditionalism in the Historiography of Hispanic America," *ibid.*, pp. 205–12.

of the Americas, and this work was followed by a series of monographic and documentary publications on the Spanish borderlands, Georgia, the Pacific coast, the Southwest, and northern Mexico in late colonial times. Bolton's *History of the Americas: A Syllabus with Maps* (Boston, 1928) and his "Epic of Greater America"¹⁷ presented the doctrine of hemispheric homogeneity. Argued principally in terms of the colonial materials of his specialization and resembling to some degree the Turner thesis of frontier history (with which it has frequently been compared and with which it was not unrelated), the unitary hemisphere thesis depended for its acceptance upon definition, upon selected levels of generalization, and upon a philosophical interpretation of unity and diversity in history, problems in which Bolton himself was not profoundly interested. His own forte, continuously demonstrated until his death in 1953, lay in vivid narrative history. His achievement is measurable in a lengthy series of historical writings and in his wide influence and inspiration, to which more than a generation of historical students have given repeated testimony.¹⁸ The influence concentrated heavily on the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Its geographical concern was principally with Mexico and the United States Southwest. Topically, it emphasized exploration and the institutions of the Hispanic colonial frontier. Thus though the followers of Bolton accepted the doctrine of American unity, they did not in their monographic writing, any more than Bolton himself in his, explore the Hispanic portion of the hemisphere systematically or uniformly through space and time. Neither did the Bolton thesis receive that detailed critical reexamination at the hands of Bolton's students that might otherwise have been expected, nor were effective rebuttals forthcoming from other, alternatively oriented, students of the area. It is symptomatic of the condition of American history in the 1920's and 1930's that the major critiques of the Bolton thesis came from Latin America itself.

The first two decades of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, the period of the editorship of J. A. Robertson, formed a period of concentration,

¹⁷ *American Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1933), 448-74.

¹⁸ Bolton's writing to 1940 and the writings of his students to 1944 are listed in *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945), pp. 537-672. It should be added that modern hemispheric histories, to a greater or lesser degree influenced by the Bolton theses, combine Latin American and Anglo-American materials. Outstanding examples are John F. Bannon, *History of the Americas* (New York, 1952); Harold E. Davis, *The Americas in History* (New York, 1953); Vera Brown Holmes, *A History of the Americas from Discovery to Nationhood* (New York, 1950); Robert S. Cotterill, *A Short History of the Americas* (New York, 1939). Further, the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History has since 1947 undertaken a comprehensive "Program of the History of America," with the collaboration of historians in Europe, the United States, and Latin America. See "The Problem of a General History of the Americas," *Rev. hist. América*, No. 34 (Dec., 1952), 469-89; Silvio Zavala, "Colaboración internacional en torno de la historia de América," *ibid.*, Nos. 35-36 (1953), 209-26; "El programa de historia de América," *ibid.*, No. 39 (June, 1955), 133-214.

specialization, and elaboration in monographic work on the colonial period. Political biography appeared in Arthur S. Aiton's study of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and Arthur F. Zimmerman's study of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo.¹⁹ The institutional history of sixteenth-century New Spain received the close documentary attention of L. B. Simpson, whose studies of *encomienda* and *repartimiento* initiated a new and exceptionally productive series of publications at the University of California.²⁰

The important researches of the period between the two World Wars included the political studies of Charles H. Cunningham and Lillian Estelle Fisher on *audiencias*, *viceroyalties*, and *intendancies*, and the financial and commercial documentation provided by E. J. Hamilton and Roland Dennis Hussey on price systems and the Caracas Company. Intellectual and literary history was represented in the work of Irving Leonard, particularly in his biography of Sigüenza, and in John Tate Lanning's study of academic culture in the Spanish Colonies.²¹ The same period witnessed the concluding volumes of Roger B. Merriman's history of the Spanish empire, a work falling in an older tradition, with emphasis upon royalty and political and military narrative, and almost unique among United States scholarly writings for its perception of Old World Spanish and Spanish American relations.²² Among textbook writers, whose growing numbers called attention to the acceptance of the subject in United States colleges and universities, the individual who expressed the most sympathetic feeling for the colonial period was C. E. Chapman. His *Colonial Hispanic America* was a text in the Bolton manner, the foremost single volume on its subject for a number of years and still, despite some peculiarities, far from a worthless book.²³

¹⁹ Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, N. C., 1927); Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569-1581* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1938).

²⁰ *The Encomienda in New Spain: Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonies, 1492-1550*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., XIX (Berkeley, 1929) and *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, 3 vols., *Ibero-Americana*, 7, 13, 16 (Berkeley, 1934-1940) (Vol. II, Pt. III concerns *repartimiento*). Simpson's *Encomienda in New Spain: The Beginning of Spanish Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950) is an extensive revision of his 1929 volume; see the review article by Robert S. Chamberlain in *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV (1954), 238-50, evaluating Simpson's volume and other contributions to *encomienda* literature.

²¹ Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies as Illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila (1583-1800)*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., IX (Berkeley, 1919); Fisher, *Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., XV (Berkeley, 1926) and *The Intendant System in Spanish America* (Berkeley, 1929); Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650*, Harvard Econ. Stud., XLIII (Cambridge, Mass., 1934); Hussey, *The Caracas Company, 1728-1784: A Study in the History of Spanish Monopolistic Trade*, Harvard Hist. Stud., XXXVII (Cambridge, Mass., 1934); Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, a Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century*, Univ. of California Pubs. in Hist., XVIII (Berkeley, 1929); Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* (New York, 1940). See also in this period Philip Ainsworth Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780* (New York and London, 1932).

²² *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, 4 vols. (New York, 1918-1934).

²³ *Colonial Hispanic America: A History* (New York, 1933). The development of textbooks

As a group, the leading monographs and general works of the twenties and thirties explored Hispanic America less superficially than their predecessors. They escaped the connection with the United States more successfully, and in several instances their historiographical contributions are of enduring value. They still concentrated heavily on selected political and economic institutions; they barely touched seventeenth-century history; and despite the many endorsements of the term "Hispanic" America,²⁴ colonial Brazil remained for them a peripheral area, remote and unexplored.

During the past fifteen years in the United States, new students have been attracted to colonial Latin American studies in large numbers, but the claims of the national period now far exceed those of any previous era, and as a result, interest in colonial history has proportionately declined. The fact that the time span of colonial history remains static, whereas that of national history becomes greater with each passing year has contributed to a relative recession in colonial studies. "The time should be approaching," in the words of a recent text, "when less attention need be given to . . . the colonial era."²⁵ Many colonial subjects, in other words, are becoming antiquarian from a textbook point of view, and the accelerating pace of modern Latin America tends to place colonial history progressively farther in the background. There is an unmistakable tendency to locate the three colonial centuries in a category of the antecedent.

On the other hand, the positive achievements in colonial scholarship of the past fifteen years have been impressive. A new journal, *The Americas*, began publication in 1944. A series of extraordinarily illuminating studies by Lewis Hanke was climaxed in 1949 by *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia), a fundamental work in imperial socio-intellectual history and one that has already gone far to modify the traditional American susceptibility to the anti-Hispanic "Black Legend." The work of Whitaker, Hussey, Lanning, and others opened another socio-intellectual subject, that of the Enlightenment.²⁶ R. H. Barlow's important researches in the codex literature of Mexico were the first in the United States to combine ethnological and historical techniques after the manner of Seler, Aubin, and other European scholars.²⁷ The history of colonial art

and teaching in Latin American history is treated in Jorge Basadre's introduction to *Courses on Latin America* (Washington, 1950), pp. v-lxxiii.

²⁴ "The Term 'Latin America,'" *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, I (1918), 464-67. The point here is that "Hispanic" refers to both Spain and Portugal rather than to Spain alone.

²⁵ Mary W. Williams, Ruhl J. Bartlett, and Russell E. Miller, *The People and Politics of Latin America* (Boston, 1955), p. vi.

²⁶ Arthur P. Whitaker, *et al.*, *Latin America and the Enlightenment* (New York and London, 1942).

²⁷ Barlow, *The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexicana, Ibero-Americana*, 28 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949). Barlow's extensive periodical writings occur in the *Memorias de la Academia mexicana de la historia, Tlalocan*, and other journals.

in the works of Robert C. Smith, Elizabeth Wilder Weismann, Harold E. Wethey, and George Kubler is principally the accomplishment of the last fifteen years.²⁸ The California historians, Sherburne F. Cook, Lesley Byrd Simpson, Woodrow W. Borah, and others, have recently exposed a whole new world to colonial Latin Americanists in their analyses of population, economy, and human ecology in early colonial Mexico, demonstrating scholarship of a type unique in this country, without counterparts in Latin America or Europe, informed by the "auxiliary" techniques of economics, demography, and anthropology.²⁹ Discovery, exploration, and conquest, of course, continue to be reexamined, as in Samuel E. Morison's work on Columbus, Henry R. Wagner's biography of Cortés, and Robert S. Chamberlain's meticulous studies of Yucatan and Honduras.³⁰ The recent period has seen also the first serious monographs on colonial Brazil, beginning with Alexander N. D. Marchant's *From Barter to Slavery*.³¹ Many additional scholars are currently active; their numbers do not appear to have been depleted, and the omission of their names here carries no disrespect. Their over-all tendencies appear to be in the direction of rectifying long-standing prejudices against Spain, of detailing actual colonial behavior in the New World (as against the "ideal" behavior of the laws), and of understanding Indian-Spanish or Indian-Portuguese relations in local American environments.³²

The period since 1940 has also provided new occasions for surveys of the

²⁸ Smith and Elizabeth Wilder, *A Guide to the Art of Latin America* (Washington, 1948); Elizabeth Wilder Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture, 1521-1821* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950); Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949); Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, Yale Hist. Pubs., Hist. of Art, V, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1948).

²⁹ Cook and Simpson, *The Population of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, Ibero-Americana, 31 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948); Cook, *Soil Erosion and Population in Central Mexico*, Ibero-Americana, 34 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949); Borah, *New Spain's Century of Depression*, Ibero-Americana, 35 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).

³⁰ Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1942); Wagner, *The Rise of Fernando Cortés*, Documents and Narratives Concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America, New Ser., No. 3 (Los Angeles, 1944); Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517-1550*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 582 (Washington, 1948), and *The Conquest and Colonization of Honduras, 1502-1550*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 598 (Washington, 1953).

³¹ *From Barter to Slavery: The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580* (Baltimore, 1942).

³² Ralph L. Roys, *The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 548 (Washington, 1943); France V. Scholes, et al., *The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel: A Contribution to the History and Ethnography of the Yucatan Peninsula*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Pub. No. 560 (Washington, 1948); George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," *Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed., 6 vols., Smithsonian Inst., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 143 (Washington, 1946-1950), II, 331-410; Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1952); Howard Cline, "Mexican Community Studies," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (1952), 212-22; Mathias C. Kiemen, *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693* (Washington, 1954).

total colonial scene. For colonial Hispanic America, two general works represent the mid-twentieth-century achievement. The *Latin-American Civilization, Colonial Period* of Bailey W. Diffie is the first successful attempt in the United States to see colonial history in the large, to analyze and detail its underlying principles, and to incorporate its cultural expression in an historical synthesis. The *Spanish Empire in America* of Clarence H. Haring offers our soundest and most comprehensive formulation of the institutional history of colonial times.³³ There is a sense in which such general treatments depend upon the continued publication of special studies, but there is a sense also in which this is not true, and the original research and comprehensive orientation of the works mentioned render each an independent scholarly production. As single-volume interpretations of the entire colonial period, they meet simultaneously the needs of the specialist and the nonspecialist for accurate summary information.

II

We have noted that the modern period of Latin American history held little interest for United States historians until the twentieth century. Actually, if we exclude two marginal fields within this period that have perhaps received their fair share of attention—the revolutionary era and the diplomatic relations of Latin America with the United States—it may be said that intensive study of modern Latin American history in the United States is a development of only the last few decades. The reasons that have led North American scholars to neglect the modern and favor the colonial period of Hispanic American history are not difficult to enumerate. The colonial period has enjoyed the advantage of those romantic themes of discovery, conquest, and exploration indicated above. The geographic unity and continuity in time of the colonial period have also caused historians to favor it over the republican era, whose “turbulence and kaleidoscopic political changes make it difficult to find a continuity in development and to appraise the long-run significance of individual events.”³⁴ Finally, for a variety of reasons, the colonial historian, especially of the sixteenth century, has enjoyed a decided advantage in respect to published and unpublished source materials. In part, at least, this last condition has had its roots in the traditionally aristocratic structure of Latin American society and politics. “A sense of loyalty to political and family connections has unquestionably made

³³ Diffie, *Latin-American Civilization, Colonial Period* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1945); Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York, 1947).

³⁴ Sanford A. Mosk, “Latin America and the World Economy, 1850-1914,” *Inter-American Econ. Affairs*, II (1948), No. 3, 54.

its influence felt in the selection of records to be preserved and to be made available to scholars."³⁵

The first three decades of this century produced little significant writing on the modern period of Latin American history by United States authors. The few notable works that come to mind, such as Justin H. Smith's *The War with Mexico* and Dana G. Munro's survey of the Central American area,³⁶ were generally confined to regions in which the United States had large interests; occasionally, as in the case of Smith's book, they displayed a certain nationalistic bias. A unique exception was the sturdy monograph by John F. Cady on Argentina's mid-century troubles with Europe.³⁷ Research in the revolutionary era, on the other hand, made a promising debut in this period with the publication in 1908 of William S. Robertson's monograph on Miranda, the foundation for his later superb biography of the Venezuelan hero.³⁸

The appearance of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* in 1918 did not materially alter the balance between the colonial and modern periods in United States historiography dealing with Latin America. A survey of the contents of this review between the two World Wars reveals a continuing overwhelming emphasis on colonial, revolutionary, and diplomatic topics. It was perhaps symptomatic of the state of affairs that as late as 1930 Percy Alvin Martin had to deplore the tendency of some critics to declare that "the Hispanic American republics have no history worthy of the name," and that "the task of the historian . . . is finished when he has adequately investigated the colonial period and the wars of independence."³⁹ Martin practiced what he preached, contributing to the *Review* articles on such varied modern topics as the career of José Batlle y Ordóñez and the causes of the fall of the Brazilian Empire, but few followed his example.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, historical writing on modern Latin America could record certain advances in the period between the two World Wars. Progress was made in detaching the field from the orbit of United States diplomatic and regional history and in developing some understanding of the economic and

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Smith, *The War with Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York, 1919); Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America, Their Political and Economic Development and Their Relations with the United States* (New York, 1918).

³⁷ *Foreign Intervention in the Rio de la Plata, 1838-1850: A Study of French, British, and American Policy in Relation to the Dictator Juan Manuel Rosas* (Philadelphia, 1929).

³⁸ "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907* (Washington, 1908), I, 189-539; *The Life of Miranda*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1929). His interest in this period also produced *Turbide of Mexico* (Durham, N. C., 1952).

³⁹ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, X (1930), 413.

⁴⁰ These few, however, included such distinguished names as C. E. Chapman, C. H. Haring, A. K. Manchester, W. W. Pierson, and M. W. Williams.

social factors in Latin America's historical evolution. In the twenties appeared the first scholarly national histories—Herbert I. Priestley's *The Mexican Nation* (New York, 1923), Charles E. Chapman's *A History of the Cuban Republic* (New York, 1927), and Sumner Welles's *Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic, 1844-1924* (2 vols.; New York, 1928). As was to be expected, these pioneer works dealt with countries in the United States sphere of interest and were rather heavily weighted on the diplomatic or political side. It was also natural that Mexico, not only for reasons of proximity but because its history seemed to reveal most clearly a true clash of political and social ideals, should attract the largest share of scholarly attention. Wilfrid H. Callcott's *Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857* (Durham, N. C., 1926), followed by his *Liberalism in Mexico, 1857-1929* (Stanford, 1931), and two socio-economic studies written with much historical perspective, George M. McBride's *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York, 1923) and Frank Tannenbaum's *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York, 1929), were among the important contributions in this field. To these should perhaps be added the studies by Lillian Fisher on the marginal zone between the late colonial and early republican periods in Mexico.⁴¹ Another group of books, departing from the academic formula of emphasis on diplomatic relations, subjected to critical analysis the record of United States economic dealings with selected Latin American countries; these "Studies in American Imperialism" included Leland H. Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony, A Study in Sugar* (New York, 1928); J. Fred Rippey, *The Capitalists and Colombia* (New York, 1931); and Charles D. Kepner and Jay Soothill, *The Banana Empire* (New York, 1935).

The coming of age of Latin American history in the United States in a certain sense may be said to date from the thirties, a decade that saw the launching of the indispensable annual *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (1936-) and a general increase of bibliographical activity in the Latin American field.⁴² This intensified bibliographical effort made possible more adequate study of the national period of Latin American history, an area in which great confusion and obscurity had prevailed even in respect to printed, not to mention unpublished, sources. Simultaneously, historians began to accord a somewhat greater share of attention to the period since independence. The appearance of two collaborative works edited by Alva C.

⁴¹ See in addition to the works cited above (fn. 21) her volume on *The Background of the Revolution for Mexican Independence* (Boston, 1934).

⁴² Among the bibliographical aids published in this period, *The Economic Literature of Latin America*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1935-1936) was of special interest to students of modern Latin America. For a useful survey of activity in the late thirties, see M. M. Wise, "Development of Bibliographical Activity during the Past Five Years: A Tentative Survey," in *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1939* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 13-26.

Wilgus, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935) and *South American Dictators during the First Century of Independence* (Washington, 1937), suggested a laudable desire to provide serviceable works of synthesis on the national period. The same tendency was reflected in a well-intentioned but not altogether felicitous project for translation into English of selected Latin American national histories. Within the national period, some improvement in areal and topical emphasis became evident in the publication of J. Lloyd Mechem's massive study of *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934) and Mary Watters' *History of the Church in Venezuela* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933)—the first serious studies of an important subject. The curtain of neglect that had hidden modern Brazil from historical view began to rise with the publication of Alan K. Manchester's *British Preëminence in Brazil, Its Rise and Decline* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933) and Mary W. Williams' life of *Don Pedro the Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1937). Within the modern period, however, attention continued to center heavily on diplomatic and revolutionary topics. Particularly fruitful work was accomplished in the thirties in the investigation of foreign influence on the Spanish American revolutions, a subject which John Rydjord, Charles C. Griffin, and William S. Robertson cultivated with distinction.⁴³

Despite these advances, it must be said that as of 1940 the literature in English on the history of modern Latin America was pitifully meager, the great bulk of this writing was devoted to diplomatic or revolutionary topics, and much of it was narrowly political in scope or superficial in treatment. Fortunately, students could supplement the purely historical material with the works of anthropologists, economists, and other social scientists whose researches in this period often illuminated aspects of Latin American reality ignored by the professional historians. Some of these valuable studies were Mark Jefferson's *Peopling the Argentine Pampa* (New York, 1926), George M. McBride's *Chile: Land and Society* (New York, 1936), Robert Redfield's *Tepoztlán, A Mexican Village* (Chicago, 1930),⁴⁴ João F. Normano's *Brazil: A Study of Economic Types* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), Eyler N. Simpson's *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1937), and Simon G. Hanson's *Utopia in Uruguay* (New York, 1938).

Only since 1940 can a major shift in emphasis and interpretation in the

⁴³ Rydjord, *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain: An Introduction to the War for Independence* (Durham, N. C., 1935); Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822* (New York, 1937); Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence* (Baltimore, 1939). In this tradition also is Benjamin Keen, *David Curtis DeForest and the Revolution of Buenos Aires* (New Haven, Conn., 1947).

⁴⁴ Oscar Lewis has challenged some of Redfield's main conclusions in his *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (Urbana, Ill., 1951).

writing of United States historians on Latin America be detected. A statistical analysis of the material published since that date would almost certainly show a relative decline in the number of books and articles dealing with colonial and revolutionary topics and a corresponding increase in the volume of writing on the national period. Such an analysis would probably also show some movement of historical attention from Mexico and Middle America to South America. Equally important, but less susceptible to measurement, there is evidence of a growing awareness of economic, social, and cultural factors on the part of United States historians who specialize in the modern period of Latin American history.

This tendency is even apparent in writing on the revolutionary era, in which not long since political, military, and diplomatic themes held absolute sway. Charles C. Griffin has broken new ground here with a broadly suggestive essay on the economic and social aspects of the era of Spanish American independence.⁴⁵ Harold A. Bierck has described the struggle for the abolition of slavery in Gran Colombia.⁴⁶ Arthur P. Whitaker devotes considerable attention to economic and intellectual factors in *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830* (Baltimore, 1941), and Gerhard Masur takes note of these influences in his life of Bolívar⁴⁷—the best biography of the Liberator available in English up to the present time.

Turning to the historiography of the national period since 1940, we note that Mexico continues to lead in the number of investigations. The vast panorama of the Mexican Revolution has proved a particularly alluring subject to North American scholars. The extremely divergent conclusions reached in such notable works as Frank Tannenbaum's *Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread* (New York, 1950) and Howard F. Cline's *The United States and Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) illustrate the controversial nature of this topic. Biographical studies of leading Mexican personalities have multiplied. The versatile Ralph Roeder has written a distinguished but not definitive account of *Juarez and His Mexico* (2 vols., New York, 1947); the martyred Madero has received sympathetic as well as scholarly treatment at the hands of Charles C. Cumberland and Stanley R. Ross.⁴⁸ Even lesser figures have found their competent biographers.⁴⁹ Walter V. Scholes brings a stimulating sociological approach to the Mexican *Reforma*

⁴⁵ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (1949), 170-87.

⁴⁶ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII (1953), 365-86.

⁴⁷ *Simon Bolivar* (Albuquerque, N. M., 1948).

⁴⁸ Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution: Genesis under Madero* (Austin, 1952); Ross, *Francisco I. Madero, Apostle of Mexican Democracy* (New York, 1955).

⁴⁹ See for example T. E. Cotner, *The Military and Political Career of José Joaquín de Herrera, 1792-1854* (Austin, 1949), and Frank A. Knapp, *The Life of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, 1823-1889: A Study of Influence and Obscurity* (Austin, 1951).

in his article, "A Revolution Falters: Mexico, 1856-1857."⁵⁰ Other North American scholars who have written on modern Mexican topics in recent years include N. L. Benson, R. W. Frazer, C. H. Gardiner, and R. B. McCornack.

The interest aroused by the dramatic course of events in Argentina since the Nationalist Revolution of 1943 has focused historical attention on that country in the past decade. Ysabel F. Rennie's *The Argentine Republic* (New York, 1945) lucidly sketches the economic and social background of political developments. A book of major importance, perhaps comparable in significance to Charles A. Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* for the historiography of the United States, is Miron Burgin's heavily documented study of *Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism, 1820-1852* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946). We have acquired a life of Sarmiento by Allison W. Bunkley and a study of Mitre by William H. Jeffrey,⁵¹ but definitive biographies of these two makers of modern Argentina still need to be written. The interest and controversy engendered by *Peronismo* find expression in recent studies by Robert Alexander and George I. Blanksten.⁵² Arthur P. Whitaker has written a brief but penetrating survey of *The United States and Argentina* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954)—a book of broader scope than its title suggests—that is now supplemented by his *Argentine Upheaval: Perón's Fall and the New Regime* (New York, 1956).

Harris G. Warren has told the Paraguayan story in a readable book that does not neglect social history, and Russell H. Fitzgibbon includes much historical matter in his genial portrait of Uruguay.⁵³ We still lack an adequate history of Brazil, but various aspects of this vast field have been studied in recent years by A. K. Manchester, Alexander Marchant, Richard Morse, T. W. Palmer, and Stanley Stein, among others. The Andean region—virtually a *terra incognita* to United States historians before 1940—has only begun to obtain the recognition that it merits. Arthur P. Whitaker, *The United States and South America, The Northern Republics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), is a useful survey of the area. David Bushnell's *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia* (Newark, Del., 1954) illustrates the kind of careful, intensive investigation that is needed in all aspects of modern Latin American history. A work of much value to historians is James J. Parsons, *Antioqueño Colonization in Western Colombia* (Berkeley, 1949). We possess only one

⁵⁰ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (1952), 1-21.

⁵¹ Bunkley, *Life of Sarmiento* (Princeton, 1952); Jeffrey, *Mitre and Argentina* (New York, 1952).

⁵² Alexander, *The Perón Era: An Interpretation* (New York, 1951); Blanksten, *Perón's Argentina* (Chicago, 1953).

⁵³ Warren, *Paraguay, An Informal History* (Norman, Okla., 1949); Fitzgibbon, *Uruguay, Portrait of a Democracy* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1954).

substantial work on Venezuela—George S. Wise's study of Antonio Guzmán Blanco.⁵⁴ The situation with respect to Ecuador and Peru is equally unsatisfactory. George I. Blanksten's book on *Ecuador: Constitutions and Caudillos* (Berkeley, 1951) deals mainly with the very recent period. Only one aspect of Peru's history—the *Aprista* movement—has received serious attention from United States scholars; the literature of the subject includes contributions by Frank Tannenbaum, Robert E. McNicoll, and Harry Kantor.⁵⁵ For material on Bolivia, one must look almost exclusively to nonhistorical writings, notably Olen E. Leonard's sociological study, *Bolivia: Land, People, and Institutions* (Washington, 1952). United States historians have sadly neglected Chile; we can cite only one outstanding monograph, John R. Stevenson, *The Chilean Popular Front* (Philadelphia, 1942).

A most significant development in United States historical writing on modern Latin America since 1940 has been the rapid growth of economic history, which before 1940 could boast only of such isolated achievements as Hanson's book on Uruguay and Normano's study of economic Brazil. This trend reflects in some degree the interest aroused in recent decades by the energetic efforts of some Latin American countries to transform their economies; it has certainly been stimulated by the writings of historically-minded economists like Sanford A. Mosk, George Wythe, and Henry W. Spiegel.⁵⁶ Much credit in particular is due the journal *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, edited since 1947 by S. G. Hanson, which has encouraged this type of research by publishing articles of historical as well as current interest. Miron Burgin summed up the point of view of this new school in 1947: "It is only when the economic past of the Latin American countries is reconstructed that the processes of current political and institutional development can be fully understood."⁵⁷ J. F. Rippy made an even more ambitious claim for the economic interpretation when he wrote in the preface to his *Latin America and the Industrial Age*: "Science and technology largely determine the rise and fall of nations. The impact of foreign science and technology upon Latin America is a major episode in modern history which no one who aspires to understand world history can afford to ignore."⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Caudillo: A Portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco* (New York, 1951).

⁵⁵ Tannenbaum, "Agrarismo, Indianismo, y Nacionalismo," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII (1943), 394-423; McNicoll, "Intellectual Origins of Aprismo," *ibid.*, 424-40; Kantor, *The Ideology and Program of the Peruvian Aprista Movement* (Berkeley, 1953).

⁵⁶ Mosk, *Industrial Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, 1950); Wythe, *Industry in Latin America* (New York, 1945); Spiegel, *The Brazilian Economy: Chronic Inflation and Sporadic Industrialization* (Philadelphia, 1949). To these should perhaps be added H. Foster Bain and Thomas Thornton Read, *Ores and Industry in South America* (New York, 1934), and the series written for the United States Tariff Commission, *The Foreign Trade of Latin America*, 3 pts. (Washington, 1940-1941).

⁵⁷ "Research in Latin-American Economics and Economic History," *Inter-American Econ. Affairs*, I (1947), No. 3, 3-22.

⁵⁸ (New York, 1944), p. viii.

Since those words were written in 1944, a small army of researchers has joined Rippy in the work of unearthing the buried facts of Latin American economic history and appraising their significance. The variety of topics studied appears from the following sampling: as noted above, Miron Burgin has explored the economic background of Rosas' Argentina; George Wythe has described the beginnings of the factory system in Latin America;⁵⁹ David M. Pletcher has written on "The Building of the Mexican Railway";⁶⁰ Howard Cline has investigated the manufacturing, sugar, and henequen episodes in Yucatecan economic history;⁶¹ William H. Gray has told the story of "Steamboat Transportation on the Orinoco";⁶² John J. Johnson has recorded the beginnings of telegraphy in Chile;⁶³ Robert L. Gilmore and John P. Harrison have studied early steam navigation on the Magdalena River;⁶⁴ J. P. Harrison has traced "The Evolution of the Colombian Tobacco Trade to 1875";⁶⁵ Stanley Stein has probed into the causes of the decay of the coffee industry in the Paraíba Valley of Brazil;⁶⁶ and Watt Stewart has employed a biographical approach to Peruvian economic and social history.⁶⁷ In the light of these studies and others not cited, we suggest that Burgin would even now need to qualify his statement, made nine years ago, that "Latin America of the past 150 years is virtually a *tabula rasa* to the economic historian."

In the field of social history, almost everything remains to be done. Tom B. Jones has illuminated life and manners in nineteenth-century South America from travelers' accounts in his *South America Rediscovered* (Minneapolis, 1949); Madaline Nichols has written a pioneer study of the gaucho;⁶⁸ Watt Stewart has recorded the tragic plight of Chinese coolies in Peru.⁶⁹ A notable study is Sidney W. Mintz's reconstruction of the culture history of a Puerto Rican plantation—a good illustration of the use of anthropological techniques in the writing of social history and of the general utility

⁵⁹ "The Rise of the Factory in Latin America," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1945), 295-314.

⁶⁰ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXX (1950), 26-62.

⁶¹ "The Aurora Yucateca and the Spirit of Enterprise in Yucatan, 1821-1847," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (1947), 30-60; "The Sugar Episode in Yucatan, 1825-1850," *Inter-American Econ. Affairs*, I (1948), No. 4, 79-100; "The Henequen Episode in Yucatan," *Inter-American Econ. Affairs*, II (1948), No. 2, 30-51.

⁶² *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXV (1945), 455-69.

⁶³ *Pioneer Telegraphy in Chile, 1852-1876* (Stanford, 1948).

⁶⁴ "Juan Bernardo Elbers and the Introduction of Steam Navigation on the Magdalena River," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII (1948), 335-59.

⁶⁵ *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (1952), 163-74.

⁶⁶ "The Passing of the Coffee Plantation in the Paraíba Valley," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII (1953), 331-64.

⁶⁷ Henry Meiggs, *Yankee Pizarro* (Durham, N. C., 1946).

⁶⁸ *The Gaucho, Cattle Hunter, Cavalryman, Ideal of Romance* (Durham, N. C., 1942).

⁶⁹ *Chinese Bondage in Peru, A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874* (Durham, N. C., 1951).

of cross-fertilization in the social sciences.⁷⁰ On the margin between social and intellectual history lies Richard Morse's article on the changing cultural climate of São Paulo since independence—an essay that treats with a rare sophistication the relation of intellectual to economic and social phenomena.⁷¹

The history of ideas—a field of study for which Latin American historians have shown a distinct affinity—has been strangely neglected by North American scholars working in the modern period. We lacked even an introduction to the subject until the appearance of William R. Crawford's *A Century of Latin-American Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944). Only with difficulty can one compile a list of more than a few significant contributions to this field: these include Morse's above-mentioned article on São Paulo, Philip D. Curtin's fine study of "The Declaration of the Rights of Man in Saint-Domingue, 1788-1791," and Patrick Romanell's somewhat technical study of the Mexican mind.⁷² Providing a corpus of source material for the study of Latin American historical evolution in a wide range of fields is the collection of translated sources brought together by Benjamin Keen.⁷³

Among works of synthesis published since 1940, we must single out Harry Bernstein's *Modern and Contemporary Latin America* (Philadelphia, 1952), which documents in a very careful way the impact of regional economic rivalries upon the political development of the countries with which it deals. If one had to level any criticism against an exploratory work of such solid worth, it would be to note its failure to give adequate attention to the influence of European and North American technology and capital in the shaping of modern Latin America and its relative slighting of cultural factors in the modern history of this area.

III

The present needs and future prospects of Latin American studies in this country will probably bear more significantly upon the national than upon the colonial period. Without carrying the emphasis to extremes, the present authors believe that today's tendencies in national history are salutary and that the long tradition of colonial concentration has not yet been redressed in modern times.

⁷⁰ "The Culture History of a Puerto Rican Sugar Cane Plantation: 1876-1949," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII (1953), 224-51.

⁷¹ "São Paulo since Independence: A Cultural Interpretation," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV (1954), 419-44.

⁷² Curtin, *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXX (1950), 157-75; Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1952). Curtin has recently published *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Society, 1830-1865* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

⁷³ *Readings in Latin-American Civilization, 1492 to the Present* (Boston, 1955).

That the colonial tradition was itself unbalanced goes without saying. Probably most Latin Americanists of the United States would agree that the heavy stresses of that tradition upon conquest, upon exploration, and upon "borderland" areas, while wholly understandable, need not qualify as directional guides for the future. So far as the detail and chronology of historical research are concerned, these subjects come as close to being "exhausted" as any in Latin American history.

In what Hispanic Americanists habitually indicate as "background" studies, the researches of United States students have concentrated on the American aborigines at the expense of the Hispanic peninsula. For the former, the historical profession must acknowledge a long-standing debt to archaeology and anthropology and to the vast organized labors of such bodies as the Carnegie Institution and the Smithsonian Institution's Institute of Social Anthropology. The impressive gains in twentieth-century knowledge of the American preconquest "background" have not stimulated historians to comparable researches in postconquest aboriginal history, where great lapses in knowledge extend through both colonial and national periods. As for the peninsular "background," the record of American historians is fragmentary at best, and no associated disciplines have come forth to fill this breach. The tendency is still to regard American history from the fixed starting point of the discovery and to depend upon selected and outmoded categories of preliminary peninsular material. This tendency has been conspicuously reversed among some historians in Spain and Portugal and to a certain extent among historians in Latin America, but United States scholars have made only a bare beginning at following their example.⁷⁴

United States contributions to encomienda studies have been impressive, but we are still far from a thorough understanding of that institution. Individual encomiendas need to be examined in their operating detail over long periods, when possible, and at carefully chosen geographical locations. The related subject of tribute, both in its encomienda form and in its royal form, is capable of sustaining a far more intense scrutiny than any yet accorded it in the United States or elsewhere. The entire problem of postconquest relations between Spaniards and Indians, of which encomienda and tribute are two aspects, stands in need of systematic, precise examination. The subject comprehends political rule, economic interchange, acculturation

⁷⁴ Henry C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies: Sicily—Naples—Sardinia—Milan—the Canaries—Mexico—Peru—New Granada* (New York, 1908); Julius Klein, *The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273–1836* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920); Charles Julian Bishko, "The Iberian Background of Latin American History: Recent Progress and Continuing Problems," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (1956), 50–80. For United States Luso-Brazilian trends see *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies, Washington, October 15–20, 1950* (Nashville, 1953), especially pp. 167–335.

and deculturation, peonage, and a variety of other labor institutions, as well as rates of change in spatial and temporal dimensions.

In political and social history, colonial studies suffer from a neglect of the seventeenth century. The convention is to dwell on the beginning and the end, to pass rapidly from the aftermath of conquest to the precursors of independence. The convention is natural and by no means confined to the Latin Americanists of the United States. In Anglo-American history, a compressed but otherwise equivalent period falls roughly between the 1690's and pressed but otherwise equivalent period falls roughly between the 1690's and the Great Awakening. Such periods cannot conveniently be attached either to the colonial foundations or to the independence movement, and in Latin America, where colonial foundations occurred early and independence occurred late, the intermediate vacuum is the more pronounced. United States students have deplored this situation, but sound seventeenth-century studies remain rare.⁷⁵ If, as is frequently stated, the seventeenth century served as a period of test for socio-political experiments undertaken in the sixteenth century, that proposition itself remains untested. The seventeenth century's basic demographic trends are still matters of conjecture. Its urban-rural relationships are vague. Its social classes and family structure and the extent of its ethnic fusion are unknown. The seventeenth century as a whole—and to it we may add large portions of the eighteenth century—needs all its particular data enlarged and all its generalizations reexamined.

The present situation in colonial economic history may be described as respectable but erratic. Imperial commerce, selected industries, and price systems have been the objects of some excellent studies. Local economies, land utilization, urban markets, plantation systems, and private fortunes are examples of subjects imperfectly examined or wholly neglected. Existing studies in local economies relate predominantly to Mexico, and abundant research needs to be accomplished in the remainder of Latin America. Here as in political history it is the colonial scene itself, rather than the imperial supervision of it, on which our knowledge is most deficient. United States students have been less guilty than their colleagues in Spain and Latin America of identifying the imperial legislation with the colonial reality, but they have not been wholly innocent nor has confusion been wholly eliminated. It appears increasingly likely that dependence upon the *Recopilación de leyes* and other pancolonial digests has created an overestimation of the uniformities in the American scene. Equivalent dangers lurk in studies of colonial intellectual history, where peninsular impositions in a less codified

⁷⁵ See L. B. Simpson, "Mexico's Forgotten Century," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXII (1953), 113-21; Howard F. Cline, "The Terragueros of Guelatao, Oaxaca, Mexico: Notes on the Sierra de Juárez and its XVIIth Century Indian Problems," *Acta Americana*, IV (1946), 161-84.

form have surely diverted attention from the manifold colonial varieties. In all these topics, the situation in Brazilian studies may be said to be similar to those of Spanish America but more acute.

We believe that the evidence of recent years justifies a modest satisfaction with the present trends and future prospects of historical writing on modern Latin America in the United States. But only a beginning has been made; the list of problems that call and compete for attention is endless. Our comprehension of the process of Latin American independence is still inadequate; the causal factors and particularly the economic and social aspects of this great movement are still poorly understood. In the national period, there is a serious need for more intensive study of the economic and geographic bases of regional rivalries, *caudillismo*, and the Liberal-Conservative cleavage so characteristic of nineteenth-century Latin America—phenomena that the textbooks too often explain with political clichés.

In view of the great importance attached to the problem in contemporary Latin America, a high order of priority should perhaps be assigned to the study of the influence for good and evil of foreign capital and technology on Latin America during the past century. In this connection, there is a clamorous need for company histories and biographies of entrepreneurs like Minor C. Keith and Percival Farquhar, written with the candor, objectivity, and thoroughness that the sensitivity of the subject requires. Again, in view of the current agitation over land reform in Latin America, studies are needed on the historical evolution of land systems in the national period—as has been done to some extent for the colonial period by Silvio Zavala, François Chevalier, and others. In the field of social history, themes still awaiting intensive investigation include European immigration since independence and its varied effects, the history of the modern Latin American city and of urbanization in general, the development of trade unionism, and the sociological effects of the shift from the nineteenth-century patriarchal estate to the impersonal, corporation-owned plantation of today.

In addition, we should like to call attention to one of the greatest voids in historical writing on modern Latin America—cultural or intellectual history. United States historians seem to have ignored the fact that in Latin America, even more than in some other parts of the world, the writer and artist have consciously employed books, paintings, and philosophies as weapons in political and social struggles and have often themselves been statesmen and even warriors. To be sure, we have some excellent histories of Latin American literature,⁷⁶ music, and art, but they approach their sub-

⁷⁶ See especially Samuel Putnam, *Marvelous Journey: A Survey of Four Centuries of Brazilian Writing* (New York, 1948).

jects principally from an aesthetic point of view. What are needed are studies along the lines of those made by Alejandro Korn, José Ingenieros, and José Luis Romero in Argentina, Ricardo Donoso in Chile, and Leopoldo Zea in Mexico—studies that would relate the movement of literature, art, and ideas to their political, economic, and social background.

In both the colonial and the national history, students continue to confront the problems of travel, of time, of linguistic and other training, and of admission to archives. Problems of travel and time surely account in part for the preference of colonial students for "borderland" studies and for the relative neglect of large parts of South America. Few students enter the colonial field sufficiently grounded in the medieval and Renaissance history of the Hispanic peninsula, in anthropology, in paleography, or in the Indian languages in which much of the early local history is recorded. The Portuguese language is itself an obstacle for those who halt their training with Spanish. A large number of historical subjects require research not only in Latin American but in Hispanic peninsular depositories. In the one as in the other, the student has at his disposal a growing but still meager collection of catalogues and guides to assist his practical work. Latin American archives tend to be labyrinthine and chaotic beyond the imagination of scholars accustomed to the orderly bibliographical habits of the United States. Hours are short, national holidays are frequent, and access often depends upon the cultivation of personal connections. Students of the modern period feel even more acutely, perhaps, than their colonialist colleagues the lack of adequate guides and archival materials, since the well-known traditional preference of Latin American historians, bibliographers, and archivists for colonial and revolutionary topics has seriously hindered the preservation and organization of archival records and the publication of guides to printed or manuscript materials dealing with the modern period. Progress is being made in this direction,⁷⁷ but much more remains to be done. It is almost unnecessary to add that students of modern Latin American history would be greatly aided by some acquaintance with the economic history, sociology, anthropology, and geography of the area—qualifications which relatively few of them possess at the present time.

Finally, mention may be made of a traditional ideological obstacle to research in the modern period: the view that the history of the Latin American republics since independence is drab, confused, and pointless by contrast with the glamorous epic of the mighty Spanish empire with its well-defined lines of institutional development. In part this belief reflects the lingering influ-

⁷⁷ See the valuable work of Roscoe R. Hill, *The National Archives of Latin America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

ence of nineteenth-century romanticism, with its stress on exotic themes of a bygone age; in part it stems from a certain aristocratic tradition in Latin American historiography—happily now in decline—which views with nostalgia the glories of *La Colonia* and *La Independencia* and turns its back on almost all that has occurred since the death of Bolívar. Fortunately, this belief in the general insignificance of modern Latin American history is rapidly disappearing. In recent decades at least, some Latin American states have begun to grapple vigorously with their problems, as a result of which their history has gained in interest, and intensive investigations have begun to show that the apparent anarchy and futility of much nineteenth-century Latin American history conceal meaningful economic and social conflicts and the stirrings of a new life.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The James Gallatin Diary: A Fraud?

RAYMOND WALTERS, JR.

SOME years ago, when I was starting work on a biography of Albert Gallatin, I came across an extraordinary volume, *The Diary of James Gallatin, Secretary to Albert Gallatin, A Great Peacemaker, 1813-1827*, edited by Count Gallatin and published in London and New York late in 1914. It seemed all that an aspiring biographer could pray for—rich source material concerning the years of Albert Gallatin's diplomatic service in Europe that apparently had not been available to his previous biographers, Henry Adams and John Austin Stevens. Here were piquant and colorful episodes—seductions, midnight assignations, illegitimate offspring, shootings, murders, and all manner of scandal—acted out in European courts by some of the nineteenth century's most celebrated personages: Napoleon Bonaparte, Wellington, Louis XVIII, Alexander I, Lafayette, Madame de Staël, Betsy Patterson, Alexander von Humboldt, Chateaubriand, Talleyrand, and many others. It was as much fun to read as a French novel.

In the preface, Count Gallatin explained that thirty-nine years before, in 1875, his grandfather had handed him "a large sealed packet, telling me it contained his Diary . . . also many important documents. I was not in any case to publish any part of it until 1900. . . . It lay unopened and nearly forgotten until last year. On reading it, I found it of the deepest interest. This decided me (after weeding out large portions and suppressing anything that might offend) to offer it to the public."

The sponsorship of the *Diary* seemed faultless enough to satisfy the most fastidious scholar. The eminent James Bryce in an introduction praised it as "a singularly fresh, frank, and vivid record," because its author was "a detached observer . . . in character more of a Genovese than an American, [who] was able to survey men and things with an impartially critical eye, which in its youthful confidence spared nobody, except his father. . . ." The material was published in part in the September and October, 1914, issues of *Scribner's Magazine*¹ and a few months later in book form by Charles Scrib-

¹ "A Diary of James Gallatin in Europe," *Scribner's Magazine*, LVI, 350-66, 468-81.

ner's Sons. In Great Britain it was published that November by the important house of William Heinemann.

On both sides of the Atlantic, the critics approved. The reviewer for the London *Athenaeum* called it "an unpretentious and perfectly genuine diary . . . well worth reading for its sidelights on the period,"² while in the *Spectator* it was described as "a very interesting and amusing book."³ In this country, the *New York Times* spoke of it as "a gay and sprightly chronicle."⁴ Reviewing it for this journal, Carl Russell Fish declared that "in general . . . the diary bears on its face the evidence of its authenticity. . . . No other material has made Albert Gallatin so living a figure."⁵

Sales of the book did not measure up to the acclaim. Heinemann printed an edition of two thousand copies which remained in print until 1921.⁶ The present officers of Scribner's have no memory or record of its fortunes with their house, but it was successful enough to warrant a second edition in 1916.⁷

The influence of the *Diary* has been wide and deep. Copies are to be found in the libraries of many American towns and cities that possess no other biographical volumes about Albert Gallatin. It is listed as recommended reading in such standard college textbooks as Morison and Commager's *Growth of the American Republic*, and a quotation from it is included in the text of that volume.⁸ Scarcely a writer on American diplomacy of the early nineteenth century—from the dean, Samuel Flagg Bemis,⁹ to fledgling Ph.D.'s—has failed to use the *Diary* as a source. Material in it has attained currency far beyond scholarly circles. For example, one episode, attributing gross table manners to the first John Jacob Astor, was used by Harvey O'Connor in *The Astors* (New York, 1941); Raymond Postgate picked it up for his *Story of a Year: 1848* (New York, 1956), which gave *Time* magazine an occasion to retell it in its April 2, 1956, issue.

Despite this general acceptance, the authenticity of the *Diary* has often been questioned on many details. In his approving review, Fish observed that "the text of the diary is obviously not pure," and he called attention to several "aberrations" for which he held the editor responsible. In 1927, a correspond-

² London *Athenaeum*, Jan. 9, 1915.

³ London *Spectator*, Jan. 16, 1915.

⁴ *New York Times*, Jan. 10, 1915.

⁵ *American Historical Review*, XX (1915), 864-65.

⁶ William Heinemann, Ltd. to author, Oct. 5, 1955.

⁷ Wallace Meyer of Charles Scribner's Sons to author, Sept. 26, 1955.

⁸ Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager (New York, 1950), I, 431, 768.

⁹ For example, Bemis, in his book *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), cites it once (p. 187) and quotes directly from it four times (pp. 192, 193, 203, 217) during his account of the negotiations at Ghent, saying that the *Diary* is "not without historical value."

ent of *Notes and Queries* of London wrote that "among the entries in the diary . . . are many expressions that seem to me to throw doubt on its authenticity as a whole." He cited half a dozen expressions that were not in use at the time the diary was supposed to have been written.¹⁰ Four years later, in the Paris *Figaro*, Claire-Elaine Engel pointed out that many of the persons described in the *Diary* as having been at Coppet, Switzerland, on January 21, 1815, are known, on the basis of standard sources, to have been elsewhere at the time. "An apocryphal journal," Miss Engel concluded the *Diary* to be, compiled "at an indeterminate date. . . ."¹¹ Duff Cooper, in his biography of Talleyrand, observed that the *Diary* has James Gallatin sitting opposite Talleyrand in London in March, 1827, although "Talleyrand was certainly not in England between the years 1794 and 1830."¹² More recently, Bemis, although he uses the *Diary* as a source for his account of the peace negotiations at Ghent in his biography of John Quincy Adams, admits that he is puzzled. A letter which Castlereagh wrote to Liverpool says that he had not seen any American commissioners while passing through the Flemish city, whereas the *Diary* reports that he had "a long conference" there with Albert Gallatin. "I am inclined to accept the categorical statement of a man of Castlereagh's weight," Bemis concludes.¹³ It would be possible to cite many more such demurrers.

My own disillusionment with the *Diary* began in the course of a conversation with the late Albert Eugene Gallatin, the distinguished painter and art collector, and great-grandson of the original Albert Gallatin. Mr. Gallatin told me that, not long after the First World War, he and his cousin Mr. Albert Gallatin, the New York writer on archaeology, conducted an extensive search through the archives and collections of Britain and the Continent for the original manuscript of the *Diary*. They were unable to find any trace of it or anyone—not even among the officers of Heinemann—who had ever seen it. He advised using it sparingly, if at all, suggesting that James Gallatin *might* have left a diary, but that, if he did, it had been "touched up" to make it more salable. Other members of the family offered the same advice.

Subsequently I learned of two scholars who were working in the field of Franco-American history who regarded the *Diary* skeptically. Professor G. de Bertier de Sauvigny of l'Institut catholique de Paris, an authority on the Bourbon Restoration, told me that he considered the *Diary* worthless to a scholar, for it was riddled with obvious inaccuracies about the French political and social scene. Dorothy Mackay Quynn of Frederick, Maryland, who

¹⁰ London *Notes and Queries*, CLII, 159-60.

¹¹ Paris *Figaro*, July 16, 1931.

¹² Cooper, *Talleyrand* (London, 1937), p. 387.

¹³ Bemis, *op. cit.*, p. 203 n.

is preparing a biography of Betsy Patterson, wrote that she had found that the *Diary's* many references to her subject did not check with other sources.

As I picked my way through the extensive source material now available which bears on Albert Gallatin's career between 1813 and 1827, I reached the conclusion that the *Diary* is a complete fraud. It would require a text nearly half as long as the *Diary* itself to set forth all the reasons. For economy of space perhaps it is best to undertake merely to establish the proposition that the *Diary* is not the work of James Gallatin and was not written earlier than 1879.

Neither the literary style in which the *Diary* is written nor the personality it displays of its supposed author jibes with the style or personality of James Gallatin exhibited elsewhere. Among the Gallatin Papers now at the New-York Historical Society are scores of letters in the handwriting of James, many of them dated in the years that the *Diary* is supposed to cover. The style of the *Diary* is polished and skillful, characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; that of James's manuscript letters is commonplace, such as might be expected of an unimaginative youth of the early nineteenth century. The James of the *Diary* is a dashing playboy who loves Europe and despises his native land; the James of the letters and other sources is a man who, although reluctant to leave Europe, gives no hint of profligancy and, indeed, spent most of his adult life in the United States as a respectable banker, returning to Europe only at the age of seventy-two.

It seems unlikely that the *Diary* was written earlier than 1879—in other words, at least three years after James Gallatin died—because so much of the material in it is obviously drawn from two works which Henry Adams published in that year. These are *The Life of Albert Gallatin* and *The Writings of Albert Gallatin*.

In the introduction to the *Diary*, Count Gallatin makes much of the "many important documents" left him by his grandfather. Only twenty-nine letters and documents are reproduced in the volume. All but three of these, about which an explanation will be offered later, appear in one or both of Adams' works.

Innumerable entries in the *Diary* simply paraphrase passages in Adams. It would be tedious to cite them all here; it should suffice to examine a characteristic portion, the first ten pages of the section of the *Diary* dealing with Gallatin's mission to France, to demonstrate this:

Page 78: the entry for November 23, 1815, is obviously a rewriting of Adams, *Life*, p. 554.

Pp. 78-80: the letter from Gallatin to Jefferson has been copied from Adams, *Writings*, I, 666-67.

P. 80: the report of Astor's offer to Gallatin of a partnership and Gallatin's

declination of Monroe's offer of the French mission is paraphrased from *Life*, pp. 555-56.

Pp. 81-84: the report of the renewal of the offer of the French mission is copied and paraphrased from *Life*, pp. 556-57, and *Writings*, I, 677-89.

Pp. 84-85: the report of an offer of the secretaryship of the Treasury and Gallatin's declination is obviously based on the *Life*, pp. 557-59, and *Writings*, I, 694-95.

P. 85: the story of the Gallatins' voyage to France and arrival in Paris is material clearly derived from the *Life*, pp. 561-62. However, it is worth taking notice of a discrepancy here. The *Diary* states that the Gallatins sailed on June 10, 1816. Adams' *Life* gives no date for the sailing, but the *New-York Evening Post*, June 11, 1816, states that they sailed on June 11.

Pp. 86-87: the account of the Gallatins' reception by the Duke of Richelieu and Louis XVIII is a paraphrasing of letters reproduced in *Writings*, II, 1-2. There is no evidence anywhere else that James attended these sessions; it appears likely that the paragraphs giving his impressions were written at a later date.

The section of the *Diary* that has been most frequently cited by historians is that covering Gallatin's negotiations at St. Petersburg, Ghent, and London in 1813, 1814, and 1815 (pp. 1-45, 68-77). If someone fabricated the *Diary* after James Gallatin's death, he could find abundant material for the concoction of this section in Adams' volumes (*Life*, pp. 477-80, 493-553; *Writings*, I, 544-647). Yet plentiful as Adams' material is, it leaves the *Diary's* compiler many opportunities to betray himself.

A careful check of the fifty-five pages of this section against seven sources¹⁴ that cover these events reveals no less than thirty-three discrepancies. Some of these discrepancies are matters of date, such as these examples: The *Diary* says that Gallatin called on Count Roumanzoff on October 22, 1813, to tell of his rejection by the Senate; the diaries of both James A. Bayard and John Quincy Adams say that the call was made on November 2. The *Diary* says that Gallatin and Bayard learned on March 6, 1814, while they were at Amsterdam, that the United States had appointed a new commission to deal directly with the British; Bayard records that they first heard of it on February 24, while passing through Berlin. The *Diary* says that the Gallatins arrived in Paris on March 1, 1815; Adams records their arrival as March 7.

The other discrepancies are of many types. A few examples: The *Diary* speaks of Gallatin, unlike his son James, as "having no time to think of being sick" on the May, 1813, voyage to Europe; Bayard says that Gallatin

¹⁴ Sources against which I have checked the *Diary* include: Elizabeth Donnan, ed., "Papers of James A. Bayard," *American Historical Association Annual Report for 1913*, II; the Gallatin Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City; Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, II; Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, V; *New-York Evening Post*; Duke of Wellington, ed., *Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Duke of Wellington*, IX; *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, III.

was a bad sailor and was confined to his cabin much of the time. The *Diary* says that while in London the Gallatins "settled in apartments in Seymour Street"; various letters in the Gallatin Papers give their address as first Albemarle Street and later Portman Square. The *Diary* speaks of the British mission, immediately on its arrival at Ghent, as "lodged in a fine Carthusian monastery"; Adams and Bayard tell that the British settled first at the Hotel du Lion d'Or and moved to the monastery some time later. The *Diary* says that at the Americans' first meeting with the British the latter "demanded that the Indian tribes should have the whole of the North-Western Territory"; Bayard and Adams record that this demand was not made until the third meeting. Often the *Diary* is curiously vague or silent. J. Q. Adams records that on September 20, 1814, the Americans received a British note written in an "overbearing and insulting tone"; the *Diary* has Gallatin calmly drafting a reply to an earlier note on that day. Adams' diary records that news of the burning of Washington by the British was received on October 1 and that Gallatin *père* and *fils* went to Amsterdam on a visit later that month; the *Diary* makes no mention of these two events. Letters in the Gallatin Papers and *American State Papers: Foreign Relations* indicate that Gallatin had an important meeting with Lord Castlereagh on April 16, 1815; the *Diary* has father and son merely twiddling their thumbs in London on this day.

Discrepancies of these kinds are equally numerous in other parts of the *Diary*. But the most amazing section of the volume is that in which an account is given of James's activities as his father's secretary in London from August, 1826, to October, 1827 (pp. 256-76). A score of letters in James's handwriting now in the Gallatin Papers establishes the fact that he did not accompany his father to Europe on this trip but remained in America to attend to family affairs!

If the *Diary* is the fraud that I am convinced it is, by whom was it fabricated? The author, or at least the man responsible for its writing, is, I believe, the "Count Gallatin" who "edited" it and signed its preface—in other words, James Francis Gallatin, grandson of the ostensible keeper of the *Diary*.

James Francis Gallatin was born in New York City on January 2, 1853, the second son of Albert and Harriet Duer Robinson Gallatin.¹⁵ He grew up in Europe, where his father and grandfather were living, and is said to have attended Oxford. James Francis followed no profession, finding life most congenial at the clubs and watering places of England and the Continent. This was made possible for some years by a trust fund, estimated at \$500,000,

¹⁵ For data about the Gallatin family, see William Plumb Bacon, *Ancestry of Albert Gallatin* [New York, 1916?].

derived from the estate of his grandfather and based to a large extent on New York City real estate holdings. But James Francis' dashing bachelor tastes outstripped the income from this fund, and he was in and out of the courts through the years because of his failure to repay sums advanced him by a number of persons, including other members of the Gallatin family. The litigants included his own mother.¹⁶ In 1904 he was involved in a teapot tempest on the Italian Riviera. A charge made by a retired British colonel that he had no right to the title of "count" and had been involved in certain "scandals" in England led to his ostracism from "proper" San Remo society. He retaliated by publishing a pamphlet entitled *Count de Gallatin v. Scandal*, which reproduced a letter indicating that his right to the title of "Count of the Empire" had been recognized at diplomatic functions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He cited testimonials from three English clergymen declaring that they had never heard of his being involved in any scandal. James Francis closed his rebuttal with the statement that he had no desire to be received by proper San Remo society anyway.¹⁷

For such conduct James Francis became known in the American branch of the Gallatin family as "bad Jimmy." One of the oldest living members of the family, Mr. Albert Gallatin, tells me that he remembers overhearing, as a small boy, a family debate on a proposal by "bad Jimmy" that the American Gallatins advance him a considerable sum of money so that he might pay off outstanding debts, with the understanding that he would then keep secret certain information derogatory to the family reputation that had come into his hands. It is Mr. Gallatin's recollection that this attempt at extortion was repulsed.

The Gallatin Papers contain a letter written in 1914 by Viscount Bryce to James Francis Gallatin acknowledging the latter's proposal for a meeting—a meeting that probably led Bryce to write his misleading introduction to the *Diary*. The publication of the *Diary* later that year may have alleviated "bad Jimmy's" financial embarrassments, but only temporarily. When he died in his home in St. Peter's Square, London, on December 4, 1915,¹⁸ his possessions were sold at auction to settle his debts. Included among these—according to the late A. E. Gallatin—were the three items reproduced in the *Diary* that do not appear in Adams' volumes.

Among the American members of the Gallatin family, "bad Jimmy" had the reputation of being a remarkably clever fellow, certainly clever enough to have fabricated the *Diary*. For the writing of the episodes and comments

¹⁶ *New York Times*, Mar. 16, June 12, 1895; *New-York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 23, 1895.

¹⁷ [James Francis Gallatin], *Count de Gallatin v. Scandal* [Menton, France, 1904].

¹⁸ *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1916.

in that book that are not drawn from Henry Adams' two works on Albert Gallatin, a lively imagination, a wide acquaintance with the literature and history of the early nineteenth century, familiarity with Continental ways, and knowledge of Gallatin family traditions were all necessary. James Francis Gallatin, if his reputation is to be believed, possessed all these. In creating a character for the diarist, he had only to put upon paper his own colorful, playboy personality.

Thus it seems clear that the *Diary of James Gallatin* must be considered historical romance, partly derived from fact. Libraries that own copies of it should transfer them to their fiction shelves; no further serious attention should be paid to it by historians and biographers.

New York City

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General History

SIX HISTORIANS. By *Ferdinand Schevill*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 200. \$5.00.)

THE death in 1954 of Ferdinand Schevill at the age of eighty-six reduced to four the surviving members of the first staff that President Harper gathered in 1892 to start the University of Chicago. There are, I believe, now but two, both long-time friends of the reviewer, A. Alonzo Stagg and Elizabeth Wallace. (The latter's charming autobiography, *The Unending Journey*, gives a vivid picture of those founding days in which Schevill was a participant.) This posthumous gleanings, with notes and summaries of essays still to be written on other historians, is a temptation to divert from the book to a tribute to the author and the perceptive administrator who picked him as a member of that first faculty at Chicago. That is unnecessary for Harper and inappropriate here for Schevill. It should be done in a future volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* if nowhere else.

The six historians here sketched and appraised are Thucydides, St. Augustine (less historian than history maker), Machiavelli ("not an historian" but a political philosopher), Voltaire, Ranke, and Henry Adams. The span is broad in time and kind. As might be expected from one who defined history as a form of literature and wrote a history of Florence, the artistry of each writer is a matter of interest to Schevill. How well they wrote, how well they organized their material, how well they told a story that sustains the reader's interest, how well they reflected and influenced the age in which they lived—these are the norms of judgment. The lifetime teacher shows through unconsciously, for the essays are a guide in how to read and what to read and occasionally what to skip in each author. It is this feature that makes the little volume worthwhile to any graduate student in history. The bibliographies are only suggestive; internal evidence shows that the treatment is fresh and distinctly his own. The essay on Ranke is introduced by several pages on relativism as expounded by Charles Beard in his presidential address to the American Historical Association. Voltaire, as a pathbreaker and as a model in combining literary skill with substance, is naturally a favorite with Schevill. Henry Adams is given merit marks that are almost expunged because of his attempt to make history a science by applying to it the second rule of thermodynamics. No wonder. Your reviewer recalls sitting up late one evening in 1910 trying to read and comprehend Adams' *A Letter to American Teachers of History* and wakening the next morning trying to recall the nightmare that had disturbed his sleep.

The last paragraph in the appendix might well be read as an introduction to the volume and the author. "History still, in the main, is what it has been since

Herodotus invented the form. The major changes are (a) the recent expansion of subject matter and (b) the recent severity of scholarly method. This has led many to call it a science. You may, if you will, call its method scientific, but the finished product is a work of art."

Washington, D. C.

GUY STANTON FORD

HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE DES EXPLORATIONS. Volume II, LA RENAISSANCE (1415-1600). By *Jean Amsler*. (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France. 1955. Pp. 414.)

As the biographical note explains, the author has traveled widely, possesses a physique worthy of the Greek palaestra, and is writing a history of German sports from 1933 to 1945. In fact, he hopes to establish a branch of history to deal with amateur sports (*activités physiques désintéressées*), to be known as physiography. The present work describes the adventurous side of the Renaissance, and in a section evaluating the Spanish conquests it singles out Cortés, Pizarro, and de Soto as a type never seen in Europe except perhaps in Napoleon and probably never to be seen again. These three men, with their many followers, have one trait in common: "l'énergie brute. . . Ils marchent, frappent, bravent, désirent, conquièrent, possèdent, dilapident, recommencent, tombent et meurent. Leur vie n'est qu'action." As the narrative unfolds, all the major explorers and conquerors from 1415 to 1600 have their hour—except the one for whom America was named. Amerigo Vespucci is mentioned briefly a few times, but his career and the circumstances of the naming of the continent are presented, not in a chapter, not in a section, not even in a paragraph with marginal title, but in six lines on page 85. It is hardly enough for the explorer of whom Professor Nowell has recently remarked: "All important factions now agree in reinstating Amerigo as the intellectual giant of the discovery period" (*AHR*, LXI [January, 1956], 358). Is he too intellectual for a physiographer? The Vespuccian controversy has been exceeded in this field of history by only one other, namely, the mystery of the origin of Columbus. Here our author accepts the clever compromise of Madariaga. The so-called "Genoese documents" make Columbus the son of a humble Italian wool-worker. Against this is the curious fact that he could use the Spanish and the Latin languages but apparently never wrote in Italian. Madariaga therefore surmises that Columbus belonged to a family of Catalan Jews who fled from Spain to Italy, settled in Genoa, and still used Spanish in their new home. Amsler presents the theory superbly. It would be fascinating to see what he could do (perhaps in a second edition?) with the still more advanced thesis of Dr. Canoutas, who rejects Gallo and the "Genoese documents" completely and accepts instead Columbus' own claims (as reported by his son) to be of the same noble family and lineage as the famous corsair, Colon the Younger, a Byzantine Greek exile in the service of France.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM JEROME WILSON

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. Volume II, THE NEW WORLD. By *Winston S. Churchill*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1956. Pp. xi, 433. \$6.00.)

THE second installment of *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples* covers two centuries in three books; Renaissance and Reformation—the Round World to Gloriana; the Civil War—the United Crowns to the Axe Falls; the Restoration—the English Republic to the Revolution of 1688. During these centuries overseas activities increased and settlements were begun, but the amount of space devoted to them is brief. Not more than fifty pages in all concern experiments in Virginia, the sailing of the Mayflower, and the establishment of middle Atlantic colonies. Indeed, Pennsylvania is dismissed in a couple of lines. The dramatic story of English developments fills the space and is made vivid by the determined, incisive judgments of the author, his surprising vocabulary, and felicitous phraseology. Evaluation of character and event is not avoided. Some appreciation of opposing parties is shown and sympathy toward the loser is often manifested.

The author retells a familiar narrative, with attention to the work of some modern scholars but in the tradition that is as old as Xenophon. Many unfamiliar with English history will read with delight about Churchill's beloved country. Those to whom this is a thrice-told tale will find it not only a mirror of the character and mode of thoughts of its author, himself a not insignificant contributor to its latest chapter, but also a reflection of the lively, ambitious, gifted, and wilful aristocracy who have, like Churchill, done so much for England. His tastes and interests are theirs—like them he has wanted to rule and to be governed only under his own terms.

Churchill often reflects upon character, and one quotation may illustrate this. In describing the restoration of the old constitution after the troubles which followed Cromwell's death, he writes:

Monk was one of those Englishmen who understand to perfection the use of time and circumstances. It is a type which has thriven in our Island. The English are apt to admire men who do not attempt to dominate events or turn the drift of fate; who wait about doing their duty on a short view from day to day until there is no doubt whether the tide is on the ebb or flow; and who then, with the appearance of great propriety and complete self-abnegation, with steady, sterling qualities of conduct if not of heart, move slowly, cautiously, forward toward the obvious purpose of the nation (p. 323).

Churchill is contemptuous of "hot gospel and cold steel": he has no appreciation of the Puritans. Popular theories of the Interregnum receive less sympathy than is accorded either Charles I or the misguided loyalties of James II. Nor does Churchill do justice to the social conscience revealed in leveller tracts or Cromwellian ordinances. He endorses the still dubious assumption of the benevolent intentions toward the poor of the "Eleven Years Tyranny." The liberty and order which he praises are those of the old Gothic society developed by the gentry of

seventeenth-century England, and in his description of its vicissitudes, as in Voltaire's, everything turns out for the best.

The chapters on the English Republic and the Lord Protector are probably the most interesting. In them, Churchill, who often frankly relies upon experts for both material and interpretation, obviously speaks out of his personal experience of modern dictatorships and from a vast familiarity with Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches*. Oliver's "smoky soul" interests him. He deplores his "merciless wickedness" in Ireland and laments the fact that Englishmen must still bear "the curse of Cromwell." The picture is softened by the Protector's amiable family relations, his reputation abroad, his passion for England. Though in "lasting discord with the genius of the race," Cromwell was yet "the sole agency by which time could be gained for healing and growth." He was, indeed, "gigantic, glowing, indispensable."

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION, 1500-1800: THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE. By *A. R. Hall*. (2d ed.; Boston: Beacon Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 390. \$1.75.)

THAT Mr. Hall's book, which appeared first in hard covers in 1954, should be issued as an inexpensive paperback in the excellent series sponsored by the Beacon Press, is an indication that it is attaining the wider audience it deserves. The book is indeed that rare thing, a work that appeals both to the specialist and to the general historian. The greater part deals with what we may call the well-established central concern of a special discipline now fully established, the history of science. This concern is the how, when, and where of the actual "events" of natural science as a human activity. Here, and for a period by no means badly covered by the specialists, Hall does an admirably lucid job, clarifying even for the layman the concrete problems and their resolutions. He gives, for instance, a clear—though inevitably not exactly simple—account of the state of Ptolemaic astronomy just before Copernicus was to undermine it. All the fields, including the biological ones, are treated, though the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are covered more fully than the eighteenth. The chapter very aptly headed "The Principate of Newton" is, however, particularly good.

In three chapters in the middle of the book and in many passages throughout, Hall is concerned with problems of a wider range, problems no one interested in the origins of our modern world can avoid. He is engaged chiefly in bringing out the very great complexities of scientific activity both in itself and in its relations with other kinds of human activity. He gives no simple social or economic explanation, no magic clue to the rise of modern science at this particular point in space and time. Indeed, in his conclusion he insists that although natural science, largely through the technology now so dependent on that science, has been the one clear permanent difference we Westerners have made in the whole world,

we cannot yet really account for this extraordinary achievement. But the book is by no means a negatively critical one, engaged in mere demolition. The author is constantly suggestive, always tentative and open-minded. Notably in his close analysis of how specific "discoveries" were made does he definitely establish the great variety of conditions, internal as well as external, to a given discipline, under which these discoveries came about. There is clearly no single explanation for the formation of the modern scientific attitude, certainly no simple one on Marxist, racist, *wissensoziologisch*, or sectarian positivist lines.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

BISMARCK, GLADSTONE, AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE. By *W. N. Medlicott*. [University of London Historical Studies, IV.] (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by John de Graff, Inc., New York. 1956. Pp. xiv, 353. \$7.00.)

WITH this admirable monograph, Professor Medlicott continues and completes the study of the diplomatic aftermath of the Near Eastern crisis begun in his earlier book, *The Congress of Berlin and After*. His chief concern is with the brief period between Gladstone's Midlothian campaign and the formation of his cabinet (April, 1880) and the conclusion of the Alliance of the Three Emperors, June 18, 1881. Interpreting "this period of European diplomacy in terms of conflicting German and English programmes, and in a personal sense in terms of the Bismarck-Gladstone rivalry" (p. vii), the author begins with a provocative analysis of the contrasting points of view of these great protagonists, traces meticulously Gladstone's efforts to establish the Concert of Europe as a foundation for permanent peace in connection with the unsettled provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, especially the boundaries of Montenegro and the Greco-Turkish frontier, and examines the parallel negotiation of the *Dreikaiserbündnis* with the utmost care. The dusty details of diplomatic procedure are enlivened by references to the personal equation, public opinion pressures, the economic factor, and especially by a fresh thesis.

That European diplomacy experienced a major turning point in this period is clearer now, as the author acknowledges, than it was to contemporaries. The choice was between Gladstone's faith in the possibility of achieving permanent peace through the Concert and Bismarck's disbelief in anything more than the adjournment of international conflicts. Despite Bismarck's secret hostility, the Concert functioned fairly effectively as a forum for diplomatic discussion, but it failed ludicrously when, as in the international naval demonstration at Dulcigno, it attempted to enforce its decisions against the Sultan's calculated procrastination. No feeling of impending danger strengthened Gladstone's hand, and indeed few were willing to be bothered by the Greek problem. The Concert, as the author points out, ceased to exist when even the Austrians would not support Gladstone in opposing the increase of Alexander of Battenberg's power in Bul-

garia. The fervor engendered during the Midlothian campaign failed to survive the frustrations of actual experience: Gladstone's critics called him the "Mahdi of Midlothian," just as Bismarck spoke privately of the "mad professor." This melancholy tale doubtless needed detailed telling from the resources of the British archives, but it adds little to what already was known.

The contrary is true of the *Dreikaiserbündnis* negotiations, especially the later phase beginning with the Bismarck-Haymerle conversations of September 4 and 5, 1880. Here the author has made a valuable contribution. Fresh material from the archives of the German Foreign Minister (some of which was not used in W. Windelband's monograph on this period), the unpublished correspondence between Giers, the Russian Foreign Minister, and Peter Saburov, and especially the Austrian archives would appear to support his revision of the usually accepted estimate of Bismarck's performance at this time. The full correspondence, he concludes, "does not leave any very convincing impression of his intellectual dominance or moral ascendancy" (p. 327). Homer perhaps nodded in this instance; Haymerle (and Saburov too) was by no means overshadowed, but it may be doubted that the Austrians and Russians could, as the author believes, have adjourned their differences without Bismarck's mediation. Medlicott's judgment of Bismarck's *Realpolitik* is summed up in the concluding sentence: "He had made a deadlock and called it peace."

Duke University

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

STUDIES IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY IN HONOR OF FRANKLIN CHARLES PALM. Edited by *Frederick J. Cox, Richard M. Brace, Bernard C. Weber, and John F. Ramsey*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1956. Pp. 310. \$6.00.)

THESE fourteen essays meritoriously honor Franklin Charles Palm of the University of California, who "inspired a great number of men and women with a love of history and scholarship . . . [and] who trained us in the ways of historical scholarship and friendship." His colleague, the late Herbert E. Bolton, pays tribute in the foreword to his "sound and unusually productive scholarship." Professor Bolton writes: "His disciples have written . . . as testimony of their affection and their admiration for a friendly and inspiring teacher, which is one of the highest awards for a university career."

William Belote is lucid and concise on "Abbé Sieyès on Liberty," though the reviewer had not known that Sieyès was a "silent revolutionary." Sieyès' collaboration with Bonaparte makes questionable his unequivocal and steadfast devotion to liberty. Richard M. Brace's "The Libertarian Crusade of 1792" is a suggestive essay on the "humanitarian crusade of the first revolutionary years" metamorphosed into the "militant Jacobin crusade of 1792." "Art and Politics during the French Revolution: A Study of Three Artist Regicides (Louis David, Sergeant-Marceau, and Gabriel Bouquier)" is further able pioneering in a new aspect of

Revolutionary scholarship by David L. Dowd. John F. Ramsey's "The Judicial Reform of 1788 and the French Revolution" is a well-documented treatment of the role of the Parlement of Paris in the final stages on the road to revolution.

Bernerd C. Weber's "Personalities and Politics at the Court of Henry II of France, 1547-1559" is largely a catalogue of great family names, which shows the high cost to the crown of favorites but gives only a casual treatment of court, national, and foreign politics. Gordon Griffith's "The Vicomte Armand de Melun and the Catholic Social Movement in France, 1848-1851" omits the background of the central figure but is an excellent chapter in social history. "Preparation of a *Coup d'Etat* . . . in France, 1849-1851," by Howard C. Payne, is a competent treatment of the "creeping *coup d'état*" manipulated by the administration and consummated easily in December, 1851. Franklin W. Wallin's "French Naval Conversion and the Second Empire's Intervention in Industry" includes important facts unimaginatively handled. In Daniel L. Rader's "Dubois of the *Globe* (1824-1830)," Dubois does not quite come to life, and the treatment is too compressed for significance.

George Carbone's "The Long Detour: Italy's Search for Unity" is a vivid treatment of Carlo Cattaneo, the Lombard schoolmaster who championed federalism for a united Italy. The bibliographical notes are excellent. "The French Peace Plans, 1918-1919" by Frederick J. Cox is a realistic narrative of French intrigue to win Wilson over to French designs on the Rhine. W. Ward Fearnside's "Citizenship Law in the Third Reich" is a short, clear development of one aspect of Hitler's racial policies. George W. Kyte's "The Blockade of Gloucester in 1781" is on an inconsequential theme that would be improved by more quotations from Du Perron's *Journal*. The little volume is concluded by Edward F. Willis' meaty essay on "Herbert Hoover and the Blockade of Germany, 1918-1919." This *Festschrift* does high honor to the master who taught the contributors their craft.

Macalester College

HUNTLEY DUPRE

Ancient and Medieval History

ANCIENT MYCENAE: THE CAPITAL CITY OF AGAMEMNON. By

George E. Mylonas. [The Page-Barbour Lectures for 1955 at the University of Virginia.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 201, 87 plates. \$7.50.)

THIS book is primarily a first account of the excavation of the new grave circle at Mycenae, beyond the citadel walls. The account is important enough in itself; it is supplemented by discussion of the history of Mycenae and of its archaeological exploration to set these newest discoveries in their proper context. The dust jacket prominently advertises another work on the archaeology of Mycenae—A. J. B. Wace's *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*. The publisher's judgment that these books are not rivals, but complement one another, is fully

justified. Where they deal with the same materials, Mylonas finds it "necessary to mention only the basic facts regarding them and to elaborate only certain controversial points." In this way Mylonas surveys the walls of the citadel, the palace at its summit, the houses within and without the walls, the chamber and tholos tombs, and Schliemann's famous grave circle, describing, discussing, and illustrating the outstanding monuments. He who has read Wace's guide will follow Mylonas more easily; yet he who reads Mylonas alone will be introduced to the important monuments and problems of Mycenae.

The new grave circle is the subject of the last third of the book. The author weaves together the events of its discovery, the opening of the several shaft graves within it, and a description of their contents, both bones and the often handsome, rich ornaments and offerings found with them. In discussing the tombs' present state and the disposition of the objects in them, he recreates the process of their construction, the interment itself, and the subsequent fortunes of the tombs as they suffered new burials, robbery, natural accidents, and discovery. Among the more important contributions of the book are Mylonas' observations on the burial customs and beliefs of the Mycenaean, to which he brings the experience of much excavation and a long interest in the subject.

The many plates well illustrate the text and give an admirable foretaste of the eventual publication of pictures of all the treasures from these diggings. The bibliography and annotation are full and will make this book an excellent guide to previous publication. The index is perhaps too copious.

Mylonas has attempted to draw together into one fabric the whole history of Mycenae, from 2500-1900 B.C., "Earliest Occupation and Settlements of Mycenae" to A.D. 1952-1954, "Exploration of the Second Royal Circle." In this fabric the legendary kings of Mycenae, Perseus, Atreus, and Agamemnon, take their place beside the Mycenaean at Thermopylae and Plataea and the small village still surviving ca. A.D. 300. This attempt has led Mylonas to associate the construction of the more impressive monuments of Mycenae with the more impressive legendary kings of Mycenae. The mixture of widely differing kinds of historical evidence will perhaps appear reasonable only after one has spent some time at Mycenae itself, where its legendary and tangible pasts are easily felt to mingle with its present not inglorious condition.

Yale University

EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

DER AUFSTIEG EUROPAS. By *Giacomo Devoto, Antonio Garcia y Bellido, Raymond Lantier, et al.* [Historia Mundi, Band III.] (Bern, Switzerland: Francke Verlag. 1954. Pp. 528. DM 26.50.)

THE third volume of this truly international series consists of thirteen essays by ten contributors from eight different countries. The editors have wisely given each contributor a free hand, contenting themselves with helpful cross references where the discussion overlaps. The reader can thus see for himself how frequently

scholars disagree in their interpretations. A detachable chronological chart and a brief foreword by Fritz Valjavic of Munich are almost the only unifying factors in a volume which ranges over some two thousand years. The chief narrative deals with classical history from Cretan and Mycenaean times to the unification of Italy under Rome. In a chapter on "Crete and Mycenae," Fritz Schachermeyr assumes the validity of Michael Ventris' brilliant hypothesis, but his views may need revision if the recent article of A. J. Beattie ("Mr. Ventris' Decipherment of the Minoan Linear B Script," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXVI [1956], 1-17) finds favor. Other subjects treated in this part are: "European Bronze and Iron Age Cultures" (Pia Laviosa-Zambotti); "The Genesis and Nature of Writing" (Franz Miltner); "The Achaemenid Empire" (Henrik Samuel Nyberg); "Greek and Phoenician Colonization in the Western Mediterranean: Carthage" (Antonio Garcia y Bellido); and "The Celts" (Raymond Lantier).

The longest single contribution is Schachermeyr's chapter on "The History of the Greeks to 356." Perhaps because the author is presently engaged in writing a separate history of Greece, he finds it unnecessary here to support his strongly individualistic interpretation by evidence. Schachermeyr is especially interested in the role of great men in Greek history. At first they served their cities with a devotion bordering on fanaticism. Under the influence of the sophists, however, they ceased to identify their own interests with those of the state and aimed at personal self-sufficiency. There is nothing unusual in this, but the author betrays his own sympathies when he speaks of the petty bourgeois spirit which resented the superiority of great men in oligarchies and democracies alike. Athens and Sparta, he thinks, forfeited all chance for supremacy by distrusting their men of genius, Athens in 407 when she turned out Alcibiades and Sparta in 396 when she rejected the leadership of Lysander. But this is surely an oversimplification. The failure of Athens and Sparta to unite the Greeks is a matter of history; that it came about because of the jealousy of little men for their more gifted fellows is less apparent.

Franz Miltner, in his chapters on Macedonia and the Hellenistic period, is attracted by the great military personalities, to whom he assigns the worthiest motives. Theopompus, who knew more about Philip than any other historian, would scarcely have said that he was "obviously moved by the sacred desire for power for himself and his people, convinced that only by such power could order be established." Miltner's Alexander resembles that of Wilcken rather than that of Tarn. He does add one more suggestion to the many that have already been made for Alexander's visit to Siwah, that he was trying to round out the boundaries of the Persian empire. In discussing the struggles after Alexander's death, Miltner contrasts the older Macedonian viewpoint of Philip with the broader Persian outlook of Alexander. Antigonos, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy are treated sympathetically, but Seleucid policy is sharply criticized for its western emphasis.

Willy Theiler, in his chapter on Greek literature, necessarily leaves out much. In view of what he manages to include, however, it is strange to find no mention

of Hieronymus of Cardia. Is it possible that Beloch's widely criticized views on the superiority of Duris of Samos to Hieronymus are to be revived?

Two chapters carry the narrative of early Roman history: "Ancient Italy," by Giacomo Devoto, and "The Unification of Italy under Rome," by Viktor Pöschl. Both deal with a period in which scanty evidence must be supplemented by educated guesses. There are interesting speculations on the origins of Etruscan civilization and on the old question of the struggle between the orders, a suggestive discussion of the Roman concepts of *fides* and *auctoritas*, and an interpretation of Roman expansion as the search for security. The volume ends with a lucid though lamentably brief chapter on "The Characteristics of Old Roman Religion" by Hendrik Wagenvoort.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUEDELL S. BROWN

FRÜHES MITTELALTER. By Franz Altheim, Rudolf Buchner, Wilhelm Ensslin, et al. [Historia Mundi, Band V.] (Bern, Switzerland: Francke Verlag, 1956. Pp. 528. DM 28.80.)

So far six volumes of this ambitious History of the World have appeared, and the editor hopes that the remaining four volumes will be out before the end of 1958. The subtitle of this volume, *Frühes Mittelalter*, is more approximate than exact. The three chapters on Western Europe (Ensslin, Buchner, and Tellenbach) extend from the fall of the Roman Empire to ca. A.D. 900, and the two chapters on the Arabs (Gabrieli and Tschudi) describe the life of Muhammad and the spread of Islam down to the fall of the Ummayyads. But such precise chronological limits were not possible for the other chapters. Thus, the history of Scandinavia (Nerman) and of the western Slavs (Hauptmann) is traced to the eleventh century, while that of the nomad peoples of central Asia (De Ferdinandy and Hausig) and of the eastern Slavs (Vernadsky) ends with the Mongol invasions under Jenghiz Khan. The early history of China and India was included in Volume II and the continuation will appear in Volume VIII, except that in the present volume Altheim has contributed a short chapter on the impact of the Greek kingdom of Bactria on northern India. The chapter contributed by Hermann Schneider entitled "Frühgermanische Geisteskultur" is more a work of the imagination than sober history, for only the last part dealing with the Eddas is based on satisfactory evidence. While many pages are devoted to Germanic epic and saga, of which nothing remains except the short fragment of the *Hildebrandslied*, *Beowulf* is dismissed in four lines as a *Buchepos*—by another contributor. The final chapter, "Weltgeschichtliche Einordnung des Frühmittelalters," by Steinacker, contains some shrewd observations. But, like Schneider's chapter, it is obsessed with *Germanentum*, and the attempt to find certain recurrent patterns in history, though fashionable at the moment, coupled as it is with a good deal of philosophical jargon (*Weltrhythmus*, *Dynamismus*, etc.), is unconvincing. In

short, each reader must judge for himself whether these handsome generalizations are either valid or significant.

It is a weakness of this kind of compilation (there are thirteen contributors to the present volume) that there is a certain amount of overlapping and occasional differences in interpreting the evidence. But, in all fairness, it should be added that cross references have been added in the text where more than one contributor has dealt with the same topic. Apart from the two chapters which have been criticized above, the various chapters are well done and authoritative, as far as your reviewer is competent to judge, particularly the two on Islam and Tellenbach's on the Carolingian Age. And yet some general criticisms suggest themselves. The treatment of Latin literature and thought through four centuries is woefully deficient. Boethius and John the Scot receive no mention, Cassiodorus and Bede are dismissed with a few lines each, and it is highly significant that the admirable book, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* by the late E. R. Curtius, is not included in the bibliographies. With all the emphasis on the Germanic debt, is it not strange that the Christian poetry in the vernaculars of the eighth and ninth centuries is passed over in silence? Furthermore, the internal history of the church does not receive adequate treatment. True, Buchner writes well on Gregory I, and Tellenbach's discussion of Charlemagne's reform of the Frankish church and his relations with the papacy is excellent. But little is said about the church in Spain after Isidore (Julian of Toledo is not mentioned), and the various doctrinal disputes of the later eighth and the ninth centuries, except the quarrel with the Greek Orthodox Church in the time of Charles the Great, are ignored. Finally, one could have wished for a fuller treatment of the economic history of the West through four centuries. What is provided is rather scrappy and scattered through several chapters.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

Modern European History

THE FIRST FOUR GEORGES. By J. H. Plumb. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. 188. \$4.50.)

THACKERAY, in his lectures on "The Four Georges," remarked upon what he called the "silent revolution" that separated English society of his day from that of the Regency and the reign of the fourth George. Changes, however, were not confined to manners and social customs, which were what Thackeray had in mind. Ideas, too, were changing, ideas on all kinds of subjects, including history. In the field of English constitutional history, for example (as Plumb has observed in another work), nineteenth-century historians imposed a pattern of constitutional development on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of which those centuries were not conscious. It was, for Victorians, an attractive pattern, uncomplicated and simple in its neatness, but it was shot through with historically dis-

torting aftermindedness, and therefore anachronism. The historians who framed it were deficient in what might be called "historical empathy"; they did not get sufficiently inside the minds and hearts of the historical figures with whom they dealt but whom they failed to place adequately in the context of their times.

Twentieth-century historical research, informed by fuller awareness of differences between past and present and among the periods of the past, has been playing havoc with Victorian patterns. In the work of historical reconstruction and reappraisal that has gone on, Dr. J. H. Plumb, a former student of George Macaulay Trevelyan, has lately been performing yeoman service. His previous books, all published within the last six or seven years, include *England in the Eighteenth Century* and biographies of Sir Robert Walpole and the Earl of Chatham; he has also edited and contributed to a collection of essays, *Studies in Social History*, published in 1955 as a tribute to Trevelyan on his eightieth birthday. Plumb is a blend of biographical, social, and political historian. He subscribes neither to the great-man theory of history nor to the common-man theory. He believes that great men, and even small men in great positions, have been significant in the historical process and that common men, even though they remain nameless, cannot properly be left out of account.

And so both kinds of men—and women too—appear in his latest book. In the main, however, he deals here with individuals in the governing classes—with the Georges themselves, of course, with other members of the royal family, and with the politicians who were in and out of office during these four reigns that spanned more than a hundred years of British history. Sumptuously illustrated and with few footnotes, the volume was evidently written primarily for "the curious general reader," for whose benefit, explicitly, a select bibliography was added. Scholars, however, will find much in it to interest them, especially the character sketches, which are products of extensive knowledge and thoughtful reflection and are often challenging and provocative.

New York, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

NORTH COUNTRY BISHOP: A BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM NICOLSON.

By *Francis Godwin James*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 65.]
(New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 330. \$4.50.)

THANKS to the leadership of Norman Sykes, a number of excellent biographies of eighteenth-century bishops have appeared since the publication of Sykes's own life of Edmund Gibson. First-rate studies of two archbishops, Tenison of Canterbury and Sharpe of York, and two other leading bishops of Queen Anne, Lloyd of Worcester and Crewe of Durham, have been made. Professor James's biography of William Nicolson, for many years Bishop of Carlisle, is a worthy addition to this company.

Originating in one of Wallace Notestein's seminars, this book bears the stamp of good writing that is the hallmark of so many of Notestein's students, but it

owes even more to Canon Sykes's influence. The works of Sykes and his disciples impress us by the three-dimensional character of the pictures of eighteenth-century ecclesiastical figures which they present. This is fortunately true of James's study of Bishop Nicolson. The extensive correspondence and numerous diaries left by the bishop are used as a foundation for the biography, and from these sources emerges a clear portrait of Nicolson—solid, opinionated, hot-tempered, but honest, capable, and conscientious.

Son of a Cumberland country parson, Nicolson was educated at Queen's College, traditionally hospitable to North Country lads, and he made the most of his stay at Oxford, acquiring a reputation as an Anglo-Saxon scholar. Blessed with influential friends, notably Secretary Williamson and Sir Christopher Musgrave, leader of the Tory interest in Cumberland and Westmorland, Nicolson was offered preferment in his native county, first as archdeacon, then as bishop of Carlisle. Most of his mature life was spent in Cumberland. James gives a thorough and well-documented account of the diocese of Carlisle, its characteristics, its clergy, and the problems which Nicolson faced. He describes effectively the bitter dispute with the able and witty Atterbury, a formidable opponent who was saddled upon the bishop for a number of years as the dean of his cathedral, and the pathetic acceptance of a richer Irish see, which meant voluntary exile for the bishop, then a widower of sixty-two with eight children—hence the necessity for a larger income!

If there is a fault to be found with this biography, it is that James is not quite at ease in the field of politics. The general progress of the bishop's political development from Tory to "Church Whig" is described satisfactorily, but there are three or four disconcerting errors, too minor to be listed here, which seem to betray some unfamiliarity with the political personalities and parliamentary constituencies of the period. These are small blemishes, however, in an otherwise extremely useful work.

The College of Wooster

ROBERT WALCOTT

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume XII, Part I, 1833-1874.

Edited by G. M. Young and W. D. Handcock. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 1017. \$15.20.)

THE volume of *English Historical Documents* covering the mid-nineteenth century, the fifth of the series to appear, follows the plan of the others in presenting excerpts from contemporary sources, divided in this case into twelve sections, with a short introduction and select bibliography for each section and a longer general introduction and select general bibliography at the beginning of the book. The twelve parts cover the monarchy, parliament, economic changes, the churches, Chartism and free trade, law, the central administration, local government, the Poor Law, public health, education, and industrial conditions and legislation. The editors have wisely concentrated their attention on "those social

and political transformations which constitute the central thread of Victorian history" (p. 4). They have excluded colonial and foreign policy, already treated in excellent source collections, and documentation of Irish affairs has been postponed to a subsequent volume. Even so, the formidably abundant materials for the nineteenth century, particularly *Hansard* from 1820 and the *Parliamentary Papers* from 1836, have posed staggering problems of selection. At the same time, they have made possible a richness and fullness of presentation, of which the editors have taken full advantage. Of the 269 documents and excerpts in the book, some of considerable length, nearly half come from the *Parliamentary Papers*, while those drawn from this source plus *Hansard* and the *Statutes of the Realm*, i.e., from government publications of all kinds, make up about three fourths of the total number.

Treatment of individual topics is necessarily incomplete, for a collection of this scope for the nineteenth century can be illustrative only, and there may be some argument as to what should or should not have been included. A selection from so broad a field can scarcely avoid being controversial. Yet what makes the book controversial also constitutes its strength. A narrower and more detailed presentation would have been far less satisfactory. The imagination and breadth of interest displayed by the editors, the variety of their topics and of the types of sources they use, give an impressive cumulative impact to the volume as a whole. The collection is vivid and exciting, difficult to put down; one reads to the end of a section and wishes for more.

The thirteen introductions, the long initial one and the twelve shorter ones, add greatly to the effectiveness of the book. Together they make a narrative and analytical text of about 150 pages, which it would be difficult to improve. Although their stated purpose is merely to place the documents in a context that will render them intelligible, a task which they perform admirably, the editors, in dealing with such large subjects, have, of necessity, grappled with general problems of historical interpretation. In doing this they show great knowledge, including familiarity with results of very recent research, and a maturity and sophistication that place their comments entirely out of the range of the conventional textbook accounts. The volume is an immense achievement of labor and intelligence and should revolutionize the teaching of nineteenth-century English history.

State University of Iowa

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by J. R. M. Butler. GRAND STRATEGY, Volume V, AUGUST 1943-SEPTEMBER 1944. By John Ehrman. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xvii, 634. \$7.82 postpaid.)

THE crucial period of Allied strategic planning between August, 1943, and September, 1944, marked by the first and second Quebec conferences and the

Tehran meeting, is carefully and objectively described in this first of six volumes on strategy to be published in the United Kingdom Military Series. Mr. Ehrman, sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has explored the British official and private papers and has drawn on pertinent American documents and published histories. From a historian's viewpoint, the book and the series are somewhat marred by the decision not to cite sources which are unopened to public inspection. This has led authors to hold their citations of published works to a minimum lest it appear that they have relied mainly on secondary sources.

The long debate over Mediterranean versus European strategy and the making and canceling of plans for operations in Southeast Asia and the Pacific dominate the book. There are also interesting accounts of British activities in Greece, the shift of Allied aid from Mihailovic to Tito, Russian failure to aid the Polish uprising in Warsaw, and British efforts to push operations in Italy and the Adriatic. Such problems as diminishing manpower, landing craft shortages, and supply difficulties are discussed to provide proper backdrops for the discussion of strategy. Ehrman outlines briefly but expertly the development of operations in northwest Europe from the early planning stages in 1943 to the slowing of the drive to the Rhine in September, 1944. The debates over strategic air targets in Germany, the landings in southern France, and Eisenhower's broad front strategy are discussed dispassionately.

The author accepts the view that the Allies, in agreeing on basic strategic aims against the enemy, did not need to neglect their individual interests. Thus the Americans agreed with the British that Germany was the main enemy but looked askance at British proposals for operations against Hitler in the eastern Mediterranean. The British for their part did not share Mr. Roosevelt's enthusiasm for aiding Chiang Kai-shek but stressed instead the importance of operations in Burma and the Indian Ocean. Admiral King was uninterested in British offers of naval aid in the Pacific, but London felt it was important that the British have a share in recapturing some of their former imperial possessions.

In explaining major British and American disagreements over strategy, the author wisely says that the British, in years of maritime warfare against continental powers with superior forces, had learned the value of strategic flexibility. The Americans, with a different experience and with greater resources and strength, preferred to follow a single, well-prepared plan. Unlike many writers, Ehrman does not berate one or the other. He is no more willing to censure one of the parties for its strategic approach than to blame one for being an insular and the other a continental power. In short, he has set a high scholarly standard for those who wish to deal with the disputed questions of World War II.

Washington, D. C.

FORREST C. POGUE

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Civil Series).

Edited by *Sir Keith Hancock*. FOOD, Volume II, STUDIES IN ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL. By *R. J. Hammond*. 1956. Pp. xiii, 835. \$9.29 postpaid. CIVIL DEFENCE. By *Terence H. O'Brien*. 1955. Pp. xvii, 729. \$6.98 postpaid. STUDIES OF OVERSEAS SUPPLY. By *H. Duncan Hall* and *C. C. Wrigley*, with a Chapter by *J. D. Scott*. 1956. Pp. xi, 537. \$6.98 postpaid. THE ADMINISTRATION OF WAR PRODUCTION. By *J. D. Scott* and *Richard Hughes*. 1955. Pp. xii, 544. \$6.98 postpaid. FINANCIAL POLICY, 1939-45. By *R. S. Sayers*. 1956. Pp. xv, 608. \$6.98 postpaid. AGRICULTURE. By *Keith A. H. Murray*. 1955. Pp. xii, 422. \$5.60 postpaid. (London: H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green and Company; distrib. by British Information Services, New York.)

THESE are some of the latest volumes in the Civil Series, edited by Sir Keith Hancock as part of the scholarly official British *History of the Second World War*. Mr. O'Brien's account of *Civil Defence* outlines the experiences of the First World War, records the character of air raid defense planning after 1924, and discusses the development and operation of air raid precautions, emergency fire services, the warning system, the black-out, air raid shelters, and evacuation during the period of wartime attack. Perhaps its most striking feature is the demonstration that the problem most feared—that of death and injuries in such numbers as to swamp burial and hospital services—was in the event much less severe than anticipated. In contrast, provision of temporary shelter, makeshift clothing, and services of a lesser urgency was a tremendous burden upon a civil defense administration whose success or failure along these lines was of overwhelming importance to morale.

Mr. Hammond's second volume of a projected trilogy dealing with food policy and administration is considerably longer and more detailed than any of the other volumes under review. Essentially, it is a series of self-contained monographs concerned with the use of statutory rules and orders to regulate certain home-produced foods, the development of emergency feeding arrangements, and the complexities of consumer rationing. These monographs are not policy studies but step-by-step lessons in the administration of food control. As such, they will be of more interest, perhaps, to members of the food trades and to students of administration than to history students, who will be better served by the material devoted to the growth of policy in the first volume of this food trilogy.

Studies of Overseas Supply displays some of the same inevitable weaknesses that Hammond's melange has. Three authors have contributed a number of chapters dealing with some nine problems: North American munitions, cash procurement in the United States, Lend-Lease procurement, allocations and programs, the Combined Boards, the Combined Raw Materials Board, British war organization in the United States, scientific collaboration between the United Kingdom and North America, and the Eastern Hemisphere. This very listing of chapter headings suggests, and correctly, a lack of unity in the volume, in which the

reader is presented a series of case studies to supplement the careful outline of the major problems of overseas supply which appeared in Hall's previous *North American Supply*.

The Administration of War Production, like the *Studies of Overseas Supply*, supplements a broader account already published, in this case Professor Postan's *British War Production*. Messers Scott and Hughes concern themselves with no less than six departments of state: the Admiralty, the War Office, the Air Ministry, the Ministries of Supply and Aircraft Production, and the Ministry of Production. From the functional point of view, the topics considered are the administration of naval, military, and aircraft production and the manner in which this was coordinated and directed at the top. The problems of collegiate authorship, about which British scholars sometimes chide their American colleagues, are illustrated by this volume. Hughes has written the chapters on the Admiralty, which follow the same pattern of organization as the others, but the author's intimate personal experience of the issues he discusses, combined with a flair for rendering even technical matters understandable, makes his contributions to the volume by far the liveliest and most interesting.

In my view, the most successful of these volumes are the studies on *Agriculture* and *Financial Policy*. In the former, the prewar history of agriculture, a chronological summary of the wartime struggle to maximize production, and a retrospective analysis of agricultural production policy indicate the bare framework of a most impressive achievement. Certainly one gets the impression from these somewhat underwritten pages that British land utilization during the war was strikingly efficient. Mr. Murray carefully weighs mistakes as well as successes, but his discussion reveals how fully the British agricultural industry rose to the challenge of wartime urgency.

Professor Sayers' account of *Financial Policy* is a delight to read, even for a reviewer who is sometimes unable to keep up with all of the implications of his economic exegesis. Starting with a chapter of straight economic analysis, which is invaluable to the noneconomist as background, he assesses the wartime budgets and then turns to questions of internal capital policy, such as the rate of interest, and of external finance, including the Lend-Lease problem in its financial aspect and the significance of the defense of sterling. There is a particularly penetrating discussion, from a very British point of view, of the issues raised by the approach of the end of Lend-Lease as Britain faced the prospect of a crushing postwar financial situation. Sayers, to the great advantage of his reader, succeeds less than his fellow authors in meeting the somewhat rigid requirement that officials should rarely be mentioned by name. Possibly he could not have prevented J. M. Keynes—whether “official” or not—from appearing alive and vital. In any case, Keynes strides across these pages, writing colorful memoranda, talking with the Americans, often overstating his case, but always throwing light—usually of two varieties—on the problems about which he was advising the Treasury. In sum, this is a distinguished and balanced discussion of financial policy, marred slightly, in my judgment, by the fact that Sayers does rather less than justice to Mr. Henry

Morgenthau, Jr. Altogether, whatever their differences, these six volumes clearly maintain the standards of careful and thoughtful "official" history set by earlier contributions to the series.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS. Tome II, INSTITUTIONS FRANÇAISES, DU MOYEN AGE A 1789; DE 1789 A 1870. By Jacques Ellul. ["Thémis" Manuels Juridiques, Économiques et Politiques.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. viii, 557; 559-887. 1,300 fr.; 600 fr.)

SOME time ago Professor Frank Manuel of Brandeis University commented that "Frenchmen regularly proliferate syntheses—it is one of their unique capacities." Professor Ellul's synthesis and the series of which it is a part would seem to provide further confirmation of this observation. The "Thémis" series (twelve textbooks and two source books) is intended to provide basic manuals for French students of law under the revised curriculum of 1954. A *History of Institutions* is included in the series, the first volume apparently dealing with non-French institutions, the second (the item here reviewed) with those of France from feudal times to 1870. This second volume is itself bound in two volumes, each divided into reasonably balanced parts, chapters, and sections, which provide a clear pattern of the substance of the work. The only complication arises from the fact that each chapter is set in two sizes of type—the larger for the essential details, the smaller for an *état des questions* for more serious students. In addition to a general bibliography at the beginning, a special bibliography is appended to almost every chapter. These bibliographies are good, though they seem designed rather for the teacher than for the student. And, despite the editor's assurance that many foreign titles will be included, such items are relatively few.

In the preface the author indicates his awareness of the traditional weaknesses of manuals, especially when they must be fitted into a curriculum. He also manifests an appreciation of the dangers of trying to view French institutions in "isolation" and further demonstrates his understanding of historical processes by refusing to limit or exclude discussion of the ideas and doctrines that lend real meaning to institutional history. It is a pity that he did not round out his efforts with a comparable conclusion.

The first part of this two-volume work examines the institutions of medieval France—feudal society, the manor, economic life and the towns, the church, and the development of the feudal monarchy. Part II traces the institutional, economic, and social crises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the growth of monarchical ideas and forms and presents a detailed analysis of the institutions of the sixteenth century. Part III deals at length with the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the power of the state, economic, political, and social institutions, political doctrines, public services, and the church. The closing forty pages focus attention upon the "liberal trends" of the twenty years before the Revolution. In the second volume, Part IV covers the years from 1789

to 1815—one chapter each on the constitutional monarchy, the republic, the thermidorian reaction, and the Napoleonic era. Part V, in an even more astonishing exhibition of condensation, treats the "Liberal Era (1815-1870)" in three brief chapters.

The debt of this volume to Jacques Godechot's *Les Institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* is everywhere so apparent (as it should be) that it precludes further comment by the present reviewer on that portion of the book he feels best qualified to judge. Insofar as he is capable, however, of evaluating a work so vast in scope, the reviewer considers this to be a good job well done, a genuine brief history of French institutions in the strict sense of the term, a successful attempt to approximate in two small volumes what Louis Halphen's *Histoire des Institutions* is designed to achieve in six large ones.

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

LA GRANDE NATION: L'EXPANSION RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LA FRANCE DANS LE MONDE 1789-1799. Tomes I and II. By Jacques Godechot. [Collection Historique.] (Paris: Aubier, Éditions Montaigne. 1956. Pp. 356; 368-758. 1,980 fr. the set.)

THESE volumes are an invaluable contribution to the history of the French Revolution era, not only for extensive new material but also for new interpretations of the era as an Occidental revolution. Three quarters of the volumes, drawn from foreign archives hitherto little consulted and from recent monographic material in many languages, throw entirely new light on the complex and less-known period of the Directory. A useful chronological table and the texts of a few key documents for the expansionist policy are provided at the end of the second volume. *La Grande Nation*, the name given France during the decade from 1789 to 1799, is neither military nor diplomatic history. It supplements both and goes beyond. The volumes are an admirable synthesis of the ideology of the French Revolution, and of the methods, practices, and results of expansion, from the beginning of the French Revolution to 18 Brumaire, 1799, when Napoleon replaced the *Grande Nation* with the *Grand Empire*.

Godechot develops several important interpretations of the era of revolution. He looks upon the period neither as a revolution in France nor a French revolution spreading beyond France, but as an Occidental (if not Atlantic) revolution. He points to the strong influence of the American Revolution. The American experience, however, was forgotten in Europe when war began in 1792, and it was French Revolutionary principles that spread in Europe thereafter. Godechot concludes that French ideas of liberty, equality, and self-determination exerted little permanent influence on those countries of the West where French armies did not operate or where no social revolution accompanied the political, or on Spain and countries of Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean where illiteracy and ignorance of the French language hindered their spread. The chief countries

affected were those conquered by France before 1799. Important new material is presented for influences on Poland, Egypt, Holland, and especially Italy.

Godechot denies that the Revolution was a bloc for the period 1792-1799, even though its opponents looked upon it as such; five hundred pages of new material on expansion during the Directory demonstrate variations in French principles and policy and diverse reactions to them. The origins of much nineteenth-century nationalism were observable in the adoption and resistance to French Revolutionary ideas. Neither principles, methods, nor results were uniform in the diverse areas from Holland to Egypt.

The French Revolutionary expansionists and the "patriots" cooperating with them, Godechot believes, were sincerely inspired by ideals of liberty, equality, and self-determination. Divergence between principles and practice, accompanied by conscription, requisitions, and pillage, led, it is true, to disillusionment and insurrection. The divergence is explained by the shifts of leaders and policies within France, by self-seeking agents, the exigencies of the war, and the conflicts between diverse social strata in conquered territories. The author argues convincingly that resistance to the French Revolutionaries was resistance not to the principles of the Revolution but to occupational policies; he points out that Italian insurgents used French Revolutionary principles against French rule. Nationalists remembered the ideals and forgot oppressive features of French rule, between 1797 and 1830, when France again emerged as the leader of Revolutionary principles.

Whereas the bourgeoisie gained a dominant role in France during the French Revolution, this was not the case outside France. In areas where French rule liberated the lower classes, they tended to support the French, but in most areas, the "patriots" were drawn from the bourgeoisie and intellectuals. However, the bourgeoisie was alienated by the economic exploitation accompanying French expansion. Valuable new information is presented about the struggles between unitary and federalist republicans and between social groups in each occupied area. Godechot's findings are particularly extensive for Holland and for the influence of Babouvism in Corsica and Italy. Where political revolution was unaccompanied by permanent social changes, French Revolutionary principles failed to take hold, and economic exploitation and the taking of art treasures led to resistance, wars of liberation, and to nineteenth-century nationalism. Only much later did democratic ideals again appear.

Only a few striking citations of the wealth of new material can be suggested here. Godechot maintains that the doctrine of natural frontiers was not a tradition in France but was introduced by Anarchsis Cloots as a refugee in Revolutionary France. He credits the revolt of Poland in 1794 with saving the Revolution in France. He distinguishes clearly between Girondist and Jacobin attitudes on expansionism and analyses the strong influence of Babouvism on Jacobinism outside France. The chapter describing the influence of the French Constitution of 1795 (Year III) on those of sister republics is significant; although these constitutions were temporary, administrative machinery for local rule continued.

Godechot maintains that the spread of French Revolutionary principles contributed to secularism, tolerance, and respect for religion. His material on the press, particularly in Holland and North Italy, is new.

Godechot's indications of where our information is inadequate should stimulate new research. Among the topics needing study are judicial institutions in occupied territories, requisition and conscription in 1798-1799, operations of army contractors, the press in many areas, and especially changes in land ownership. American historians, it is clear, ought to investigate anew the interrelationships of France and the United States from 1792 to 1799.

These two volumes should be translated. They illustrate the finest tradition of French historical scholarship—exhaustive research, comprehensive framework, logical synthesis, and lucid literary style. *La Grande Nation* deserves recognition as a historical classic, along with volumes by Sorel, Aulard, Mathiez, and Lefebvre. It will change the basic conception of the French Revolution; historians will henceforth examine a longer period and a wider area—the era of Revolution in the Occident.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

SOIXANTE JOURS QUI EBRANLÈRENT L'OCCIDENT, 10 MAI-10 JUILLET 1940. Volume I, LA BATAILLE DU NORD (10 MAI-4 JUIN 1940): DE L'INVASION A DUNKERQUE. Volume II, LA BATAILLE DE FRANCE (4 JUIN-25 JUIN 1940): DE LA SOMME A L'ARMISTICE. Volume III, LA FIN DU RÉGIME (26 JUIN-10 JUILLET 1940): DE BORDEAUX A VICHY. By *Jacques Benoist-Méchin*. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1956. Pp. 454; 542; 685. 1,200 fr. each.)

1940: LA GUERRE DES OCCASIONS PERDUES. By *A. Goutard*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1956. Pp. 406. 990 fr.)

ON June 6, 1947, Jacques Benoist-Méchin, formerly Secretary of State to Admiral Darlan and to Pierre Laval, was condemned to death for treason by the High Court of Justice. From his prison cell at Fresnes, unrepentant, he wrote his farewells. Then the sentence was commuted to hard labor for life. Eventually, the man was set free. To all this there is no reference by publisher or author. Without any explanation of his own background, Benoist-Méchin presents the longest, and perhaps the best, single account of the fall of France, a day-by-day recital of the summer war and some fascinating chapters on the great principals. The book is a brilliant piecing together of the evidence, compelling, vibrant with life and the sense of urgency. It is, as the French reviews are saying, remarkable. But it is not magistral. No moderately careful reader will fail to see what it is: an elaborate and skillful justification of the armistice and the Vichy state, written by a man who despised the structure, ideology, and personnel of the Third Republic, admired authoritarianism, and was convinced of the virtues of cooperation with Hitler's Reich. (All his life he worshipped Napoleon—would his idol have ap-

proved this new enthusiasm?) No stranger to the European scene of the thirties would have the slightest suspicion, after perusing Benoist-Méchin's 1,600 pages, that the war was provoked by an aggressive state using some of the more degraded methods known to contemporary times. This mighty silence renders the three volumes profoundly unhistorical.

From the outset, Benoist-Méchin abandons his self-assigned role of detached chronicler; his volumes are full of innuendo, sarcasm, and the wildest misjudgments. To credit these pages, one would believe the war to have been provoked by Frenchmen and Englishmen, Paul Reynaud to have sacrificed his country to political ambition, the Quai d'Orsay to have attempted to destroy the criminal record of the Republic in that famous bonfire on May 16, anti-French machinations to have been responsible for the replacement of General Ironside by General Dill, and so forth. Time and again excellent analyses are ruined by untenable conclusions (the Mers el Kébir action is a case in point). Against a sympathetic and illuminating sketch of Leopold III must be set the malignant attacks upon De Gaulle which go beyond all intelligent argument. For someone whose acquaintance with England dates back to earliest schooldays (1911, so it was said during the trial), his misreading of the English situation could not be more flagrant: his account of English control of French public life is a travesty of the first order. Beside these intellectual faults, the merely technical errors (translations, misplaced references) are minor. Benoist-Méchin does not hesitate to manufacture dialogue out of indirect reporting; and this is acceptable only in the case of a historical novel—or if one is Maurice Paléologue.

Is it ignorance, or dishonesty, or the triumph of ideology? In so important and painstaking a work, it is at the very least a great pity. There are such curious things here: why list Churchill's memoirs in the bibliography and then quote from extracts in *Le Figaro*? Why call on Alfred Fabre-Luce to make the analysis one has obviously arrived at by oneself? There are also fine things: the perceptive sketches of some of the great political scenes, the sensitive account of the naval tragedy of July 3-4 under bright Mediterranean skies, the reconstruction of the last maneuvering in Vichy before the curtain fell on July 10. Long—even too long—as it is, this book will be read. One may hope, however, that it will not be too much read in silence.

Colonel Goutard's military study is the best account of the conflicting strategies, insufficient preparations, and faulty conduct of the French war that we now have. Quite openly hostile to the *grands chefs* of 1939-1940, it is sometimes too sarcastic, too wise-after-the-event, too maddeningly full of exclamation marks. It has no heroes, not even De Gaulle (who, contributing a letter, appears to have broken the rule by which all military books since 1945 have a preface by General Weygand), but it can be sympathetic, if not always so balanced as one might wish. The old gentlemen living out their lives on the Avenue Foch will dismiss it as the work of a professor; and it is. Founded on French and German and some, but by no means enough, British sources, its whole thesis is in the celebrated

title which Colonel Goutard now revives. And that is what Benoist-Méchin chooses never to admit, blinded by the awful fatality of events and his admiration for a brilliant army sweeping across Flanders and France amidst the rout of the old order.

Despite the serious reservations one may have, these different works are unquestionably important steps along the road toward some more satisfying and just, perhaps unattainable, account of the fall of the French Republic.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

DER SCHLIEFFEN-PLAN: KRITIK EINES MYTHOS. By *Gerhard Ritter*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1956. Pp. 201. DM 19.80.)

THE Schlieffen Plan, that fatal document so much talked about and never yet seen except by a select few, ought to have been published long before this in its preordained places, the *Dienstschriften* of its author (since 1937) or the volumes of the *Reichsarchiv's* history of the First World War (since 1925). No such publication was undertaken because of the *Kriegsschuld* complex of the Berlin offices that did not want to incur still more "guilt." Had not Schlieffen proposed something that must not be breathed—a march not only through Belgium but through still more neutral Holland as well? This silencing continued even after it had become known that Schlieffen's successor had disagreed with him on this point and that some other belligerent had not shown too much regard for Dutch neutrality either. With less respect for such *Verboten* or similar tabus than other German historians—such as Paul Herre, who "as a civilian historian would not have presumed to review a *kriegsgeschichtliche Darstellung*" (*Berliner Monatshefte*, XV, 81)—Gerhard Ritter, in the conspectus of his studies on *Statesmanship and Warmaking* (*AHR*, LXI [October, 1955], 122), went after the secret of the plan even during the Hitler age. It is only now, however, when the repositories of the relevant materials, as far as they survive, are fixed once more, that he can at last publish his findings, which include the plan's texts, variants, addenda, and a choice of maps, to all of which the greatest editorial care is dedicated.

The texts are preceded by a lucid genealogy of German planning for the two-fronts war since 1871, with the varying distribution of forces, changing from one to two, to one to four, and finally to one to eight, as between East and West. Ritter carefully examines the interdependence of strategy and diplomacy. When it proves to have been even less close than one would have expected, that is only in keeping with the "departmentality" of post-Bismarckian governance. Ritter's findings on this point do away with the theory that the final plan of December, 1905, was due to an understanding between the chief of staff and Holstein in the foreign office about precipitating a preventive war at that juncture, seemingly so favorable to Germany. Actually, the plan resulted "from purely military-technical considerations," with no specific regard for the political situation at the time, not to mention its foreseeable political consequences (pp. 44, 82).

Ritter demonstrates that, with all its technicality, the Schlieffen Plan is part and parcel of its author's general world outlook, though this aspect might have been stressed over and above Schlieffen's duly noted *Stockpreussentum*. One might come still closer to the matrix of the plan by viewing its author as a guardsman, falling behind in appreciating to the full the resources and problems of the latest technology of war, notably that of communicating with the far-flung armies, ultraconservative as to the raising of new formations which his plan actually required and which would have been available in the German war potential, conservative also in his belief that the antagonism of Russia was rather in the nature of a passing misunderstanding and in his contempt for the world's public opinion. But this would only strengthen Ritter's own conclusions that the Schlieffen Plan was not an infallible recipe for victory and that, with its rigidity and war-precipitating effects, it "appears directly as the beginning of the misfortune of Germany and Europe" (p. 93).

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

DAS FLORENTINISCHE STAATSBEWUSSTSEIN IM ÜBERGANG VON DER REPUBLIK ZUM PRINZIPAT. By *Rudolf von Albertini*. (Bern, Switzerland: Francke Verlag. 1955. Pp. 461. Cloth 34.50, paper 29.50 S.fr.)

WHILE there have been many monographs on Machiavelli and Guicciardini, this is the first coherent picture of the Florentine political outlook during the first half of the sixteenth century. It is also a systematic attempt to interpret the political ideas of the period, not as abstract doctrines but as responses to the successive phases of the historical tragedy in which Florence's republican liberty was replaced by a Medicean grand-duchy of Tuscany. Such a historical work has had to wait for today's strong interest in the interrelations between political thought and political reality, as well as for the insight, accepted by the author as a fact, that in quattrocento Florence humanistic culture had in many respects strengthened civic thought and that, in the atmosphere of Savonarolian republicanism, Florentine public spirit had experienced a full regeneration.

When Dr. von Albertini, with eyes thus sharpened, reexamined Florentine archives and libraries, he found that after 1500 the discussions among friends and foes of the republic had extended even farther than had been realized; his surprising findings are reproduced in an appendix of 110 closely printed pages. For instance, two discourses of late 1516 by Lodovico Alamanni, a hitherto almost unknown member of the Medicean group in Rome, are perhaps the first political tracts written with a knowledge of Machiavelli's *Principe*. They advise the same Lorenzo de' Medici to whom the *Principe* is dedicated about the means for a "*principe nuovo*" to build a central-Italian state (Machiavelli's problem!), but couple this with the counsel to eradicate the "*asineria*" of civic liberty from the heads of young Florentines, attracting them "*alli costumi cortesani*." Only against this truly "Machiavellian" interpretation can future students measure Machi-

avelli's own position. In regard to the problem of a "mixed constitution" for Florence, balancing aristocratic and popular elements, there is a program of 1527 by Guicciardini's nephew Niccolò, which contains many of the ideas known to us from the *Discorso sopra il fermare il governo di Firenze* by Giannotti, that is, by a representative of the popular party. Since Giannotti's *Discorso* cannot have been written before late in 1528 (see *Journal of the History of Ideas*, VIII [1947], 246-48), the contribution by the Guicciardini group was greater than has hitherto been known—an important fact for future interpretations of Francesco Guicciardini's own stand.

Von Albertini himself does not as yet use his new material for any critical revisions. He calls upon it to present a rounded, masterly analysis of how a two-fold crisis—of city-state liberty and of Italy's independence from foreign domination—was reflected in the action and thought of three major political groups: those members of the aristocracy who had reconciled themselves to the rise of a Medicean principality since the 1510's; the popular party, heroic in its defense of the republic in 1529-1530 but destructive of sound foreign policy, antagonistic to aristocratic privilege but reckless in its own exclusion of the lower class and the country population from citizenship; and, in the middle, menaced by both, the republic-minded part of the aristocracy. This group, the real hero of the drama, heir to the political idealism of fifteenth-century civic humanism but increasingly suspect, opposed, and mistreated by the democratic circles, was eventually forced to submit to absolutism, thereby losing its vitality, but not without making a last, considerable contribution to the thought and scholarship of the period of the Counter-Reformation.

This account is one of the foremost achievements in recent Renaissance research. Its great impressiveness derives mainly from an admirable integration of new findings with the harvest of past scholarship, but partly also from the coherent presentation of the story as an inevitable process of decline and fall. From the first, there is no doubt that reconciliation among the quarreling civic groups and preservation of republican liberty will be impossible because the day of the city-state republic is over. One wonders whether future scholars will not find cause to qualify this impression. If the author's rich biographical information is rearranged according to two successive generations—one born in the time of Lorenzo il Magnifico, the other born in the Savonarolian republic and intellectually formed during the 1510's and 1520's—we find that all the strongly anti-republican writers (except Lodovico Alamanni, who lived and wrote in Rome) belong in the first group, whereas almost every member of the same families whose formative years came after 1510 shows a changed physiognomy. The actual trend in the Florentine aristocracy before 1529-1530 was not, as the author's theory demands, a gradual estrangement from the republic, but exactly the opposite. Are we not giving too little weight to the fact that in consequence of the accession of two members of the Medici family to the papal see, Leo X in 1513-1521 and Clement VII in 1523-1534, the natural balance of forces in the Floren-

tine republic was disturbed? Can we, in view of the exuberance of civic energies before and during the last republic, be sure that the republic might not have survived, as it did in Venice, Siena, and Lucca, if the unparalleled and unforeseeable twenty-year exaltation of the Medici family had not occurred? Perhaps some parts of this story may yet be retold in terms rather different from those of a cause foredoomed.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

ISTORIIA NA B'LGARIIA. Volumes I and II. [B'lgarska Akademiia na Naukite, Institut za B'lgarska Istoriia.] (Sofia: D'rzhavno Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Izkustvo." 1954; 1955. Pp. 560; 1064. 33.60; 41.05 leva.)

THE Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in 1948, commissioned this general history of Bulgaria, which was written by a committee of the Institute of Bulgarian History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. A major achievement of Bulgarian Communist historians, the work serves as a good illustration of both the strengths and the weaknesses of the Soviet method of writing, and rewriting, history. The task of preparing these volumes was facilitated by its official sponsorship. The editorial committee was formed in 1950, and within two years most of the work was completed. In 1953 and 1954 the two volumes were reviewed in draft at meetings of specialists in Sofia and Moscow and were then revised for publication. Lively criticism on the first volume was aroused at the review meeting in Sofia, since non-Communist historians were present at the discussion. As Bulgaria is still in transition to Communism, "bourgeois" and "Marxist" historians are allowed to coexist, although the latter occupy the most important academic positions. While it was not permissible to question the general interpretation, the authors were frequently challenged on accuracy, organization, and personalities (*Izvestiia na Instituta za B'lgarska Istoriia*, V [1954], 415-79; *Istoricheski Pregled*, X [Jan.-Feb., 1954], 108-26). In Moscow the discussion was more circumspect (*Voprosy Istarii*, X [Jan., 1954], 186-88; XI [Dec., 1955], 194-97), its chief interest being that Soviet scholars were themselves preparing a two-volume history of Bulgaria which appeared at about the same time.

The volumes are carefully edited, with bibliographies, indexes, and nineteen specially designed maps in color. They constitute the first general interpretation by Bulgarian historians that covers the entire thirteen centuries of their country's history. The work done by earlier Bulgarian historians, much of which was of high quality, was limited very largely to the medieval and early modern periods. The emphasis in these volumes is primarily on the recent period. Of the sixteen hundred pages, one third are devoted to the twelve centuries up to liberation in 1878, somewhat less than a third to the periods of "capitalism" (1878-1900) and "imperialism" (1900-1917), and well over one third to the "general crisis of capitalism" (1917-1944) and to "Bulgaria on the road to socialism" since 1944.

While this is a comprehensive narrative, useful especially for its detailed treat-

ment of the years since the First World War, its shortcomings are those which its sponsorship would lead one to expect. Only in a few cases are the authors recognized scholars in the periods assigned to them. The Soviet version of Marxist periodization is adapted in an arbitrary fashion to Bulgarian conditions. In international relations, Russia is pictured throughout history as Bulgaria's only benefactor. In the period after 1917, the Bulgarian Communist party emerges as the consistent and recognized leader in the struggle against "monarcho-fascist" tyranny. Popular national heroes, such as Khristo Botev and Vasil Levsky, and literary figures, such as Ivan Vazov and Anton Strashimirov, among others, are posthumously designated as leaders in the struggle against the "bourgeois camp" and by implication as precursors of Communism. Events and influences which contradict this interpretation are distorted or ignored. The bibliography is limited to works by Bulgarian and Russian authors, with the exception of Konstantin Jireček, the Czech scholar.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

DIE KROATEN: DER SCHICKSALSWEG EINES SÜDSLAWENVOLKES.

By *Rudolf Kiszling*. (Cologne: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1956. Pp. viii, 266. DM 18.60.)

THE history of a people is far more difficult to chronicle than the history of a state. When these people are divided among various political jurisdictions the task becomes formidable indeed. Despite these obstacles, Kiszling has brought unity and direction into his excellent history of the Croatians. A short, encyclopedic account covers the period when those Croatians not subject to Turkish domination passed under Habsburg control. A hundred pages brings their history to 1918 and a section on "The Croatians under Serbian Domination." This is followed by what is no doubt the most original part of the book, a sixty-page history of the Axis-sponsored separate Croatian state, 1941-1945. The study is well documented and there is an excellent bibliography. The author has drawn generously from material in the *Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv* and the *Verwaltungsarchiv* in Vienna and, important for the last section, on the manuscript of Edmund von Glaise-Horstenau's *Erinnerungen an die Dienstzeit als Bevollmächtigter Deutscher General in Kroatien* (Vienna, 1941-1944). Kiszling has also consulted various persons who played a leading part in the more recent period.

The author has ingeniously fitted Croatian history into the vaster history of the Habsburg Empire and the history of Southeastern Europe. A few deft sentences or paragraphs give the numerous Turkish wars and constitutional crises their proper settings. Some chapters are devoted to cultural affairs, but political and military events dominate. A good deal of attention is accorded the special Croatian military frontier organization which was established in 1522 and was not finally dissolved until 1868-1881. This peculiar organization not only served as a barrier to the Turks but also, after 1710, undertook sanitation control and

aided in trade regulation. During these four centuries, except for one brief interlude, there was a civil Croatia and the *Militärgrenze* or *Konfin*. The struggle of the Croatians against Hungarian dominance is a recurrent theme; it was Hungarian intransigence which blocked the creation of a united Croatia within the Habsburg state. After 1918 the Croatians continued their struggle for autonomy in the new Serb-Croat-Slovene state, finally achieving their goal to a marked degree in the agreement of August 26, 1939.

The Axis powers had no plans to establish an independent Croatia when Hitler attacked Yugoslavia in 1941. According to Axis agreement on spheres of influence, Yugoslavia was to be under Italian dominance, but the need to recruit new fighting units led Hitler to take an interest in Croatia. By 1944 there were some 258,000 Croatians under arms serving the new Croatia and Germany. Here the account suffers under the burden of many names, and only the military historians will relish the detail concerning the movements of divisions, regiments, and battalions in the struggle with the Partisans, Chetniks, and Italians. Yet this section adds much new material and places the Croatian share in World War II in proper perspective. While the savage nature of the fighting in this area is not glossed over, there is no particular attempt to describe it.

There are several excellent maps. Those showing the religious pattern as of 1931 and the Axis partition of Yugoslavia of July 8, 1941, are particularly noteworthy.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

THE FATE OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: HOPES AND FAILURES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Edited by *Stephen D. Kertesz*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 463. \$6.25.)

THE end of World War II witnessed a curious paradox: at the very time colonialism was being overthrown in Asia a new colonialism was being established in Europe. An area stretching from the Baltic almost to the Aegean and inhabited by nearly a hundred million people fell victim to Soviet imperialism. The nations involved were throughout their history attached to the West; they comprised what Halecki calls the "borderlands of western civilization." Today the yoke of the East European colossus weighs heavily upon them. How did such a tragedy occur? The unsavory story is told in *The Fate of East Central Europe*.

No less than sixteen East European experts collaborated in the writing of this book. They trace American diplomatic relations with the countries of East Central Europe and relate briefly the history of each country since the First World War, emphasizing developments since World War II. Two of the experts carefully analyze the economic problems of the area. Congressman Bentley of Michigan,

in a concluding chapter, speculates about the problems connected with returning to a free society in the postliberation period.

One valuable lesson for Americans permeates the entire volume. It receives special emphasis in the chapter by Philip Mosely, but it is by no means neglected by the other authors. The lesson is a familiar one—that there can be no effective diplomacy without adequate military power. Here lies the explanation of the tragedy of East Central Europe. To save at least part of the area from Soviet domination, Churchill advocated an invasion through the Balkans, but he could not persuade American military authorities of the wisdom of his proposal. The State Department was hampered in its planning for East Central Europe by the Army's refusal to accept responsibilities in this area. Even Austria was regarded by the Army as part of the Balkans and, therefore, outside its sphere of interest. In the immediate postwar period the location of troops was the decisive factor in determining the future of an area. Because of the absence of American troops, East Central Europe was left to the mercy of the Soviet Union.

A change in American policy toward East Central Europe became apparent only at Yalta in February, 1945, when the United States began to express an interest in the area. By that time, of course, it was too late; East Central Europe could not be saved for the West. To prevent any further expansion of the Soviet empire, the United States devised the policy of "containment," which to this day forms the basis of our relations with the Soviet Union. The present administration, as Robert Byrnes points out in his essay, had temporarily substituted the policy of "liberation" for that of "containment." That the new policy was merely political propaganda for use primarily in the presidential campaign became evident with the administration's inaction during the June, 1953, uprising in East Germany. The developments in Poland and Hungary in 1956 furnished even more convincing proof of the hollowness of the policy.

In his penetrating treatment of Czechoslovakia, Ivo Duchacek raises the important question of how long the captive peoples may be expected to keep faith in the prospect of their ultimate liberation. He does not attempt a reply, for indeed the question has no specific answer. One can only hope that the American policies of "containment" and "peaceful competition" on the one hand and internal political changes within the Soviet Union on the other will make possible the emergence of new Titos and Gomulkas among the other captive countries. Such a development might well prove to be the first step on the road to ultimate freedom.

Ohio State University

CHARLES MORLEY

MOSCOW AND THE UKRAINE, 1918-1953: A STUDY OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK NATIONALITY POLICY. By *Basil Dmytryshyn*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1956. Pp. 310.)

ORIGINALLY a doctoral dissertation at the Institute of Slavic Studies, this work is a substantially successful effort to survey relations between the Soviet govern-

ment and the Ukrainian people as well as developments in the Communist party of Ukraine under Lenin and Stalin. It is well documented and, while not exhaustive, is quite thorough in treating the principal aspects of the problem. The first of the work's nine chapters is a brief survey of the pre-1917 Communist writings that provided the theoretical basis for subsequent Soviet nationality policies. Chapter ii deals with the revolutionary period from 1918 to 1920, primarily in terms of the anti-Ukrainian bias of many Russian Bolsheviks and the way in which Lenin dealt with the problem. Lenin skillfully succeeded in winning over a number of Ukrainians to the Soviet cause, although naked aggression was the original means by which Soviet rule was established if not consolidated in Ukraine. "Ukrainization" is the topic of the third chapter, which provides a remarkably distinct picture of what this policy entailed, why it had to be adopted, and the dangers which it created for Moscow.

The unwillingness of certain Russian Communists to recognize and respect Ukrainian national rights led to three prominent "national deviations" among the Ukrainian Communists in the fields of literature, politics, and economics in the form of Khvylovism, Shumskyism, and Volobuevism. Communism appears to breed other isms—Bukharinism (still attacked in the Soviet Union), Titoism, "bourgeois nationalism," and "cosmopolitanism"—and consequently these three Ukrainian isms are even today of more than academic or purely historical significance. Dr. Dmytryshyn's treatment of these deviations is concise and balanced; included are representative excerpts from the writings of Khvylovy, Shumsky, and Volobuev—all of whom ultimately paid with their lives for their boldness.

The policies of Stalinism in Ukraine are dealt with in chapters entitled "Integral Standardization," which covers the 1929-1934 period as a turning point in Moscow's policies, and "Total Regimentation," which surveys developments from 1934 to 1953 and documents the forceful introduction of the Russian language into many aspects of Ukrainian life. Three highly detailed, analytical chapters on economic relations, federal ties, and the national composition of the Communist party of Ukraine conclude the volume. The last of these, in particular, demonstrates the extent to which the party has been an alien force rather than a native organization.

The author assumed a task of considerable magnitude in this volume, and it is not surprising that there are certain omissions. For example, no mention is made of the role of Molotov as Secretary of the Communist party of Ukraine in 1920 nor of Liubchenko's suicide in August, 1937. The circumstances surrounding Khrushchev's arrival in Ukraine are not given proper attention. Petrovsky's role as a champion of Ukrainization and titular executive of the Ukrainian S.S.R. as well as his rehabilitation in 1953 are not treated adequately. While these lacunae are unfortunate, it must be said that this is still a volume of great value and merit. The author has made available to English language readers much buried data and a wealth of statistical information regarding cultural policies and the relative eco-

conomic significance of Ukraine to tsarist Russia, to the First Five Year Plan, and to post-World War II Soviet Russia.

Yale University

JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.

FINLAND IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *C. Leonard Lundin*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 303. \$5.00.)

THE subject of Finland's part in the last war has recently attracted a number of writers, the latest of whom is Professor Lundin of the University of Indiana. His study is an admirable work that boldly deals with some of the complex diplomatic and military issues of the war period. Its chief merit is that it is based on the latest available Finnish, Swedish, and German sources. The book includes a masterly bibliographical essay on writers who "enlighten and mislead" readers.

How Finland found herself as a comrade in arms of Nazi Germany is ably discussed at great length. Lundin explains how the ill-famed "Transit Agreement" led the country to the brink of national catastrophe; as the author neatly puts it, "Finland's democracy was not functioning on this occasion." This is a most charitable verdict. From Finland's grim experiences, the author believes, much was learned. Under the impact of war misery, the Finnish people rid themselves of the *Suur-Suomi* or "Greater Finland" illusion. He doubts very much whether the country will depart in the foreseeable future from the line chosen by Paasikivi and followed by his successor, President Urho Kekkonen. The disastrous policy of Witting and Svinhufvud has been so discredited that its revival is most unlikely. The only fly in the ointment which the author detects is the "Mannerheim Legend" that the old Marshal perpetuates in his *Memoirs*. Lundin regards these reminiscences of the war years as a disservice to history as well as to the Finnish people, because of what Mannerheim refused to say, rather than what he did say.

Though nothing is more difficult than to predict the line Moscow may follow toward Finland in the future, Lundin ventures to believe that the Kremlin leaders have learned their lesson too: that it is easier for a Big Power to win territory than to win the hearts of a vanquished people. In all likelihood, the writer plausibly assumes, the Soviet government will follow a friendly course. Despite occasional bellicose outbursts in the Soviet press, the frequent visits paid by Soviet high officials and cultural missions to Helsinki indicate a desire for cordial co-existence. The return of the Porkkala base to Finland and the recently concluded mutual agreement pact serve as sufficient proof.

"The one country," states the author, "in which the Finnish wars of 1939 to 1944 seem to have taught some people the wrong lesson is Germany." Judging by such postwar publications as those of General Lothar Rendulic or Hermann Hölder, the Germans, according to Lundin, have "learned nothing and forgotten only what they wish to forget." They still prefer to focus their memory on Frederick the Great and Bismarck rather than on the cultural contributions they had made to Western civilization.

Finland in the Second World War is a work that merits careful reading. Along with the latest work of Dr. Max Jakobson (erroneously cited in the foreword as "Max Jackson"), *Diplomaatien talvisota*, Lundin's study is a valuable contribution to the historical literature on our recent tragic era.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

Near and Far Eastern History

THE IDEAS OF ARAB NATIONALISM. By *Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 227. \$4.00.)

HAZEM Zaki Nuseibeh, an American-educated official in the service of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan, offers this work as "an attempt to explore the genesis, ideas, attitudes, and orientations of Arab nationalism as they are discernible in contemporary thought on the subject." The author does not limit himself to a description of what Arabs have written about their political and social problems. Indeed, the general social and historical contexts of the ideas receive as much discussion as do the ideas themselves.

Nuseibeh surveys the development of the concepts of Arab nationality and nationalism from pre-Islamic times to contemporary discussions of the "constituents and attributes of . . . Arab nationalism" (the first systematic treatment of which was published only in 1938). There follows a parallel treatment of Arab political theory. In addition, since Arab literature on the nature of government is meager, the author attempts to determine, by methods other than the analysis of literature, the dominant political attitudes of the Arabs and comes to the conclusion that the Arabs are thoroughly Westernized. Nuseibeh then discusses the recent antidemocratic trend in Arab political thought and finds that it stems from the weakness of the democratic process as the means of revolutionizing the Arab world and from Arab awareness of the need for social justice. In the final pages, the author briefly surveys opposing Arab philosophies of social change and sets forth at greater length his own views on the "determinants of social change."

The book attempts too much. Although political and social developments within the Arab world since 1800 have not yet been adequately investigated, the author does not hesitate to make confident assertions concerning the social contexts of the various ideas which he treats. For example, he proves his assertion that "Arab society has been literally transformed by Westernization" (p. 102) by asking the reader to compare modern conditions with Islamic society in the eighteenth century as depicted by Gibb and Bowen. Yet there is no study of Arab society since 1800 which is in any way comparable to that of Gibb and Bowen, and this reviewer believes that there are more points of identity than of dissimilarity between twentieth-century Arab society and eighteenth-century Arab society. In short, Nuseibeh's book is a treatment from the viewpoint of a Western-

educated Arab nationalist and a good example of how Arab nationalists view, and use, their history. As historical explanation, it is scarcely better, and certainly no worse, than any number of other publications.

The book, despite its limited value as historical explanation, is a great advance over the existing literature on modern Arab ideologies. Unlike most other writers, Nuseibeh has used the writings of the Arabs, most of which have never been translated. The book is therefore the first soundly based, comprehensive treatment of modern Arab political theory. As such, it deserves to be read by everyone interested in the Arabs.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION IN CHINA. Volume II, HISTORY OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT. By *Joseph Needham*, with the research assistance of *Wang Ling*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xxii, 696. \$14.50.)

IN this volume, Dr. Needham proceeds from the historical and geographic orientations presented in Volume I to an interpretation of the main traditions of Chinese thought within which science and scientific thought evolved. The interpretations in this volume will, we may suppose, closely affect the analyses of various branches of Chinese science which will appear in the five subsequent volumes. The way in which Chinese thought is analyzed in this volume seems to me to bring into doubt the validity and ultimate value of Needham's study as a whole. In this brief notice, therefore, I shall not be concerned with Sinological "mistakes" but with the author's approach, his assumptions, and his methods.

Needham's analysis of Chinese thought appears to be based on two teleological assumptions. The first is a theory of universal progress which holds that all men everywhere have been moving toward "science" in its modern Western sense; this "science" is an ultimate value, the goal toward which all intellectual endeavor should be directed. The other assumption appears to be that men everywhere at all times have, consciously or unconsciously, been struggling toward an ultimate collectivist Utopia; this measures the intellectual and social efforts of men in relation to their awareness of this ultimate goal and their attitude toward society at the particular "stage" of the Marxist continuum of socio-economic progress into which they were born.

I am not persuaded that man's attainment of modern science was in the West or elsewhere a fore-ordained goal in terms of which his other intellectual achievements should be evaluated. I would be inclined to follow Albert Einstein who, in 1953, wrote in a letter to J. S. Switzer:

Development of Western Science is based on two great achievements: the invention of the formal logical system (in euclidian geometry) by the Greek philosophers, and the discovery of the possibility to find out causal relationship by systematic experiment (Renaissance). In my opinion one has not to be astonished

that the Chinese sages have not made these steps. The astonishing thing is that those discoveries were made at all.

This has particular point if we recall that the energies of Chinese thinkers and of men who combined thought and action were preponderantly focused on the goal of an ultimate socio-political harmony, on the good society as they conceived it. To lay the measure of "scientificness" against their ideas and their actions tends to distort and undervalue the total achievements of Chinese civilization. This is what happens in this volume. The struggling "proto-scientists" are always being blocked by "Confucian humanism," "feudal bureaucratism," "the world-denying metaphysics of Buddhist asceticism," and other bogeys. The Taoists are chosen as "fore-runners," as the scientists that might have been, and other traditions of Chinese thinking are dismissed as powerful obscurantist roadblocks in the path of progress. I believe that we must have a balanced understanding of the whole of Chinese thought as it developed through time if we are to analyze soundly Chinese technology, social development, or "science"—however that may be defined. The first of Needham's teleological assumptions has produced a biased and partial account of Chinese thought which cannot safely be accepted as the basis of further studies.

When we turn to the second of Needham's assumptions, we find that the Taoists are again the chosen ones. It is they who preserve in their texts the memories of a primitive collectivism and the ideal of an ultimate collectivist Utopia. They clung to their ideal of "a cooperative collectivist society. Such a society had once existed, in the primitive collectivism of the villages . . . and it was to exist again (though the Taoists could not know that millenia must elapse before humanity would return to their ideals)." The dawn of the new age, the vision of which Needham feels the Taoists share with him, is at hand: ". . . a new universalism, which, if humanity survives the dangers attendant on control by irresponsible men of sources of power hitherto unimaginable, will unite the working peoples of all races in a community both catholic and cooperative" (Vol. I, p. 9). To establish the historical reality of primitive collectivism and the prescient socialism of the Taoists, Needham resorts to many expedients: the insinuation of the Morgan hypothesis which is discredited except in the Communist world, "translations" of Taoist texts which can only be described at travesties, etc.

In order to bludgeon the texts into proving both the proto-scientific and proto-socialist nature of Taoism, Needham must deal with Western Sinologues. He points out how they "failed to see" certain meanings, how they inexplicably "missed the point" of certain passages. Sinologues are human and fallible; their translations have often been pedestrian, sometimes mistaken. But at their best, from Abel Rémusat to Paul Demiéville and Arthur Waley, they have tried to avoid reading into the ancient texts ideas which were not there. They have shown far more respect for Chinese utterances than Needham—the apologist for Chinese culture—does in this volume.

The assumptions which underlie Needham's analysis of Chinese thought and the methods used to support preferred interpretations will be found wanting when they are measured against George Sarton's prescription for the writing of the history of science:

The history of science should not be used as an instrument to defend any kind of social or philosophic theory; it should be used only for its own purpose, to illustrate impartially the working of reason against unreason, the gradual unfolding of truth, in all its forms, whether pleasant or unpleasant, useful or useless, welcome or unwelcome (*A History of Science*, p. xiv).

Despite the charm of this book, its genuine erudition and flashes of insight, the author's enthusiasm for his subject, and his aesthetic feeling for many facets of Chinese culture, the flaws in its edifice of method and interpretation seem to me gravely to impair its value both for the specialist and the general reader.

Stanford University

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942. CHINA. [Department of State Publication 6353.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1956. Pp. v, 782. \$3.75.)

THIS volume is the first in a special *Foreign Relations* series designed to present the diplomatic story of United States relations with China for the years 1942 to 1949, as part of a larger publication program adopted in response to interest expressed by some Senators and by the Senate Committee on Appropriations in its report for 1954. In form and organization this volume follows the general pattern of previous State Department volumes. A special interest, however, focuses upon its content not only because of the inherent importance of the subject covered but also because this enlarged and accelerated program in the publication of diplomatic documents is apparently not unrelated to domestic political pressures whose first interest has not always been in history and its sources.

At the outset one should note that this volume is not a history but a selected compilation of diplomatic correspondence. Since the preface is unequivocal in stating that the principles applied in compiling and editing this volume are the same as set forth in *Foreign Relations*, 1939, it is fair to assume, until the archives are open to independent historical investigators, that the papers here published give a comprehensive and balanced picture insofar as this can be done in formal diplomatic correspondence and departmental memoranda. The varied aspects of relations with China are presented under eighteen subject matter divisions. Four subjects, covering 565 pages, comprise the greater part of the volume: China's military position, Chinese political conditions, negotiations for relinquishment of extraterritoriality, and financial relations between the United States and China.

The value these documents have for the historian will be determined in time by the insights they provide into the nature of the basic problem of American

policy toward China at this time and into the strategy and tactics which the Department of State used to meet it. The problem itself, stated simply, was how to vitalize in the military, political, and economic sense our wartime alliance with the National Government. The documents here printed, read in the context of those published for the years immediately preceding, support the conclusion that the Department of State was informed both broadly and in detail on the state of affairs in China. The problem lay not in any lack of information but in how to use the information at hand in evolving a wartime set of policies for action.

Current and conflicting interpretations about our China policy in 1942 will find support in these pages. There is some support for the theory that the Department's circumspect approach, its emphasis on traditional aspects of policy, its tendency to regard Chiang as the George Washington of China, its fear of giving offense and thereby destroying what remained of Chinese morale were sound bases for operation. At the same time there is evidence here that the policy of caution was a Sinophile doctrine based on "a myth and a hope about China." The historian, when more evidence is available, will have to judge whether the dead hand of the past—the principle of noninterference in China's internal affairs—had not disarmed us diplomatically in the face of what Ambassador Gauss described as Chungking's attitude of "either or else." In any event, if there was bluff in aspects of China's position toward us in 1942—and Gauss believed there was—it was not called effectively. As the year closed, some of the foundations of the wartime alliance could hardly be described as stable.

Duke University

PAUL H. CLYDE

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BENGAL: FROM PLASSEY TO THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. Volume I. By *Narendra K. Sinha*. (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Agents. 1956. Pp. 260. Rs. 12/8.)

TRADE AND FINANCE IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY, 1793-1833. By *Amale Tripathi*. (Bombay: Orient Longmans. 1956. Pp. xiii, 289. Rs. 20.)

SIGNIFICANT contributions to our knowledge of India's economic history are found in these two works, one by an established authority in the field and the other by a young scholar who has recently received his doctorate at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Both are of primary interest to the specialist, but authors of all subsequent general studies of the first century of British rule in India should take account of them. Professor Sinha's volume is really a series of essays on trade and finance in Bengal from 1757 to 1793; in a second volume on this period, he "intends to describe the land-revenue history of Bengal and the economic conditions of rural Bengal." The most valuable essays are those which deal with economic activity among Indians and the interrelationship of Indian business enterprise with European. With his unrivaled familiarity with the Bengal records, especially the hitherto insufficiently used Mayor's Court papers, Sinha takes us behind the scenes as no European investigator could possibly do.

His readers will all gain a vivid impression of the Indian market, of how currency operations and indigenous banking were actually carried on. They will acquire some insight into the activities of lesser folk—weavers, cocoon growers, poppy and indigo growers, saltpetre collectors, and salt workers—whose lives were to be so drastically altered by the increasing European activity and the subsequent impact of the Industrial Revolution. Even so, the modern investigator seems barred from exact knowledge of the lowliest of these; one can learn much of those who managed weavers but little of the weavers themselves. Concerning the question whether the East India Company's "investment" of goods for export to London was ever purchased with a true surplus of revenue over administrative and military expenditure, this reviewer still feels that it must be considered in terms of India as a whole and not of Bengal alone. Although Sinha's nonchronological and functional approach is valuable, his work has lost something by it. The uninitiated reader will often feel confused by the repetitions and the sudden changes of time and scene that his method entails.

Both these works suggest the question: "How was it that Bengal withstood the strains which the process of European conquest and empire building imposed upon her?" We cannot have a full answer until comparable studies of the other two presidencies form with these a basis for the economic history of India in this period. In concluding his *John Company at Work*, this reviewer noted evidence of certain aspects of free trade and laissez faire long before their time in British transactions with foreign East India companies and illicit traders in the 1780's. Dr. Tripathi has taken up the story where the reviewer left it and gives a thorough account of the way in which the intertwining of the public finance of the East India Company's governments and the private finance of agency houses and private country traders brought an end to the mercantilistic era and the Company's monopoly. Most valuable is the discussion of the transition from the "agency house" system with its dependence on the fortune-seeking Company servant to the "managing agency" system which became such a unique feature of Indian economic life in the nineteenth century. Tripathi's conclusions are based upon an immense amount of statistical labor. Like many doctoral dissertations, this study marshals too much evidence in the text, yet it must be said that the author has presented his voluminous economic data with unusual clarity. There are some especially pertinent observations on the connection of Indian merchants and bankers with the financing of the Company's debt in India and with European private traders. Nevertheless, Tripathi attaches much significance to the fact that the Bengali Westernized "middle class" of the future was not primarily recruited from these business families. "It had," he says, "no roots in indigenous commerce and industry which made the middle class in the West so powerful and progressive" (p. 223). His work shows how the development of Indo-British commercial and financial relations in this period created a Bengali middle class dependent on the holding of land, public securities, and inferior public office. It should be

followed up by further studies in the social history of Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

INDONESIAN SOCIETY IN TRANSITION: A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE. By *W. F. Wertheim*. (The Hague: W. van Hoeve; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1956. Pp. xiv, 360. \$5.00.)

A sociologist who has drawn his material partly from the writings of authorities on Indonesia and partly from his own research in Amsterdam, the author proposes "to deflect the attention of those interested in the Indonesian scene from externals to essentials. There is far too much concern about such things as the parliamentary system, political parties, leading personalities, elections, as if these were the motive forces of society. This book attempts to pay due attention to basic processes and facts such as competition between social strata, rural discontent, hunger, human bondage, class strife, which are decisive for future developments." In pursuing this purpose, Professor Wertheim sets forth the facts with great detail and thoroughness and supports them with a massive array of source references. He tries to be impartial, but running throughout his work is a bias against Dutch colonial rule and capitalism in general which occasionally colors his judgment. He is on firm ground, for example, when he says that the very substantial social services introduced during the twentieth century failed to raise the standard of living in Java. It is questionable, however, whether he is justified in ascribing the lack of success to the failure of foreign capital to promote industrialization. The blame seems rather to lie with the medical and health services, which by lowering the death rate so increased the population that eventually several Javanese had to exist at the same low standard of living at which one had lived before. The author does not suggest how the Dutch government, which supported private enterprise except in the tin mines and a few other enterprises, could have established factories when outside capital as a rule was unwilling to do so.

Four introductory chapters, embracing both ancient and modern Indonesia, cover political and social history and geography. In the following seven chapters the author attempts to describe the social background of Indonesian nationalism, including discussions of the economic system, social status, urban development, religion, labor, culture, and nationalism itself. Each chapter is divided into four sections: the first describes the situation in Indonesian society before the arrival of the European conquerors, the second deals with the effects of Western rule emphasizing the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the third describes the Japanese occupation, and the fourth traces developments to the end of 1955. These later chapters provide a wealth of material on the changes of the last four and a half centuries and, allowing for the author's bias, are a valuable addition to knowledge of Indonesia.

University of Minnesota

LENNOX A. MILLS

American History

FREEDOM IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. viii, 156. \$3.50.)

At the invitation of Queens University, Professor Morison gave the three lectures—on political freedom, economic freedom, and academic freedom—published in this volume. In effect, he limited the term “contemporary society” to the United States and Canada. Americans, too often ignorant of the political and social realities in the life of their important northern neighbor, may find enlightenment in the paragraphs that the author devotes to the three freedoms in Canada. With equal objectivity, he describes some Canadian practices that might well be emulated and others that must be avoided at all costs.

In his first chapter, Morison uses an impressive summary of the history of theory concerning political freedom as a prelude for a discussion of the situation in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century. He describes to his Canadian audience “administrative autocracy,” the Attorney General’s list, the new discovery (for Americans) of guilt by association, the implications of security risks, and McCarthyism. In each case, he points out the threat to ancient freedoms posed by the officials and the activities of government. His indictment, available in the present book, is neither new nor, from lack of space, complete, but it is forcefully reasoned, pungently stated, and effective. Looking toward the future, Morison proposes that “local communist parties . . . now outlawed as conspiracies,” be given legal recognition if and when they demonstrate that they do not follow the Cominform line. Let them argue the cause of Communism so long as they seek it by constitutional means; the principle of freedom of speech requires as much. The author opposes the employment of Communists in the federal government, in defense plants, and, in his concluding chapter, on university faculties but insists that no employee in any category be deprived of his job on mere suspicion or the denunciation of “faceless accusers.”

In the chapter on economic freedom, Morison outlines briefly the developments that have produced in the twentieth century the brand of mixed capitalism peculiar to the United States. He dismisses the gloomy prophesies of “the three weird sisters,” Hayeck, Jewkes, and Schumpeter. He accepts the appraisal of American free enterprise together with the cautious optimism of Sumner Slichter. “Our mixed system of semi-controlled free enterprise,” Morison concludes, “squeezed between the upper millstone of the state and the nether millstone of the labor union, is still grinding out far greater benefits in terms of the good life than any other system known to us in the present or the past.” It provides a setting favorable to democracy. But the author adds the caution that no economic system offers in itself a guarantee of freedom. Free enterprise “can only function in a society that believes in God and in the Hebraic-Hellenic ethics upon which Christianity built, a society where the great majority of people respect integrity

and justice, practice honesty and fair dealing, and have higher values than mere wealth and comfort."

As Morison points out, the concept of academic freedom came late. It received no recognition in the ancient world, in the Middle Ages, or even in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. He traces the development of the idea in the United States through a series of issues that had its beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century. Coming to the contemporary scene, he expresses the opinion that "the greatest enemies to academic freedom in the United States today are neither the reds nor the red-baiters; but (1) abuses of university government; (2) the attempts of professional 'educators' to control higher education; and (3) the general mediocrity of the teaching profession." Morison asks the question: "Do we deserve academic freedom?" When he surveys the kinds of courses that too often pass for higher education and the quality of many of the men and women who teach them, he is not sure that the answer should be in the affirmative. He concludes: "Education in the United States is due for an overhaul from the top to the bottom; and it had best begin at the top." Repeating the sentiment expressed in his second lecture, he ends the book: "We cannot improve the quality of higher education without a deeper sense of religion than at present pervades American universities."

Morison has written an informative and provocative essay. Its significance lies in its forthright expression of the opinions of a man distinguished for teaching, scholarship, and public service.

Yale University

RALPH H. GABRIEL

ARMS AND MEN: A STUDY IN AMERICAN MILITARY HISTORY. By
Walter Millis. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1956. Pp. 382. \$5.75.)

THE military experience of the United States, according to Mr. Millis, has coincided with a series of revolutions that have profoundly affected the ways and means of waging war. The first, the democratic revolution, began with the War of Independence. With it war became the instrument of peoples rather than of rulers and the business of the masses rather than of small professional forces. As war became democratized it brought an obligation of universal military service. In the nineteenth century the industrial revolution made it possible to equip and transport the huge forces that universal obligation could yield. By the twentieth century the managerial revolution in government and industry enabled nations to mobilize and use these forces with dispatch. World War II showed that the centralized modern state had developed into an incomparable instrument for waging war, without serious risk to the social and economic fabric of the victor. But by then the scientific revolution was responsible for producing new arms too terrible to use. Today the great nations have a hair-trigger mechanism set for universal catastrophe if used for total war, and anything less will not serve the purpose that war has served in the past. In effect, war is no longer "available" as

an instrument of national policy, and peoples and nations must resolve their differences by other means if they wish to survive.

Within the framework of these larger themes, the author weaves a good and generally well-balanced history of American military policy and practice. He bases it on a judicious combing of secondary works to fortify knowledge and understanding gained over the years as a military historian and journalist. After the first page, on which the "embattled farmers" of Lexington and Concord emerge as "peasantry" and "yokels," journalistic touches are gratifyingly rare. The narrative is at its best when describing the nineteenth-century impact of the industrial revolution on war; it includes a brief but excellent reconsideration of the Civil War in that light and a fair appreciation of coastal defenses, so often ignored. Through most of the book, the author maintains a nice balance in treating the Army and the Navy, though generally he goes back and forth between the two instead of interrelating their development. His attention to foreign relations is comparatively scant, and works on diplomacy are noticeably absent from footnotes and bibliography. The author also fails to give much weight to the defense of "national honor" as an impetus to war, and this factor (however questionable) has certainly had great weight in the United States as in other nations. In accordance with the title, the development and application of new and improved weapons receive special attention throughout, although the coverage of developments during and after World War II is much more condensed than for earlier periods, and some items—guided missiles and the new apparatus of continental defense—are all but ignored. Yet on the whole this is a good book, readable and admirable for its factual accuracy and general thoughtfulness.

Department of the Army

STETSON CONN

RACE AND NATIONALITY IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *Oscar Handlin*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. xiii, 300. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Handlin's latest book is a collection of thirteen historical essays unified by connecting passages and a common theme. Except that the thesis is repetitive of his *The Uprooted* and *The American People in the Twentieth Century*, the essays do not lend themselves easily to summary or collective analysis. One, a charming first-hand study of American immigrants who returned to their Greek homeland, appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*. "The Origins of Negro Slavery" is scholarly and was published with footnotes in *The William and Mary Quarterly*. "Israel and the Mission of America," from the pages of *Commentary*, needs only a clip-out coupon to be printed as one of those full-page paid political advertisements in the *New York Times*. Chapter vi, appropriately entitled "The Horror," is a historiographical curiosity which argues, apparently on the evidence of some phrenology books, that the absence of effective birth control techniques in the nineteenth century produced a set of family psychic tensions conducive to racial discrimination in the twentieth century. Chapters iv, v, and viii, on the other hand,

are illuminating analyses of nineteenth- and twentieth-century theories of race and genetics, set in a social and political context.

The specialized audience of this *Review* will read Handlin's volume on three levels: it expresses an admirable (to me) political point of view shared by all good "liberals," sternly antidiscrimination and antisegregation; the essays—learned, argumentative, well-written—will "teach" well and will make stimulating "outside reading" in a survey course or for the immigration chapter in, say, Morison and Commager. However, we are fundamentally neither liberals nor teachers, but historians, and on this level, in my judgment, the book gives a specious or distorted view of the American past. To preserve the symmetry of his liberal conclusions, the author is driven to a dubious connection between the nineteenth-century questions of slavery and immigration, as if Negro slaves were simply contract labor of a darker hue and real-estate restrictions a lesser form of lynching. By trying to universalize the experience of Eastern European peasants in American cities, he tends to ignore the centripetal effect of the Americanization process. The focus is on "rootlessness," "alienation," and the divisive aspects of American society; his solution is cultural pluralism, with ringing overtones of the "folk-dancing and spaghetti school" of sociology.

Handlin should ponder, and so should we all, these words by Chancellor Kimpton of the University of Chicago:

It is too easy today in the social sciences, in my judgment, to confuse theory and thesis. There are too many people who enter the field with a ready-made conclusion, obtained from their local household gods rather than their laboratories, and proceed to gather facts and footnotes to substantiate it. They want to get something done, and I admire their motives but not their science. . . . It is from this background that we so often find a social scientist of a minority group who gathers data about the difficulties of other minority groups, the young liberal who chooses to make a study of a communist group in Canada, the second-generation immigrant historian who writes of the woes of the immigrant in America. . . . Now the problems that underlie these concerns are important; but I suggest that too often a valued thesis becomes confused with sound theory and there is a resulting selection and emphasis.

Princeton, New Jersey

JOHN D. DAVIES

GERMAN CULTURE IN AMERICA: PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY INFLUENCES, 1600–1900. By *Henry A. Pochmann*, with the assistance of *Arthur R. Schulz* and others. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 865. \$7.50.)

In nearly five hundred big, closely-printed pages of narrative, over three hundred pages of notes which often are as important as the text, and sixty-three pages of index, Professor Pochmann has given us a remarkable survey and evaluation of the impact of German philosophy, education, religion, and literature upon American culture from colonial days to 1900. Because the New World has reshaped

every cultural contribution from abroad and even the British could not reduce the United States to a cultural province, Pochmann makes no extravagant claims for his subject. Yet the fact remains that Germanic influences, especially upon American intellectuals, were both great and significant. This magnum opus by a distinguished scholar who has devoted a lifetime to his researches in this field has something significant to contribute to historians and philosophers, as well as to students of American literature, drama, and education. "Labour both of attention and severe thinking" is required to work one's way through this thick and learned volume, but the scholar will be amply rewarded for his efforts.

Book I is concerned with German thought in America and reveals that there was a lively interest in things German long before Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* started the "German craze" which sent so many of Harvard's bright young men to Göttingen in the early nineteenth century. The libraries of the Winthrops and Mathers contained many German books, and a number of colonial intellectuals had a lively correspondence with German scholars. John Quincy Adams translated Wieland's *Oberon*, and Harvard acquired a German geographer's library of 35,000 volumes in 1818. Unitarian theologians were greatly influenced by German Biblical criticism, and German philosophy played a leading role in the development of New England Transcendentalism. The author's analysis of the evolution of Emerson's thought is especially good. Kant, Schelling, and Schleiermacher were well known to American scholars, educators, and theologians. In St. Louis, "a little German world" created largely by German Forty-eighters, Brokmeyer, Harris, and Snider introduced Hegel to the Middle West and found in him the philosopher of progress and free thought who could check the materialism and agnosticism of the times. In American colleges, German philosophers figured prominently in college courses and college textbooks on philosophy.

Book II is devoted to German literary influences upon America, from Kotzebue, Schiller, and Goethe to the German poetry and fiction which nearly all American periodicals carried in translation. A section treats the adaptation of German plays for the American stage and the role of the German-speaking theater in the history of American drama. In the final sections, the author analyzes Germanic materials and motifs in the American short story, in the work of Irving, Hawthorne, Poe, Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, Margaret Fuller, Mark Twain, Whitman, and many others of lesser stature. Irving was a notorious borrower from German legends; Whitman found justification for New World democracy "in the formulas of Hegel"; Whittier had a deep interest in German mystics; and, of course, Bayard Taylor's whole career illustrates the close interchange between German and American culture.

There is much more in this learned tome than can be suggested in so short a review. This is a scholar's book, which covers an amazing range of interests. The author's conclusions are objective, convincing, and amply supported by an impressive bibliography; the book will be useful to scholars in several fields. Finally, in

these days of rising costs, the press of the University of Wisconsin is to be commended for performing the major function of a university press, namely, to make a scholar's book available to scholars at a reasonable price.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITTKÉ

THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS IN AMERICA. By *Carl Wittke*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 311. \$6.50.)

THE details of the founding, flourishing, and death of dozens of German-language newspapers, and the listing of innumerable others, are an integral part of this book, but the details are soon forgotten and a clear, sad, predetermined picture emerges. It is apparent that most of the foreign-language press in the United States, including the German press, was bound to be transient in nature, and it is clearer still that an inevitable ambivalence restricted this press from the beginning.

The German-language press was first designed to ease the transition of immigrants to life in their new country, by printing local and national news in their native language and by encouraging them to understand and appreciate their new home. At the same time, this press aimed to perpetuate German-American organizations of all sorts, German culture in general, and ties to the old country and to specific provinces and cities; above all, it attempted to perpetuate the use of the native tongue by the immigrants and their children. These two goals were in obvious conflict. The first led many of the German papers simply to become American newspapers written in the German language, subject to the same forces and pressures of consolidation, rising costs, and advertising as the English-language press; the papers then were no longer really unique except in language, and as proportionately fewer people of German descent used that language these papers were doomed. As long as the second goal was followed, the process of Americanization pointed to in the first was restricted in its possibilities.

Dean Wittke dramatically shows how this ambivalence came to a head in World War I, with tragic consequences for the German-language press and for the German-American people. The two chapters on World War I are the best of the fourteen in the book; there is a real attempt at analysis here, combined with sympathy and understanding. Some readers will doubtless disagree with the way in which the details of Wilson's neutrality policy are handled, but given the broad aims of the book, this is not serious.

Wittke emphasizes "the role which the German press and its readers played in American social, political, and economic history," beginning with the colonial period and ending with a brief chapter on the period since World War I. He covers not only the conventional daily and weekly newspapers, but all manner of religious, fraternal, labor, literary, and other journals which are peculiarly combined under the heading "Official Organs." A good deal of the material for this

work was accumulated over the years as Wittke prepared five earlier volumes in the field of German immigration.

During the peak period, in 1893-1894, there was a total of about eight hundred German-language publications in the United States; this total had dropped to sixty in 1950. Before World War I, there were five German dailies published in New York City, and for a time the circulation of Milwaukee's three German dailies was about 92,000, double that of its English-language competitors. By 1956 there were only four German dailies left in the entire country; the *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold* was the strongest, with a circulation of 22,014. Milwaukee had only the semiweekly *Herold* with a circulation of 1,757. The demise was bound to occur; the fundamental aim of Americanization of a large immigrant group had been accomplished, greatly aided by these papers, and their second aim of preserving the German culture and language ultimately had to fail. Although the American people may believe in cultural diversity, the mass media certainly are not conducive to its existence, and the possibility of any dual national allegiance has been clearly out of the question since World War I.

Colgate University

MARVIN WACHMAN

MIRROR FOR GOTHAM: NEW YORK AS SEEN BY CONTEMPORARIES FROM DUTCH DAYS TO THE PRESENT. By Bayrd Still. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 417. \$7.50.)

THE United States has been fortunate in its commentators from foreign shores. In the long line from Tocqueville, through Matthew Arnold and James Bryce, to André Siegfried and Dennis Brogan, they have seen in American society more than the remembrance of things past, more than the images that lay behind their own eyes. Their commentaries, however critical or caustic, have been the meditations of enlightened travelers seeking insights into a strange environment by living in it sympathetically and trying to absorb something of its spiritual qualities.

It would be pleasant to believe that most of New York's visitors, drawn to the nation's metropolis from other parts of the country or from foreign lands, likewise have been intelligent observers and thoughtful reporters; but Bayrd Still's *Mirror for Gotham* seems to prove that the truth is otherwise. A majority have brought with them little more than a photographic eye. They have recorded the superficial scene, colorful and endlessly in motion; they have seen the city's ugliness and beauty, its garishness and its serenity, its noisy streets and its noble buildings. Most of them have revealed in their printed words that they could escape neither the inconveniences nor the delights of the city; but the city somehow escaped them.

Indeed, this *Mirror for Gotham* would be a highly distracting and disjointed series of stereopticon slides, if Professor Still were not operating the pictorial machine with discriminating skill. As he has shaped "this historical portrait of

New York City," he has drawn upon more than six hundred contemporary comments, ranging in time from the description of the site of the future city, supposedly prepared by a member of Henry Hudson's crew, to the poetic prose of Beverly Nichols in 1950. It is clear that whatever unity the portrait possesses is Still's contribution. He must have had a great deal of fun in making this book. His readers will find that he has been able to transmit a sense of delight through the pages that he has written, as well as through the descriptions from other pens that he has edited with a historic sense the original narrators often lacked.

Here is the developing urban scene in all its sordidness and magnificence. The constant factor is perennial growth, horizontally and vertically. As the provincial port developed into a world capital, horizons were truly widened, physically and intellectually. The contemporary commentators tell the story of how the ever expanding activities quickened men's pulses and lightened their purses. Not all who ventured boldly profited proportionately. But this book only records the adventures; it is no balance sheet of loss and gain.

For many a reader the illustrations (more than seventy of them) will provide the greatest thrill. Even to one who has lived long on Manhattan's rocky isle they speak more powerfully than words. They confirm what is implicit in the stories told by Gotham's visitors, that the city is ever changing and yet in some essentials changeless. Today, as in the days when Wouter Van Twiller's pipe kept the Dutch burghers in a fog of smoke, New York is cosmopolitan, commercial, and convivial. Whether it has made any important contribution to the culture of the Western world is a question that *Mirror for Gotham* does not try to answer.

Columbia University

JOHN A. KROUT

THE CULTURAL LIFE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1607-1763. By Louis B. Wright. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. xiv, 292. \$5.00.)

To compress into 250 pages of text the varied aspects of cultural life in the American colonies over this long period, without producing a narrative wholly desiccated, is no mean achievement. But it is a feat which the author of this most recent volume in the New American Nation Series has accomplished with rare skill. This reviewer knows of no other single volume presenting a view of the cultural life of the American colonies so authoritative, so comprehensive, and so readable as this one from the pen of Louis B. Wright.

One who would essay this difficult task is confronted at the outset by the problem of organization. Wisely, the author has chosen the strictly topical arrangement with no great attention to the time sequence. Indubitably this makes for clarity and for ease of comprehension. Dr. Wright projects his analysis of colonial culture against the background of agrarian society in the South and of urban life in the commercial towns north of Chesapeake Bay. With an impartial hand he describes the virtues and foibles of the great planters in the one area and of the

mercantile aristocrats in the other. The setting is rounded out by excellent discussions of the diversity of religions and of the varied national origins of the colonial population.

The cultural life which developed in these surroundings the author discusses in seven separate essays, under the rubrics of education, books and libraries, literature, drama and music, architecture, scientific interests, and the press. Amid these disparate manifestations of a developing American civilization he moves with ease and assurance, aided, of course, by his own first-hand investigations over the years into various facets of his general theme. By a nice economy of words and a judicious arrangement of his materials, he is able to achieve in brief compass a surprising depth as well as breadth of treatment. Making no exaggerated claims for the civilization he is describing, he none the less leaves the reader with the feeling that he has participated in a cultural achievement that, considering all the obstacles encountered, was notable in the extreme.

Many of the author's pages are crowded with the names of persons and places, titles of books, and other impedimenta. This results in part from the necessity of compressing into brief space a large mass of data, some of it discrete and refractory in character; but to a greater degree it is occasioned by the very kind of history he is writing. The materials of social and cultural history appear to be of such a nature as to require the practitioner of the art to indulge in the frequent enumeration of data of this sort. With a writer less skillful than the author of the present work this could lead to some dull and dreary chapters. But Wright surmounts this difficulty with ease, thanks to his perceptiveness, his sense of humor, and his ability to turn a nice phrase.

It is a bit unfortunate that the author has seen fit to bring his narrative to a close on something less than its strongest note. His last chapter—on "The Press and Communications"—is the only fragmentary one in the volume and produces an anticlimactic effect. But, more regrettable, it results in failure to do justice to that rare group of men, the colonial printers.

Some readers will note the absence of a general summing up at the conclusion of the volume. Such a recapitulation, written from the fullness of the author's knowledge, would have been welcome. But minor faults and omissions cannot detract greatly from a significant contribution to early American history that will be appreciated alike by the amateur and the professional.

Brown University

JAMES B. HEDGES

REVOLUTION IN AMERICA: CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS AND JOURNALS, 1776-1784, OF ADJUTANT GENERAL MAJOR BAURMEISTER OF THE HESSIAN FORCES. Translated and annotated by *Bernhard A. Uhlenhof*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 640. \$9.00.)

MAJOR Baurmeister was a German officer who sat out the war in New York. He served with the Hessians from their arrival until their return to Europe and,

except for accompanying Howe to Pennsylvania in 1777-1778, scarcely stirred from Manhattan during those eight years. His letters and journals, now translated from his manuscripts in the Clements Library, are reports to his superior in Hesse-Cassel, Baron von Jungkenn. They are not, as advertised on the jacket, "one of the most unbiased, comprehensive, and informed of the contemporary accounts of the Revolution," but are primarily an account of events on Manhattan, similar to that in Stokes's *Iconography*, interlarded with a running narrative of whatever outside news was going the rounds of the garrison. Baurmeister was an assiduous rather than an astute reporter. He seems to have had little curiosity about social conditions, politics, or personalities; even his statements of fact are, as Sir Henry Clinton would have put it, *sujets à caution*.

Such source material lays a complex burden on the editor—to supply background where the text is obscure without it, to note where the author differs from generally accepted opinion, and above all to point out his errors of fact. Mr. Uhlendorf does not attempt to be an editor in this sense. He identifies, with great success, the swarm of minor characters who move through the pages, but rarely does more; the reader is left to grope for himself through a murk of detail. For example, Baurmeister describes the Battle of Long Island in a way that completely conceals the crucial flank march; he makes mistakes, such as saying that Clinton commanded the British left and Cornwallis the right; he asserts that the American lines at Brooklyn were strong enough to hold off 50,000 attackers. These sins of omission and commission the editor ignores. He also makes occasional errors of his own. Roche de Fermoy is said to have faded from sight at just the moment when he was conspicuous in the Trenton campaign; the editor is as confused as the author about the Battle of King's Mountain; when Baurmeister sends Admiral Arbuthnot to the West Indies in 1780, Uhlendorf finds a mythical reason for the mythical voyage. Such slips could have been avoided by consulting any one of a number of modern authorities, but the footnotes cite virtually nothing that has been published on the Revolution in the past thirty years.

The grave shortcomings of this volume do not mean that it is worthless. Baurmeister deserves a hearing, at least from specialists. He makes some interesting general comments; a few of his experiences light up his surroundings. He describes the day-to-day activities of the Manhattan garrison with a thoroughness that transmutes the pedestrian into the monumental, and the editor adds his own wealth of biographical information. There is, in short, gold in these hills—not much, but some—for the reader who has the skill and patience to find it.

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

THREE HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1787. By Zechariah Chafee, Jr. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1956. Pp. 245. \$4.00.)

As its title implies, this book is concerned only with certain liberties embodied in the Constitution as originally framed. Chafee deals principally with freedom

of debate in Congress, with bills of attainder, and with freedom of movement. This last, he admits, is not expressly protected in the Constitution, though it is undoubtedly there through judicial construction. Chafee sees several threats to this freedom in the current scene, among them, the refusal of visas to sundry foreigners and denial of passports to divers Americans.

With some scholarly hesitation, he discerns a threat to the guaranty against bills of attainder in the sort of rider attached to an appropriation measure in 1943. This rider deprived three federal officeholders of all right to compensation for their services after a certain date. In *United States v. Lovett*, the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional on the ground that it was a bill of attainder. Though unconvinced that it technically was, at least in the historic sense of the bills of attainder against Laud and Wentworth, Chafee on the whole approves the decision as a safeguard against those legislative determinations of guilt and punishment that he thinks the Congress may be most tempted to enact in the present day. The temptation will arise from the same source as that which has prompted the executive branch to restrict freedom of movement, namely, a fear of subversive notions and activities. Chafee regards this fear as exaggerated and, in some instances, quite without rational foundation.

The greatest danger to freedom of debate in Congress is the abuse of that freedom by some of its own members, but the freedom has been won after so long a struggle and is so indispensable to parliamentary effectiveness that it ought, even though abused, to be preserved intact. The author sharply reminds the Congress that the remedy for the abuse is in its own hands. "The remedy," he says, "has been right there since 1787. A Senator or Representative can be punished or expelled by his own House."

This work is not so much an account of the abuse and breach of constitutional liberty in the present as it is a narrative of the efforts by which that liberty came to be established in the past. The story is concerned more with England than America, since the framers of the Constitution of 1787 simply appropriated, so far as the liberties here discussed are concerned, the products of English historical experience as they understood it. Chafee describes this experience anew and aims thereby to rekindle the reader's devotion to the principles of freedom. There can be no doubt that what he has aimed to do he has done and done well. His narrative is persuasive, and at once learned and lively. Learning is often the foe of liveliness, but here it is one of the sources of that very quality. The excerpts from old English proceedings have been chosen not only to instruct but also to amuse. Where would one find a more pungent speech than that reported from the earl who, silent in the House for years, suddenly stood up and opposed the trial of the impeachment of Danby, the Lord High Treasurer? Where would one find a pithier comment than that quoted from the duke who had plied the earl with wine to induce him to take the other side of the question? "The man is inspired! and claret has done the business."

ALEXANDER HAMILTON IN THE AMERICAN TRADITION. By *Louis M. Hacker*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1957. Pp. xi, 273. \$4.75.)

ALTHOUGH Professor Hacker gives a general review of the main incidents in the life of Alexander Hamilton, this work is not primarily a biography but an attempt to show that Hamilton was the personification of the conservative tradition. Undoubtedly depending upon Columbia University's recently acquired Hamilton Papers as his main source, the author devotes the major portion of his book to the career of Hamilton from the period of the Articles of Confederation until his death. He uses a considerable number of quotations from Hamilton's writings to prove his thesis.

Hacker rejects the thesis that there was no "critical period" by insisting "that not only was the Confederation inadequate but that the Revolution was being perverted." Moreover, the adoption of the Constitution "saved both the American nation and the Revolution." The young United States needed the support of prominent men of affairs to attain stability and promote progress. Sound credit and national honor were essential to create confidence both at home and abroad. It was at this time that Hamilton began to show his true ability, and Hacker credits him with understanding the need for uniting private interest with public policy. Yet the truly conservative Hamilton does not emerge until he submits his "Report on Manufactures." Then he comes to the conclusion that "private striving must remain unhampered if material progress is to be the lot of the entire nation."

The author takes issue with modern-day liberals and conservatives who assert that Hamilton did not fit into either tradition. He believes that Hamilton was a real conservative because: he was devoted to his country, which must endure; as Secretary of the Treasury, he accepted the responsibilities of office, meeting its problems "by honorable means and not through short-lived accommodation"; and he realized the importance of maintaining stability, best attained through economic opportunity for all.

To support his contention that Hamilton helped to start the nation on the right track, Hacker points out that the United States is now great and strong and has made full use of its resources to broaden education, welfare, and social betterment. Despite its "bigness," it has developed the essential qualities that the conservative Constitution makers sought: integrity in government; safeguards for individual conscience; and private enterprise, which has "produced both that wealth and income so necessary to assure the well-being and maintain the confidence of the growing American population." While many liberals may question Hacker's thesis, he buttresses his position in sound and convincing fashion.

JAMES MADISON: THE PRESIDENT, 1809-1812. By *Irving Brant*. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1956. Pp. 540. \$6.50.)

THIS volume, the fifth of Irving Brant's life of James Madison, is undoubtedly the most important volume to date in Brant's revisionist account of Madison. The author's thesis is that historians have misinterpreted Madison and his place in American history, in part because they have accepted Federalist propaganda as fact and in part because they have misused evidence. Instead of being a weak President dominated by the great Thomas Jefferson and swayed by a Warhawk Congress or the desire for reelection, Madison, according to Brant, was a strong President who played a large role in shaping American policy during the controversies with France and Great Britain from 1809 until the declaration of war against Britain in 1812.

In laying the groundwork for his revision, Brant cites many instances of historians' acceptance of Federalist propaganda and uncritical use or misuse of evidence. For political reasons, the Federalists created the myth of Madison as a weakling, a myth which was accepted by British agents at face value. It not only caused the British government to underestimate the gravity of the conflict with the United States but also misled later historians. Brant blames Henry Adams in particular for the misconception of Madison. The first historian to have access to the records, Adams omitted part of a sentence in one document in order to depict Madison as a weak President who was following Jefferson's policies rather than his own. Brant also accuses Adams of presenting an incorrect sequence of events, making a cause into an effect and creating the impression that Madison feared the French minister Turreau. In fact, however, Madison had forcefully rejected a strong Turreau letter, giving the minister the choice of withdrawing the letter or returning to France.

Brant substantiates his thesis by showing that Madison was the dominant figure in American diplomatic relations with France and Britain. The President wrote most of the notes sent by his Secretary of State, Robert Smith; maneuvered Smith out of office without political damage to himself, despite Smith's powerful political connections; and then brought in James Monroe as Secretary of State, on his own rather than on Monroe's terms. Madison sent such a strong message to Congress that it was toned down at the insistence of Albert Gallatin and then supervised the writing of the House report on the message, a report that was a long step toward war. The President was in full agreement with leaders of the House, according to Brant, and defended in advance the highly provocative recommendation for arming merchant ships. A warlike newspaper article, erroneously attributed by historians to Henry Clay, which made it appear that Clay opposed Madison, was actually written by Secretary of State Monroe, who did such writing by direction of the President.

In his interpretation of the War of 1812, Brant places much greater emphasis on commercial rights, impressment, and national honor than on American desire

for expansion. Madison consistently insisted that American rights must be respected, and he agreed secretly with both France and Britain that the United States would make war on the country that refused to recognize these rights. Both countries violated American neutrality, but Madison considered British violation the more serious. French actions were dictated by military objectives and Napoleon's personal shortcomings, while British policies were designed to deny American independence and to restrict the commercial growth of this country. The issues with Madison were principles, not merely interests.

This reviewer's criticisms, which may be merely personal preference, are concerned mainly with the way the book is put together rather than with its contribution. For the volume as a whole, or for chapters, there are neither introductions nor summaries to guide the reader through the mass of detail. Chapters and paragraphs lack unity, making it difficult to follow the main thread of thought. "Backnotes" are in the back, where all "backnotes" presumably should be, but where they are virtually useless to the reader who considers footnotes of value. Despite these criticisms, the book is valuable, both for the material it presents and for its provocative interpretation, and will not soon be displaced as the definitive work on Madison for the years that it covers.

Michigan State University

ROBERT E. BROWN

GOVERNMENT UNDER LAW: A CONFERENCE HELD AT HARVARD LAW SCHOOL ON THE OCCASION OF THE BICENTENNIAL OF JOHN MARSHALL, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1801-1835. Edited by *Arthur E. Sutherland*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 587. \$7.50.)

PRESENTED in this volume (with rather more typographical errors than one would expect) is the record of one of the most ambitious of the projects devoted to commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Marshall. A galaxy of eminent jurists, including the chief justices of the United States, Canada, South Africa, and Australia, gathered at Harvard for a three-day discussion of papers on the theme of government under law. The theme was not treated in a parochial manner. Besides the contributions of the distinguished foreign judges from common law countries who discussed constitutionalism as embodied in the law of their respective nations, Professor André Tunc discussed French law, past and present, and Father Joseph M. Snee expounded the natural law doctrines of the Church of Rome. John Lord O'Brian likewise made a profound impression on the conference by his emphasis upon the element of moral conviction as an indispensable feature of government under law. In cold print his address seems to offer a strange mixture of conservative and liberal outlook. He described himself as "one of the last of the Victorians" and declared that "constitutionalism and desire for stability are synonymous" (pp. 534, 524); but he likewise expressed concern over the "grave danger presented by . . . the so-called programs to ensure

loyalty and security" (p. 518) which he had previously developed more fully in his 1955 Godkin lectures, *National Security and Individual Freedom*.

A profound consideration of constitutionalism by Judge Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., was supplemented by penetrating comment on the judicial function by Justice Felix Frankfurter and Judge William H. Hastie. The pointed remarks of McGeorge Bundy, a nonlawyer, added zest to the discussion. One of the most significant observations was Judge Hastie's extempore comparison of the respective virtues of courts and legislators in making the difficult value-judgments involved in "substantive due process" decisions (p. 360).

Government under law in time of crisis was treated by Francis Shackelford and Charles Fairman. The former emphasized the importance of intradepartmental procedure in view of the tendency of Congress to appropriate whatever amount of money the armed services ask for during times of danger. The latter urged the importance of civilian control of the relief measures that would be needed after an atomic disaster and showed the inadequacy of the common supposition that martial law would do the job, or that state and local agencies could be relied upon.

Many other valuable contributions to the discussion are contained in the volume. It is a worthy fruit of the bicentennial occasion which evoked it.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

PROFESSORS AND PUBLIC ETHICS: STUDIES OF NORTHERN MORAL PHILOSOPHERS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR. By *Wilson Smith*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1956. Pp. vii, 244. \$4.00.)

FOUR of the nine essays in this collection have appeared in scholarly journals in different form. Originally, they constituted the author's doctoral dissertation at Columbia University; they are now published under the auspices of the Beveridge Fund of the American Historical Association. In the first section, Smith establishes who the major moral philosophers were during the first half of the nineteenth century (he includes forty-eight in a useful statistical appendix), locates them in terms of their religious and academic orientation, and describes and analyzes their early indebtedness to the theological utilitarianism of William Paley, the English moral philosopher. The second section is made up of essays on the relationship between thought and action in the public careers of four moral philosophers: John Daniel Gros, Francis Lieber, Charles B. Haddock, and Francis Wayland. The author takes a look at James Walker, Unitarian moral philosopher at Harvard, in the third section and concludes with some suggestive comments on the decline of moral philosophy in the American college.

The essays do not hang together as well as their appearance between two covers might suggest, but the author is rightfully excited by the possibilities of his subject. After all, in the moral philosophers were embodied the official pur-

poses of the American college of their day—the evangelical Protestantism and the intellectual pretensions which defined the higher learning. Smith proves that the professors were active in politics even though they insisted that they were merely being moral, but it is questionable whether he has proven his contention that the philosophers were overwhelmingly committed to a well-defined moral order and only incidentally to the prevailing conservative economic and political order.

In an acknowledgments section at the end of this book, Smith remarks: "I have left undone in this work many things which I ought to have done. . . . I have introduced some themes broadly, with only a few biographical essays to sustain my generalizations. In this way possibly I have missed the kind of historical precision, though I hope not the insight, that gives some monographs their value." Readers will want to make up their own minds about the author's judgment. My own sympathies are on the side of precision, in part because insights of this sort are not very useful until someone gets around to the precision and to the study in depth. The sympathetic and understanding approach to the moral philosophers displayed in this book, the attempt to grapple with some tough problems of intellectual history, the knowledgeable use of other work in the field, and the author's respect for his subject suggest that Smith is capable of just such a study.

Williams College

FREDERICK RUDOLPH

THE COKERS OF CAROLINA: A SOCIAL BIOGRAPHY OF A FAMILY.

By *George Lee Simpson, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute for Research in Social Science. 1956. Pp. xvi, 327. \$5.00.)

THE Rockefeller Foundation originated and subsidized this study of the contributions of the Coker family of South Carolina to the economic and cultural life of the South. The object was not to memorialize a distinguished family but to improve the welfare of the region by holding up for imitation a notable record of achievement. The author, an associate professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, begins his account with the marriage of Caleb and Hanna Coker in 1830 and carries it to the present. Reviewing individual achievements in a family context, he pays considerable attention to the family as a social institution, and quite properly, for the Coker family supplied each of its members with a sense of identity and purpose, with security and opportunity, and with those qualities of character most essential to success. Generation after generation, the Cokers have been ambitious, disciplined, industrious, and remarkably adaptable. Except for the scholarly members of the family they have, like the heroes of Russell Conwell's *Acres of Diamonds*, found their opportunities in their own back yard in Darlington County, South Carolina.

The author's main concern is not personality development but the changing Southern economy. Caleb Coker, who started as a storekeeper and cotton planter, lived to see his sons and grandsons prosper in the cotton manufacturing, railroad-

ing, banking, paper manufacturing, and pedigreed seed businesses. Cokers pioneered in the manufacture of paper from Southern pine, the production of textile cones, and the development of improved strains of cotton, tobacco, and oats. The study thus definitely adds to our knowledge of Southern agriculture and business enterprise. It also improves our understanding of Southern intellectual life, not only by reviewing the careers of the many scholars that issued from the family but also by indicating the ways in which the Cokers applied new research knowledge in the industrial and agricultural spheres.

The author has made good use of letters, business papers, store books, farm journals, diaries, wills, speeches, and other fresh source material. He has confined himself too closely to family sources, however, so that the reader never knows how the Cokers looked to outsiders. Who were their friends and enemies? How were they regarded by the Negroes, farmers, and laborers of Darlington County? The neglect of newspaper sources accounts in part for the absence of answers to these questions.

The social ideas and political affiliations of the Cokers, though not completely overlooked, are not fully or candidly developed. Apparently they were Redeemers in the postwar South, but the author sees little social significance in this. C. Vann Woodward will be surprised to learn that the Redeemers acquired political power "without any particular design," that they were "merely themselves," seeking public office not because it was profitable but because it was "co-equal with duty." In our day, the Coker industries are not unionized because the Cokers pay good wages, and besides, "All things being equal, they prefer not to have a union." Coker ideas on race are passed over lightly, except for the assurance that while the Cokers occupy a middle ground, they are unlikely "to forsake their southern heritage suddenly."

This is a solid book, despite deficiencies of style and historical orientation. It documents, if it does not fully explain, the contributions of a remarkable family to the intellectual and economic development of the South.

University of Missouri

IRVIN G. WYLLIE

REBEL BRASS: THE CONFEDERATE COMMAND SYSTEM. By *Frank E. Vandiver*. Introduction by *T. Harry Williams*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 142. \$3.00.)

SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS. By *John G. Barrett*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 325. \$6.00.)

THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF NASHVILLE. By *Stanley F. Horn*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 181. \$3.00.)

THEY MET AT GETTYSBURG. By *Edward J. Stackpole*. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Company. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 342. \$4.95.)

In his introduction to *Rebel Brass*, by way of agreeing with David Donald's advice that in writing Civil War history "we must turn to fresh problems, and

to fresh solutions of old problems," T. Harry Williams reminds us to ask of these four additions to the growing fifty-foot shelf of books on the Civil War, whether or not they are "fresh." It seems to me that only John G. Barrett's *Sherman's March through the Carolinas* offers any degree of freshness. While each of the other three books can be considered a labor of love, none of them adds anything substantial to the literature of the Civil War except further testimony of the abundant love people have for it.

Mr. Vandiver's *Rebel Brass* strives toward freshness; because of his attempt, Williams has commented that the author did "a job of thinking." Certainly he has brought up an interesting subject, the Confederate command system, but, unfortunately, he has given it no dimensions. Instead, he restricts himself to writing a personal (and sometimes petty) evaluation of some of the Confederate "brass," men whom one would expect to be part of the "command system," without showing what the "system" was or how it worked. In *The Decisive Battle of Nashville*, Mr. Horn claims that "it is impossible to question that Nashville was a decisive battle" and also that it was "the decisive battle of the war." He proceeds, however, only to give a straightforward rehash of that two-day battle, compares it with no other engagement in the Civil War, and offers no proof of his contention except that William Swinton, General John Watts duPuyster, and J. F. C. Fuller all saw, in varying degrees, the importance of the battle. *They Met at Gettysburg*, by Edward J. Stackpole, is another account of that crucial battle which the author lovingly and enthusiastically refights with, it seems to me, much less success than does another contender, Douglas Southall Freeman.

While footnotes and a full bibliography do not necessarily indicate freshness of either research or interpretation (nor are they always needed), they do help to show the reader something of the author's path among the materials he has consulted. On this basis alone, and there are others, Barrett's book must be classified differently from the other three reviewed here since they, for the most part, eschew such scholarly trappings. Indeed, Horn has replaced the section usually reserved for a bibliography with nothing more than an organizational list of the armies at Nashville; furthermore, he has incorrectly attributed Hallam's famous definition of a decisive battle to Sir Edward Creasy.

Sherman's March through the Carolinas, while it does not throw great new light on that campaign, serves to unify and distinguish it from Sherman's other, and often better known, campaigns. The book, which deals in detail with the general's march from Savannah to Raleigh, begins somewhat unnecessarily with his birth in Lancaster, Ohio, forty-five years before. Barrett very properly emphasizes the burning of Columbia, the battle of Bentonville, and the controversy over the terms of surrender which Sherman originally offered Johnston. Outstanding, but not emphasized sufficiently, is the description of the terrible and treacherous trip through the swamps of South Carolina which Sherman thought was "one of the most horrible things in the history of the world." The army moved, seemingly, more by water than by land. The few pages devoted to this part of the

march do not do justice to the military coup which Sherman's sixty thousand men pulled off when they built the corduroy roads and bridges, by which means they traveled over an area always wet and sandy and then awash by heavy rainfall. By every standard the march was heroic and wondrous, impressing even Sherman's capable opponent: "I made up my mind," General Joseph E. Johnston said, "that there had been no such army in existence since the days of Julius Caesar." Sherman did not exaggerate when he wrote in his *Memoirs*: "Were I to express my measure of the relative importance of the march to the sea [from Atlanta to Savannah], and of that from Savannah northward, I would place the former at one, and the latter at ten, or the maximum." Mr. Barrett has General Sherman on dry land far too quickly.

The author's success with his narrative is achieved partly because he has carefully made what might be called a social study of the march through the Carolinas. He places heavy reliance upon a variety of eye-witness accounts of Sherman's army as it went northward and often draws upon contemporary reminiscences not previously exploited. The problem of the "bummers" who foraged freely and often disgracefully, as the Northern Army marched through the "hell-hole of secession," was but one of the many sore spots between South Carolina and Sherman's army, and Barrett's story helps to reveal the natural bias and bitterness that existed between victor and vanquished. It clarifies the difficulty in judging responsibility for the devastation brought to the Carolinas, especially to Columbia.

In dealing with the peace terms which Sherman gave to Johnston, Barrett disagrees with Lloyd Lewis and others who hold that Sherman was only following Lincoln's program. Instead, he maintains that the general "acted foremost in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience." While this reviewer remains convinced that Sherman *was* primarily following Lincoln's policy, Barrett's fresh reminder that he would act as he saw fit, is salutary.

As these four books testify, the last word has not yet been written on most aspects of the Civil War, David Donald's advice notwithstanding. One is reminded of Alice when the King cries out: "How are they getting on with the fight?" Whereupon Hatta replies: "They're getting on very well. Each of them has been down about eighty-seven times."

Brandeis University

DONALD N. BIGELOW

A DIFFERENT VALOR: THE STORY OF GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, C.S.A. By *Gilbert E. Govan* and *James W. Livingood*. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1956. Pp. 470. \$6.00.)

THIS biography of Joseph E. Johnston, the first to appear since 1893, when the Confederate commander's great-nephew, Robert M. Hughes, published his *General Johnston*, leaves unaltered the main outlines of the famous soldier's Civil War career but offers some new interpretations and fills in much interesting detail

from manuscripts, journals, memoirs, and the *Official Records*. The authors suggest that the animosity between Johnston and Jefferson Davis, which proved so disruptive to Confederate unity, may have begun while both men were still in Washington, Davis as Senator and Johnston as Quartermaster General in the United States Army. The evidence cited in support of this theory includes a letter written by Mrs. Johnston in 1863 in which she discloses to a friend that when Johnston was planning in 1861 to leave Washington she reminded him that he would have to work with Davis, adding, "... he hates you, he has power & will ruin you. . . ."

Like Mrs. Johnston, the authors see little good in Davis or his friends. They regard Davis' removal of Johnston from command of the Army of Tennessee, at the crucial moment in the defense of Atlanta against Sherman, as an arbitrary act, resulting from hatred of Johnston, an unrealistic appraisal of the military situation, the sycophantic advice of Braxton Bragg, and false reports from John B. Hood, who schemed after Johnston's command. In the light of the evidence, this interpretation, however harsh, is not to be lightly dismissed. Yet it does seem that the authors' sympathy for Johnston leads them to minimize his irritability, evasive secretiveness, and lack of daring, qualities which both angered Davis and gave him plausible grounds for the removal. Moreover, the authors tend to minimize Johnston's military errors. For example, they quote Sherman more than once in praise of Johnston but say nothing of Sherman's censure of the Confederate commander for allowing Federal troops to cross the Chattahoochee, the river barrier before Atlanta, unopposed.

The biography suffers from too much emphasis on Johnston's Civil War career and too little on the rest of his life. The fifty-four eventful years that preceded his resignation from the United States Army in 1861 receive sixteen hasty pages. Similarly sketchy is the twenty-one-page summary of his business and political career, 1865-1891. This treatment makes the book not so much a rounded study of Johnston's life as a detailed examination of his Civil War campaigns, written essentially from Johnston's point of view.

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

THE PAPERS OF WILLIE PERSON MANGUM. Volume II, 1833-1838; Volume III, 1839-1843; Volume IV, 1844-1846; Volume V, 1847-1894. Edited by *Henry Thomas Shanks*. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1952; 1953; 1955; 1956. Pp. xxi, 573; xxi, 521; xxvii, 579; xxxiv, 812. \$3.00 per volume, \$15.00 the set of five.)

STUDENTS of American history have reason to be grateful to Professor Shanks for completion of his work, begun several years ago, of compiling and editing the papers of Willie P. Mangum. Mangum's importance in national political life can at last be evaluated and appreciated. The series is valuable also for the large number of public figures who appear in the pages by letter or by reference. These

include almost all of the major Whigs and many others—Webster, Clay, Harrison, Taylor, Fillmore, Scott, Clayton, Bell, Duncan Cameron, Weed, Graham, Calhoun, Jackson, Tyler, Lincoln, Benton, J. J. Crittenden, Letcher, Branch, Memucan Hunt, and J. Watson Webb—to name a few. The material relates mostly to national and North Carolina politics, but considerable data or sentiment may be found on other aspects of American life. This is a work that will have to be consulted hereafter by earnest students of the period covered.

Volume II covers the years during which Mangum shifted from a Jacksonian to a Whig, opposed removal of the Bank deposits, resigned from the Senate, and helped organize the Whig party in North Carolina. Volume III (1839–1843) is one of the more important of the set. After serving as a presidential elector for Harrison and Tyler, Mangum returned in 1840 to the Senate, where he supported Clay's program, and, after Tyler's accession to the presidency, was elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate, by which he was put in line for the presidency of the United States. The letters covering this period are especially revealing. Volume IV, by its short coverage (1844–1846), suggests the concentration of Whig efforts on the election of 1844, as well as the interest in the controversial questions of those years. Mangum had an important part in directing the campaign for Clay and was himself offered, but declined, the vice-presidential nomination. Most of the material in Volume V (1847–1894) deals with Mangum's last term in the Senate (1847–1853) and his declining years in private life till his death in 1861. Mangum is revealed as a key man in Whig politics during his last term. He played an important role in the Compromise of 1850. His opposition to a military hero for President, his nationalism balanced by his abhorrence of the extremists and ending with his support of rebellion, and the sacrifice of his only son to the "Lost Cause" are all well brought out. There are more letters from Mangum in this volume than in any of the others, and in some respects this is the most useful in the series. The user of the Mangum Papers will share the editor's regrets about the small proportion of letters from Mangum; the total is 267, or about 13 per cent of the whole number. But this is a familiar situation.

The five volumes are uniform in the following respects: location of each manuscript; a chronological list of papers in the volume; a calendar of Mangum papers for the period of the volume that are omitted (a total of 362); footnote annotations; illustrations, including portraits of many of Mangum's contemporaries; index; format. The differences are in Volumes I and V. The first volume (see rev. in *AHR*, LVII [October, 1951], 258) includes a biographical sketch of Mangum, a chronology of his life, and three maps. The last volume adds the following features: errata found in the previous volumes; twenty undated manuscripts identified with the years 1819 to 1850; about a score of items discovered after publication of the volumes to which they logically belonged; several items with post mortem dates, including reminiscences; and a dozen of the major speeches of Mangum, mostly in the Senate, covering the years 1825 to 1852.

The editorial work of Professor Shanks is superb, evidencing the utmost care and respect for the critical demands of scholarship. In his helpful footnote annotations he has done more in providing identifications than could reasonably be expected. The index in each volume is a model for detail and usability. With the other features to guide one, these make the volumes as easy a reference as a dictionary, and, for those who work in the period covered, just as indispensable. Remarkably free from typographical errors, this handsome set of volumes, comprising over 3,200 pages, also reflects credit upon the North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

University of Chattanooga

CULVER H. SMITH

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST. By *Robert G. Athearn*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 371. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Athearn's scholarly treatment of a difficult subject in a crucial era of the expansion of the Union should merit the close attention of students of American history. The work is predicated on a wide variety of primary sources—manuscript, archival, and published—which are widely dispersed and for the most part rarely utilized by scholars. The materials most frequently cited in this book are the Sherman Papers in the Library of Congress and the official records in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the War Records Division of the National Archives.

At the close of the Civil War, General Sherman was designated as Commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi, which covered the entire area from the Mississippi River to the Pacific. During the two decades of 1865–1885 the rush of settlers into the western plains and to the mountain areas was in full tide. Sherman's duty was to ensure peace in the whole district, which he assumed meant the infliction of punishment on both Indian and white disturbers, wherever they might be found. The central theme of the book is therefore the evolution of the general's policy within this milieu of conflict, with a discussion of the several concomitant issues which modified or transformed his policy, all brought into sharp focus by the author.

Sherman's primary objective was to fend off Indian forays on white settlements, but he soon discovered that his hands were effectively tied by several unanticipated circumstances. Congress made decreasing annual appropriations for the Army, which rapidly depleted his forces; effective military action against hostile Indian tribes was thus virtually impossible. But even if an adequate force had been made available, its use would have been negated by the growth of a pacifist element in Washington and in the East generally, which emphasized a policy of treaty conferences, Christianization, and education of the savages rather than forceful retaliation. This pacifist group brought such pressure upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior that Sherman's voice in Washington was unheard. The War Department did not assert itself,

and President Grant did nothing to uphold Sherman. The general found a way, however, to do indirectly what he could not do directly to lessen the frequency of Indian attacks by lending military protection to railroad builders. His forces were sufficient for that purpose. This was the great era of the construction of the Pacific railroads—Northern, Union, Central, and Southern. Sherman rightly believed that with the projection of every mile of a railroad the settlements in its vicinity would be comparatively safe. In the end, when the rail lines reached the mountains and the Pacific, the Indians found themselves caught in the jaws of a giant pincers; their settlement in reservations was then made easy.

The work is well written. Although it is a microscopic study, I am impressed with the feeling that an over-all picture of the area and time has been presented. That is the art of the thing.

The National Archives

CLARENCE E. CARTER

THE LEGACY OF HOLMES AND BRANDEIS: A STUDY IN THE INFLUENCE OF IDEAS. By *Samuel J. Konefsky*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. ix, 316. \$6.00.)

THE use future generations make of the ideas of former ones serves always to throw new light on the sources and original meaning of such ideas. Professor Konefsky in his study of the influence of two of our most notable judicial minds seeks to show the way in which their concepts developed and the way in which those concepts have been utilized. Placing more emphasis upon the former, the author clearly shows that the Holmesian gospel of judicial self-restraint has played a major role in the modern court's approach to economic and civil liberties questions. Brandeis' broad contributions, Konefsky contends, lie more in his "adapting law and its techniques to the stark realities of life in the twentieth century."

On the other hand, the influence of the two men's specific ideas is more nebulous. Holmes, only semi-literate economically and lacking any pronounced social consciousness, did manage, in his passive, skeptical acceptance of combinations, both business and labor, and the right of legislatures to experiment with economic regulation, to set forth numerous prescient rules for a later day. Brandeis, however, in his better informed crusade for social justice, was frequently apt to be present-minded, concentrating the weight of his legal erudition upon immediate problems and their immediate solutions, to the point that many of his economic decisions have little pertinence in a changing industrial society. Ironically, it was Brandeis who was constantly looking to the future to vindicate his positions whereas Konefsky sees no such sense of mission in Holmes's opinions. Such a conclusion strongly suggests that the more specific ideas of the men have prevailed neither in the form nor the spirit in which they were set down but that later generations, seeking useful rationalizations, have utilized them as prestigious arguments to bolster particular points of view.

In the area of freedom of expression, Konefsky is forced to a similar conclu-

sion. Raising serious doubts as to the validity of Holmes's reputation as a great champion of free speech, he argues that the famous "clear and present danger" rule was an inadvertent and unnecessary qualification on the first amendment, opening the way to serious limitations upon what had previously been assumed to be an unassailable guarantee. Later dubious use made of the tool indicates further the manner in which casual dicta may come to be raised to the level of purposeful legal doctrine.

The study, based upon an exhaustive use of the available writings on the two men, is useful and important. The fact that it is itself present-minded only shows that the ideas of Holmes and Brandeis, whether correctly adapted or not, currently influence not only judges but scholars.

Ohio State University

PAUL L. MURPHY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE RISE OF AMERICA TO WORLD POWER. By *Howard K. Beale*. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1953.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956. Pp. xxi, 600. \$6.00.)

FEW Presidents have shown a greater flair for diplomacy than Theodore Roosevelt. His aristocratic temperament, strong sense of mission, ebullient personality, and decided views on all matters impelled him to assume a leading role in the shaping of world affairs, although he was often handicapped by the discouraging attitude of the American public toward its international responsibilities. His comprehension of world problems was unusual, as a negotiator he had few peers among the professionals in that field, and his impact on the statesmen of his day was tremendous. Yet despite this great personal prestige and extraordinary display of diplomatic skill, Roosevelt, in Professor Beale's estimation, failed in all his important objectives, not from any lack of ability but from the distorted values he acquired as a disciple of Kipling and Mahan in the expansionist agitation at the turn of the century.

Nevertheless, it was a spectacular failure, and the story has never been told so well or in such abundant detail as here. Based on an exhaustive examination of the papers of Roosevelt and his principal associates and supplemented by the printed foreign office correspondence now available, the book is a genuine contribution both to the diplomatic history of the era and to an understanding of Roosevelt's personality.

Roosevelt's major diplomatic efforts were directed toward building up a close entente with England, curbing the aspirations of Germany, trying to improve the competitive position of the United States in the Far East, and maintaining an uneasy equilibrium among rival world power combinations. Little is said of his Caribbean policy apart from a spirited defense of his veracity in reporting the Venezuelan episode of 1902-1903. His handling of some of these complex matters was masterly; where Roosevelt erred was in miscalculating the power poten-

tial of certain nations and the forces of nationalism undermining the world order he strove to preserve.

Much new light is thrown on Roosevelt's ambivalent attitude toward the Kaiser, whose glittering military facade both impressed and disturbed him. The resemblance between them was striking, but in diplomacy Wilhelm was no match for the wily Theodore, who used him about as he wished. Although he made efforts, mainly through private channels, to mitigate the dangerous Anglo-German rivalry, Roosevelt's strong support of England on most international issues precluded his having much of a modifying influence on German opinion generally. His ability to flatter the Kaiser into supporting American policy when it was not always in Germany's interest to do so was also counter productive, as at the Algeciras Conference, the outcome of which did not redound to Wilhelm's credit at home however much it enhanced Roosevelt's reputation elsewhere as a peace-maker.

Beale finds little to commend in Roosevelt's Far Eastern policy except his efforts to end the Russo-Japanese War. His fatuous admiration for the Japanese militarists, his callous sacrifice of Korean independence, and his senseless bullying of the feeble Manchu regime are severely censured. It is doubtful, however, that he inaugurated a Chinese policy basically different from the gunboat diplomacy of his predecessors or that, in view of the times, a more enlightened policy would have averted the present calamitous situation. In discussing his bellicose handling of the Chinese boycott, no evidence is presented, beyond what is cited in the press, for the statement that troop shipments to China were founded in fact. The White House merely promoted a war scare by allowing the press to play up normal troop rotation to the Philippines in this light. Not even Roosevelt could have seriously contemplated the risk and expense of such an expedition.

The lecture method, on which this volume is based, may account for some unnecessary repetition. For example, the impact of Brooks Adams and Admiral Mahan on Roosevelt's thinking, while important, is hardly worth repeating in three different chapters. The index is adequate and the footnotes awe inspiring, although awkwardly placed at the end. W. W. Rockhill is mentioned (p. 200) as running the State Department between Hay's death in July, 1905, and Root's assumption of office in August, but Rockhill had gone to China as American minister in April, 1905, and F. B. Loomis was Secretary of State ad interim.

Washington, D. C.

SEWARD W. LIVERMORE

WOODROW WILSON AND COLONEL HOUSE: A PERSONALITY STUDY. By *Alexander L.* and *Juliette L. George*. (New York: John Day Company. 1956. Pp. xvii, 362. \$6.00.)

To the recent avalanche of Wilsonia, occasioned in part by last year's centennial celebration of President Wilson's birth, Alexander and Juliette George have added a commendable little book which should take high place among the one-volume

biographies of Woodrow Wilson. It is a well-balanced, smartly-paced work, maturely organized and presented in an engaging, albeit somewhat repetitious, manner. For the general reader interested in good biography well told, the book should have a special and richly deserved appeal.

What the authors have attempted to do here is to stretch Woodrow Wilson out full length on the psychiatrist's couch and probe into the mechanism and motives which propelled him. Beside Wilson, on a much smaller couch, lies Colonel Edward M. House—also probed somewhat but given on the whole only minor attention, despite his heavy billing in the book's title. The findings of the examiners are inclined to be generally unfavorable (at times devastatingly so) to both House and Wilson, with the latter receiving by far the harsher handling. It is the core of the authors' psychological conclusions that Wilson, the man and his actions, can be understood only in reference to the unhealthy relationship that existed between Wilson as a youth and his exacting minister father. According to the authors, young Wilson was pushed too hard and too brusquely by his stern and tactless, albeit well-meaning, parent who, in his intellectual domination of the boy, succeeded in planting in young Wilson's mind a sense of basic inadequacy and insecurity, which in time blossomed forth into a feeling of colossal resentment. As a dutiful son, Wilson not only refused to rebel openly against his father but even succeeded in pushing all feeling of resentment into the recesses of his subconscious mind. It was this repressed resentment, claim the authors, which shaped Wilson's later attitudes and behavior. As a boy he had been made to feel inadequate and unimportant, and consequently, the business of compensating himself for these early deficiencies became for the adult Wilson the overriding purpose of his life. "His interest in power, in political leadership," state the Georges, "was based on the need to compensate for damaged self-esteem. . . . Had he, as a child, been overwhelmed by feelings of helplessness in relationship to the masterful adults about him? Then, as a man, he must impose his will on others and never permit himself to be subjugated."

Although provocative and generally appealing, from the standpoint of pioneering scholarship the Georges' book will fail to cause much of a stir. The frontiers of historical knowledge are not noticeably pushed forward because of it. It offers to an already supersaturated area of study very little, if anything, resembling an original contribution of significant proportions—either information-wise or in the realm of interpretation. Relying heavily upon published sources, especially those of Baker, Seymour, and Link, the authors have served up an old, old dish (replete with time-honored quotations and oft-repeated "colorful incidents") to which they have given an only slightly different flavor by sprinkling on a moderately heavy garnishing of psychological conjecture. For the historian with even a fair-to-middling familiarity with the period and personalities dealt with, this book, while undeniably a first-rate piece of craftsmanship, falls perilously close to the outer rim of "ho-humism."

WILSON: THE NEW FREEDOM. By *Arthur S. Link*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 504. \$7.50.)

IN this, the second volume of a singularly important biography, Arthur S. Link displays the thoroughness of research, lucidity of prose, and care in analysis that have so consistently distinguished his scholarship. His preface defines the scope of his book, deliberately broad, deliberately also manageable. It deals with "the major stages in Wilson's own personal and political growth and the development of his most important domestic and foreign policies from November 1912 to November 1914." It focuses "as much as possible upon Wilson and upon the men and events that intimately affected the President and his policies," including relevant "currents of thought," excluding parochial affairs and cultural distentions "in which Wilson took no interest." Using this formula, Link achieves throughout the volume a discriminating balance between man and times. The result satisfies the exacting intellectual and artistic criteria which Professor Nevins proposed some years ago for biography on the grand scale.

Many of Link's interpretations of the great events of 1912-1914, of the changing nature of the New Freedom, and of the character and personality of Woodrow Wilson have already become so much a part of current historiography that this volume contains no surprises. Its basic themes were expounded in the author's influential *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York, 1954) and have since been in large part absorbed by most historians of the Wilson period. This, of course, is an enormous tribute to Professor Link. His very success costs his latest work novelty or suspense. But he has in the volume under review executed impressively the laborious task of providing additional evidence and force for his theses. Especially in his handling of agrarian influence in Congress and within the Democratic party, of Wilson's gradual absorption of the new nationalism, and of the genesis and significance of missionary diplomacy, Link's full treatment contains, for the specialist at least, an excitement of its own.

The scope and documentation of this book give it particular value for professional historians. The author has explored every pertinent source, exploited newspapers and public documents as skillfully as manuscripts, revealed the details of his findings generously, and yet kept his material always under control. He enhances professional understanding of issues previously much discussed—Wilson's techniques of executive leadership and of diplomacy; the legislative history of the Underwood Tariff, the Federal Reserve Act, and the antitrust laws of 1914; the foreign policy of the United States in Central America and during the early stages of the Mexican revolution. Insofar as history is actuality interpreted, Link achieves his expressed hope that this biography will be "nearly definitive."

But the adjective is demanding. The book's assessment of Wilson, reflecting as it does the culture of today and the tensions of the decade since World War II, will probably best satisfy those of us who are Link's contemporaries. The generation that remembers Wilson will doubtless lean still toward the gentler, more

reverent view of Ray Stannard Baker. The terms of evaluation are bound to change again. When they do, Link's work may or may not seem "nearly definitive," but it will by any standard remain, as it now is, absolutely indispensable.

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JOHN M. BLUM

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN CARLOS DE GUATEMALA. By *John Tate Lanning*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xxv, 372. \$6.50.)

"UNTIL this generation, if not until this moment, tradition outside the Iberian Peninsula has had it that Spain's Empire lived in sleepy isolation and that her colonial policy was one of steadfast opposition to enlightenment." Professor Lanning thus characterizes in his latest book the general view of intellectual life in the Spanish colonies and, by a careful study of the University of Guatemala in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is able to prove that it was an entirely mistaken concept. Basing his conclusions upon a prodigious amount of research, Lanning demonstrates that intellectual leaders were not isolated nor were they deliberately kept in ignorance by the Spanish government. As a matter of fact, Guatemala received the new philosophical ideas of Western Europe at least two decades before the French Revolution. Theses at the University of Guatemala covered the whole range of humanistic and scientific studies, and they indicate that as Peripateticism declined and died, the ideas of important thinkers of Europe reached these students in the New World. Modernism became the dominant note in philosophy, science, and medicine. Outstanding leaders in the intellectual movement were men of real stature, such as José Antonio Goicoechea and José Felipe Flores.

It has long been taken for granted that the Latin American political and intellectual leaders went to Europe for their education, returning home to spread the ideas of the Enlightenment. Lanning shows that this is not true; students received an excellent philosophical education in Guatemala. Some of the leaders, it is true, did go to Europe, but only after they had been trained and had had successful careers in the New World. In Europe they discovered with surprise that there were no great intellectual fields to conquer, and some became disillusioned when they found that they had gone beyond Europeans in many matters. Moreover, a great deal of the learning focused on utility rather than on the so-called Latin abstract concepts.

In spite of its intellectual activity, the University of Guatemala obviously never became an outstanding center of learning. Why? Most readers of this historical review have a very similar problem; the faculty may be good but there is one thing in any time or place that makes possible a really great university—money.

More books like Lanning's would make Latin American historians proud of their field.

University of Missouri

WALTER V. SCHOLÉS

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

MODERN ARCHIVES: PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES. By *T. R. Schellenberg*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 247. \$5.00.) If, in 1956, a student edition of the *Dictionary of American History* does not include the National Archives among its "over 4,000 entries," all cannot be well with the lines of communication between the historical profession and the archivists of this country. T. R. Schellenberg's book on *Modern Archives* should help to strengthen them. In fact, it should become compulsory reading for historians who plan to work with archives and for the students who, in graduate seminars, wish an introduction to the most important category of historical source material. Triggered by lectures that Dr. Schellenberg gave in Australia and New Zealand under the Fulbright program, the book embodies the practical experience as well as the thoughtful reflections of the author, who now holds the responsible position of Assistant Archivist of the United States. The first part of the book acquaints the reader with the nature of archives, the role of the archival agency, and its relationships with the library, its sister institution. A chapter on the archivist's concern with the administration of current records furnishes an easy transition to the second part, dealing with records management. In the absence of a discipline of "modern diplomatics," the chapters on record classification, registry, and filing systems will give the historian an understanding of the structure of modern archives—so important to him because in the archival agency their original order is retained. The chapters in the third part on the appraisal of records and the principles of their arrangement deserve the special interest of the historian. The former, a model of clear reasoning based on a wealth of experience, will explain the intricate problems of selecting from the great quantity of modern records steadily being produced those worthy of permanent preservation because of their "evidential" or "informational" value. The chapter on arrangement shows how the "principle of provenance" as a governing principle has come to be adopted. Intelligent use of the archives requires that this principle be well understood by the historian. Apart from due attention to European precedent, much of the doctrine of the book is based on techniques and procedures of the National Archives, to which the author himself has made outstanding contributions. This should not limit its usefulness. On the contrary, it sets the standards for American archival institutions on all levels, furnishes them a guide for their own work, and lays the foundations for a sound development of archival administration all over the country. Archivists of foreign countries, too, will appreciate this manual as the only one concerned with the problems of modern archives and as a symptom of the maturity of the archival profession in the United States. It is an excellent book.

ERNST POSNER, *American University*

INTERDISCIPLINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY ON NATIONALISM, 1935-53. By *Karl W. Deutsch*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of M.I.T. 1956. Pp. 165.) Karl Deutsch, one of the leading authorities in the United States on nationalism, here lists about two thousand books and articles in the principal Western languages on

nationalism. His list includes the major studies and most of the minor ones appearing since the Pinson bibliography of 1935. It is to be regretted that Deutsch annotates only a few of the titles. His comments on all would be valuable. Based on the premises that science has unity and that no single discipline is sufficient to deal with the problem, the list contains works from all the social sciences and some of the humanities. The scholar will note a few omissions and wonder why some titles are listed, but this bibliography will be of immense value to students. Equally comprehensive bibliographies are needed on many subjects.

B. C. S.

JUSTUS LIPSIUS: THE PHILOSOPHY OF RENAISSANCE STOICISM. By *Jason Lewis Saunders*. (New York: Liberal Arts Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 228. \$4.50.) This book is a welcome addition to the ever increasing quantity of literature on the philosophic thought of the Renaissance. Justus Lipsius was a Brabançon born in 1547 at Overysse near Brussels. He traveled in Italy where he sharpened his interest in humanist thought. He studied at Louvain, Cologne, and Jena; from 1579 to 1591 he was a professor at the University of Leiden in Holland. Lipsius' mental formation owed much to the propulsive ideas of his age—Renaissance humanism, Protestant reform, Catholic reform, and the political revolutionary upheavals in the Low Countries of his day. It was a period of decline in Scholastic thought. Lipsius was attracted to Stoic teaching but never completely capitulated to it. He adapted an eclectic view in philosophy, guided in this, it appears, by the eclectic character of Stoicism itself. He studied its teachings diligently, tracing the origins of its tenets to Heraclitus who taught that of all existing things none are permanent, to the Cynic Antisthenes who held that virtue is man's only good, to the doctrines of Zeno of the Stoa, and, finally, to Seneca. Lipsius concluded that Stoicism was not a true philosophy, but, friendly to Christianity in respect to its ethical aims, it could perhaps be adapted to the truths of Christianity. He presented his views in two treatises: *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam* and *Physiologia Stoicorum*. But Lipsius' endeavors, as Professor Saunders shows, were none too successful. For the god of Stoicism is corporeal, joined with the world through compenetration; nature is pantheistic and materialistic; and "corporeality includes all essences." Stoic epistemology seems unsatisfactory, for it teaches that all thought springs from sensation. Obviously, Christianity, having precise ideas on an Infinite Being, could never adapt itself to Stoic thought, and any union of Stoicism with Christianity was impossible.

HENRY S. LUCAS, *University of Washington*

DAS HISTORISCHE ERKENNEN: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM GESCHICHTS-REALISMUS IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Hellmut Diwald*. [Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, II.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1955. Pp. 109. 9 fl.) The purpose of this little volume is to establish, or to reestablish, history as a legitimate branch of knowledge. History has been turned down a "theoretical blind alley," the author believes, by recent writers on historiography like Wilhelm Dilthey and Friederick Meinecke. In their eagerness to maintain the autonomy of historical study and the validity of its fundamental categories (individuality and the historicity of human life), these writers with their concept of *Verstehen* have inserted the history-knowing subject into the historical object until all distinction between the two is lost and knowledge turns into knowledge of oneself. It is the central thesis of the book that the autonomy and validity of history as science must be secured without such hazardous recourse to subjectivity. In a long introduction—roughly one third of the book—the author develops an epistemological grounding for history that rests on

the neo-realism of Nicolai Hartmann. The remainder of the book is devoted to the history of the present historiographical dilemma. The Romantics are given much credit for the discovery of historical individuality, but by virtue of their attraction to an idealistic metaphysic they established a fateful affinity between idealism and history that boded ill for the future. This became clear in J. G. Droysen's classic historiographical work, *Historik*, which attempted to synthesize speculative idealism, wherein subject and object are one, with objective historical sense. Dilthey and Simmel carry this reconciling of irreconcilables quite to the point of skepticism. Only in the great Ranke does the objective truth shine forth in purity and splendor. Those American historians who experience alarm at the threat of relativism may find some comfort in this book, if they can plod through its rather difficult German. However, they will find the problem of objectivity, the problem of historiographical realism, still unsolved.

LLOYD R. SORENSON, *University of Oregon*

WILHELM DILTHEY'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By *William Kluback*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 592.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 118. \$3.00.) This small volume attempts to analyze the origins and character of Dilthey's contribution to the history of thought, which is chiefly seen in the development of a methodology and an approach to be employed by the historian of ideas. After a brief description of the largely religious forces molding Dilthey's early opinions, a chapter entitled "Historicism and Idealism" places him in the wide conflict of philosophical ideas of the mid-nineteenth century. Two additional chapters outline his historical methodology and his "final speculations." The essay fails, however, to draw sharp distinctions between the various stages in the development of his philosophy. What is called the "final" thought is by no means Dilthey's ultimate position, and the illustrations offered belong to an even earlier period. The historical place of Dilthey, who, under the influence of Ranke and the German historical school as well as of Comte, tried to refashion the German tradition of *Geistesphilosophie* into *Geisteswissenschaft* remains rather uncertain in this study. Unfortunately, it lacks sharp philosophical delineation and requires the adduction of a greater amount of material concerning the growth of modern historical thought. The presentation is marred by some serious mistakes of fact and interpretation. The historical writings of F. C. Schlosser, a rationalistic moralist of the Enlightenment, are called the realization of "an evolutionary pantheism," identical with Dilthey's views. Kuno Fischer, the most admired historian of philosophy prior to Dilthey, becomes erroneously a "left-wing" Hegelian. In the bibliography some of the most valuable articles in English are missing, such as those by Ortega y Gasset, Collingwood, Friess, Morgan. No use has been made of the volume of Dilthey articles which was published in 1954 under the title *Die grosse Phantasiedichtung*.

Hajo HOLBORN, *Yale University*

GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES IN DOKUMENTEN. Volume III, DER AUSBRUCH DES KRIEGES 1939. Edited by *Michael Freund*. [Weltgeschichte der Gegenwart in Dokumenten.] (Freiburg: Herder; Freiburg and Munich: Karl Alber. 1956. Pp. ix, 440.) This volume of a series containing documents with connecting discussion and commentary covers the month of August, 1939. The documents, organized into overlapping sections, each dealing with a facet of the fatal crisis, enable the reader to follow the hectic negotiations in which a nation that had unconditionally surrendered itself to Hitler dragged the world into the abyss. The documents show how the Soviet Union and Italy temporarily held back; the role of

the United States is reflected with considerable accuracy by its absence from the stage. The editor who selected the documents for this volume merits the sympathy of all who have struggled with the massive quantity of material to be considered. Space, however, should have been found for Weizsäcker's telegram to Ribbentrop of August 18 (Nuremberg document NG-2172), in which the German tactic of continuously raising demands to ensure failure of negotiations is revealed with startling clarity. The connecting narrative and technical apparatus are good in parts but on the whole unsatisfactory. The editor's anti-Polish prejudices, visible also in the preceding volume (reviewed in *AHR*, LXI [July, 1956], 1000), seriously affect his work. For example, the Danzig customs dispute is described purely along the official National Socialist line, although proof that the Polish ultimatum was justified has—in spite of Freund's assertion—been published in the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Volume VI, Number 774. The book teems with weak points and errors. The almost certainly fabricated speech of Stalin at the August 19 Politburo meeting is included as a document without a word of caution; the comparison between the German-Soviet Pact and the Berlin Treaty of 1926 misses the main points; the memoirs of Neville Henderson are cited as a diary; Count Ciano's diary is quoted for his August 11, 1939, meeting with Ribbentrop, but there is no indication that the diary entry is dated December 23, 1943; no sources are given for several documents; some of the source citations are incomplete, some are entirely erroneous. The list could be extended. In view of this work's wide circulation in Germany, one may hope for a second edition prepared with less passion and more care.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG, *University of Kentucky*

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Medieval History

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MATERIAŁY ŹRÓDŁOWE DO HISTORII POLSKI EPOKI FEUDALNEJ [Source Materials on the History of Feudal Poland]. Volume I, SŁOWIAŃSZCZYŻNA PIERWOTNA [The Original Slavic Domain, Selected Texts]. By Gerard Labuda. (Warsaw: State Publishing House for Scholarly Works. 1954. Pp. 359.) The publication of this volume does not signify that collections of readings are becoming as popular in Europe as they are in this country. Here the new books of readings serve to compensate for inadequate library resources in the face of growing classroom enrollments. Labuda was prompted by a different motive: to give the student of history an opportunity to use original sources in an area where the language barrier, due to the multiplicity of languages, is practically insurmountable. Intended for use primarily by Polish pro-seminar students, the book presents the most important steps in the historical development of the Slavs as reflected in written sources. It covers the period from the sixth century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D., tracing the history of the Slavs from their origins in the Vistula and Dnieper basins to the formation of early feudal states. Political organization, military activity, agriculture, industry, commerce, and religious beliefs are among the subjects dealt with in the readings. Relying rather heavily on the works of Bruckner and Plezia, the author has made no original contribution to knowledge. But he has performed an invaluable service for the neophyte in history by his judicious selection of texts, his numerous explanatory notations, his complete index to names and places, and his bibliographical list

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

of the original sources from which the texts were chosen. In conclusion, it is amusing to note that a separate one-page bibliography includes what the editor of the series refers to as the "classics" of Marxism-Leninism. These are references to those writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin that apparently have some connection (however remote) with primitive Slavdom.

CHARLES MORLEY, *Ohio State University*

HUGH DU PUISET, BISHOP OF DURHAM. By G. V. Scammell. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 354. \$7.50.) This is a first-rate study of the twelfth-century prince-bishop of Durham. Hugh du Puiset came of a formidable family in France, noted for its turbulence and its crusades. Through his mother he was a member of the great house of Blois, and he was promoted to his rich bishopric by the influence of his uncles, King Stephen and Henry, bishop of Winchester. Only at the end of his life did Hugh have a brief and unsuccessful fling in national politics, but in the north of England he enjoyed a long and prosperous reign in the liberty of Durham with all its power and its wealth. Not a truly great man, he was assured a niche in history by virtue of his family and his office. Scammell studies Hugh both as bishop and as baron. Long chapters give an exhaustive account of his part in ecclesiastical politics and of his activities as a diocesan, especially his conflicts with the monks of Durham and his metropolitan, the archbishop of York. A detailed account of the work of the twelfth-century episcopate gives substance to the recent general accounts of Professors Knowles and Cheney. But Scammell makes clear that Hugh was much more baron than bishop. He used his bishopric to further the interests of his three or four sons and his other relatives. He was famed for the splendor of his life, for the magnificence of his buildings, both castles and churches, for his great hunts, his great ship, his fine clothes, and his sumptuous table. He was a patron of learning and the arts like other princes. At the beginning and at the end of his career he commanded troops, but Durham was not a border county in the late twelfth century and Hugh kept no great feudal force. Rather, feudalism provided him with revenues, along with those he derived from his franchises and his manors, with which to maintain the great estate he kept. In this study we are given an example of the English barony as described in general by Professor Painter. Appendixes of documents, Hugh's Itinerary, a note on the Durham monks' forgeries, and a genealogy complete this very useful work.

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MARSILIUS OF PADUA: THE DEFENDER OF PEACE. Volume II, *THE DEFENSOR PACIS*. Translated with an introduction by Alan Gewirth. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number XLVI.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xciv, 450. \$8.50.) The publication of this translation of the *Defensor Pacis* is welcome indeed. If I had to make adversely critical remarks about the introductory volume in these pages (*AHR*, LVIII [January, 1953], 338-40), I am happy that I can praise the second volume with little qualification. For here we now have the first complete, really modern translation of the famous treatise into English. And the translation is good, observing both the sense and the letter of the Latin text. As an introduction to the translation there is a useful, generally clear outline and explanation of Marsiglio's work and a justification of the English renderings of certain words, such as *demonstratio*, *causa*, *necessitas*, *status*, and *communitas*. Two brief appendixes treat special topics relating to Marsiglio's misinterpretation of Aristotle and to the influence of political Averroism. The index is good on the subject matter, but I miss an index to the sources Marsiglio refers to.

In his own comments, Professor Gewirth is restrained and sound in judgment. Yet his interpretation of the words *status* and "state" and of the meaning of *universitas superiorem non recognoscens* lags behind recent scholarship. And I doubt that Marsiglio's statement that the ruler should be the best man in the polity is "a marked ignoring of the papalist claims of superior virtue." Again, there is too much stress on the Aristotelian origin of the idea of the naturalness of states that are independent of the empire. In relation to the translation and to the generally high value of the study of the contents, however, these criticisms are not serious. Gewirth has given us a fine English version of this fascinating treatise.

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DRONNING MARGARETA OG KALMAR-UNIONEN. By *Halvdan Koht*. [Kriseår i norsk historie.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1956. Pp. 136.) When Margaret (1353-1412), the daughter of a Danish king, was married to Haakon, son of Norway's king Magnus, she was in line to become Norway's queen. How she became ruler of all Scandinavia is Professor Koht's main theme. When her son Olav was born (1370), the Hansa towns held privileged positions in both Sweden and Denmark, and the Mecklenburg duke Albrecht had designs on the northern crowns. Before Haakon VI's death (1380) Margaret had already won the Danish crown for their young son Olav against the active candidacy of a nephew of the Mecklenburg duke, but she kept the power in her own hands. Acquisition of royal power in Sweden was more complicated, as duke Albrecht had illegally seized the Swedish throne in 1364 with Hansa town aid. Albrecht was eventually defeated, and Margaret was accepted as Sweden's ruler ("fuldmæktig frue og rett husbonde"). The Union of Kalmar was made possible after Sweden had given Margaret the royal title. Owing to the paucity of contemporary sources, historians have offered differing opinions on its evolution, its validity as a binding legal document on the three kingdoms, and the personalities who had most to do with it. Koht does not accept Swedish historian Sällstrand's thesis that the "Union letter" of 1397 was a definitive charter or his assertion that it was a Swedish document in its earlier phase. Neither does he agree with Erslev's hint that lack of Norwegian seals on the final draft was due to disapproval; it was due rather to Norway's desire for a hereditary monarchy. Koht suggests that it was in essence a draft, probably drawn up by the Danish chancellor for the queen, who hoped it would be accepted as basis for a legal union of the three kingdoms. Evidence turned up by Sven Tunberg in 1947 that the Kalmar document had not been brought back to Denmark, but had been taken to Norway and later returned to Denmark in 1425, is accepted by Koht as helping to explain the absence of Norwegian seals on it; this was not because of Norwegian opposition, but rather because so few Norwegians were present at the meeting. Moreover, Margaret was too practical a statesman to insist on formal ratification. Koht quotes an appraisal of Margaret by a Danish sixteenth-century chronicler: "She was a powerful ruler and also a woman of unusual wisdom, spiritual force and manly courage, who, though a woman, managed with matchless skill to unite the three realms, something that pious and superior men had been unable to do." Koht's interpretation of this "manly" medieval ruler of the North will certainly be welcomed and thoughtfully considered by historians of the period.

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

- AN ELIZABETHAN: SIR HORATIO PALAVICINO. By Lawrence Stone. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 345. \$7.20.) The equivocal hero of *An Elizabethan*, Sir Horatio Palavicino, was a member of one of those ancient families of merchant-aristocrats that thrived for centuries in Italy's two great ports, Genoa and Venice. Himself a Genoese, Horatio came to England in the late 1570's because of the export monopoly of the alum of Tolfa held by his family. Alum was indispensable in the dyeing industry, and a complicated deal among the Dutch, the Palavicini, and Queen Elizabeth established Horatio's fortune, gave his family the monopoly of the Dutch alum market, and tied his interests to those of England and England's Queen. For the rest of his life, he served all three of those interests with great energy and large profit. His wide business connections abroad enabled him to take up where Sir Thomas Gresham left off as England's fiscal agent in the Continental money markets, and his closeness to the English court drew him into a complex web of activities where his peculiar talents and his international contacts were useful. Following the tortuous lines of Palavicino's dealings, Stone skillfully takes his readers on a guided tour of the financial, factional, and diplomatic half-world of the Elizabethan Age. The story Stone tells is fascinating, enlightening, and—for those to

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

whom that age has hitherto appeared as a potpourri of bold adventure, high principle, heroism, and magnificence—a little disturbing. For Horatio operated in the sector of the Elizabethan world where the price of principle and heroism had to be haggled over, set, and paid, the cost of magnificence assessed, the money for bold adventure found, and the spoils it gained split among the investors. Stone offers knowledgeable and expert guidance in this little-explored territory and provides us with a useful corrective to the somewhat romanticized, unduly nostalgic image of Good Queen Bess's glorious days that is the specialty of A. L. Rowse. One reservation may be worth expressing. Stone's firm resolution to find nothing but fraudulence and chicanery in his unheroic hero leads him to treat both actual chicanery and normal business prudence with the same lofty contempt. It may be that Stone's propensity to assume the posture of a disabused lamp-bearing Diogenes has led him to overlook or underemphasize two generalizations that his story effectively sustains. First, the economic ethic of Elizabethan England was the ethic of a booming commercial frontier. Inevitably English law had lagged behind English trade. The only social cure for the ineptness of the legal apparatus was the slow evolution of a body of commercial law adequate to the new dimension of trade; in the meantime, in the business world, mercantile sharp practice was less a matter of inclination than a condition of survival. Secondly, the role of the court in economic affairs was such that scarcely any new business project could get under way and scarcely any old one could keep on its way except through court favor. Such favor was up for auction, fetched a good price, and enriched those who had it to dispense. Stone seems to have provided considerable confirmation for Trevor-Roper's thesis that for ambitious men in the days of Elizabeth, were it ever so humble, there was no place like a place at court.

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PETERBOROUGH LOCAL ADMINISTRATION: ELIZABETHAN PETERBOROUGH, THE DEAN AND CHAPTER AS LORDS OF THE CITY. Edited with an introduction by *W. T. Mellows* and *Daphne H. Gifford*. [Tudor Documents, Part III.] (Northamptonshire, Eng.: Northamptonshire Record Society. 1956. Pp. lix, 205. 25s.) Converting the abbey church into a cathedral did not lessen the impact of Tudor problems and changes on Peterborough local government. In the introduction to this fifth volume on Peterborough local administration, the editors give an admirable reconstruction of the changing Elizabethan cathedral precincts and of local administration and courts. In printing mostly surviving cathedral records of the period, the editors abbreviated some of the court rolls but changed little in the documents illustrating the powers and privileges of the cathedral authorities. Unfortunately episcopal carelessness, the fury of Cromwell's soldiers in 1643, and time have left but a lean body of documents, which gives one explanation why "the dealings with church property at this time were certainly very complicated and peculiar."

ARTHUR P. KAUTZ, *Michigan State University*

SUTTON AND DUNTON MANORS. By *Lord Leconfield*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. 107. \$4.80.) Lord Leconfield's book describes and analyzes two Sussex manors of the Percy family in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Based on surveys and court books in the Percy muniments, it supplements his earlier *Petworth Manor in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1954). This is manorial history, pure and simple, with little reference to the broader problems of management of the Percy estates in a time of agrarian change. The affairs of a Richard Gunter, a Dame Judith Garton, even a George Goble loom as large as those

of the earls of Northumberland. Although Lord Leconfield keeps his feet firmly planted in the "plough," Sutton and Duncton, it is clear, reflect the agrarian trends of the time. Manor receipts doubled in the late sixteenth century, chiefly as a consequence of improved lease rents on demesnes. To a certain extent the lord contributed to this development. In Duncton the seventh earl was buying up lands, including some from adjacent manors, to consolidate his leased demesnes and to relet at augmented rents. After 1600 corn rents were imposed, a "reactionary" but profitable recourse, but one resented by tenants and, one would imagine, by the lord's bailiffs. Despite all this, one has the impression that these manors were indifferently managed. As one earl succeeded another in comfortable but well-nigh permanent confinement in the Tower of London, Sutton and Duncton appear to have followed their own course of evolution. The main point which emerges from this study is the variety and complexity of tenant interests flourishing within—and somewhat stultifying—the old manorial forms. There was, Lord Leconfield says, "a passionate regard for the six-acre principle" in copyholds, and ancient tenements remained constant through the years. But although copyholders at Sutton averaged six acres, many had forty or fifty acres in all, a composite of various old tenements; one Sutton family, the Foords, held a quarter of all copyhold land in the manor, a lease of the demesne, and other lands in adjacent manors as well. Lord Leconfield has refrained from drawing the conclusion, but the villagers of Sutton and Duncton, amid a welter of mutual sales, purchases, lettings, sublettings, and mortgages, were sorting themselves out. Some tenants were as affluent and others as deeply in debt as any noble lords; in this, Sutton and Duncton reveal in microcosm the larger tendencies of agrarian England.

WILLIAM R. EMERSON, *Yale University*

THE RISE OF THE PELHAMS. By *John B. Owen*. (London: Methuen and Company. 1957. Pp. x, 357. 30s.) Dr. Owen has written an admirable study of the structure of politics in Britain in the 1740's. From the personal biographies of the 686 members elected to the Parliament of 1741-1747 he has developed an analysis of the political elements in the House of Commons, which he places in three major groups: "the Court and Treasury Party," who normally supported the ministry of the day, numbering a few more than 100; the Independents, roughly 350; and the professional politicians, approximately 100. The struggle for office lay between rival groups of professionals, who, counting upon the loyalty of the court and treasury party, contested for the support of enough Independents to provide a stable working majority. Yet, Owen explains, the House of Commons was but one source of political power. The other was the king. To become prime minister in the eighteenth century a man must be at once "minister for the king in the house of commons" and "minister for the house of commons in the closet." The establishment of a secure, effective administration depended upon the winning of this dual position by one professional politician. Carteret failed to understand this, and he soon fell. Henry Pelham, aided by Newcastle and Hardwicke, got a clear grasp of reality, and in time, a clear grasp of both king and Commons. His regime lasted till his death. Owen sustains his thesis well. His knowledge of the Parliament of 1741-1747 is deeply impressive. One may carp here and there at a broad generalization, e.g.: "The transformation from Tory to Whig was an irreversible process"; "Yet on grounds of policy alone it is difficult to differentiate the Tories from the remaining members on the Opposition side of the house." But the validity of such statements depends largely upon the point of view from which they are made. Owen suffers somewhat from a superficial knowledge of the politics of the 1730's, particularly on the origin of the "Broad Bottom

doctrine," which antedates by some years the defection of Argyll. Yet such considerations do not shake his main contentions. This is a judicious and lucid portrayal of how the Pelhams succeeded to the heritage of Walpole. In their "rise," they reemerge as the shrewdest politicians of their generation. They were not brilliant statesmen, but they knew the arts of management. Above all they knew the need for concert, as Newcastle once wrote, "in action; not in action barely, but in the first conception or digestion of things." For a clear understanding of how and why the Pelhams encompassed their ends we are greatly indebted to Owen.

ARCHIBALD S. FOORD, *Yale University*

HOME AND ABROAD. By *Lord Strang*. (London: Andre Deutsch. 1956. Pp. 320. 21s.) Lord Strang's memoirs suggest once again that it is the Foreign Office which deserves the title of "the silent service." Although Lord Strang had a distinguished career at home and abroad and participated in some of the major bouts of modern diplomacy, his volume adds but little to our knowledge; that discretion which is second nature to a permanent undersecretary restrains the instincts of the historian. Thus we are allowed only tantalizing glimpses of Lord Strang's experiences: the Moscow trials of the British engineers, the events of Munich, the controversial conversations of 1939 among England, France, and Russia, and the formation of the European Advisory Commission in 1944. As head of the Central Department (the German Office), Lord Strang did not share the intransigence of his predecessor, Ralph Wigram, nor was he in accord with Chamberlain's hopes. The entire Munich Conference struck him as violating "all the decencies of international life," but his account hardly goes beyond the published documents. Strang's record of the 1939 tripartite negotiations, in which he played a signal role, still leaves unanswered basic queries posed in an earlier work by Sir Lewis Namier. The value of this book lies in its portrait of the diplomatic temper and a defense of the art. The 1944 talks between Winant and Gusev are a case in point. They dragged on for eighteen months and resulted in an agreement that ignored the more intractable realities of power politics. But in this atmosphere of the "old diplomacy" the author's qualities—his industry, patience, and sense of history—could best emerge. The book also includes acute vignettes of diplomats at work, particularly those Russian negotiators whose massive obstinancy sometimes won the respect of their exasperated opponents. It pays a perceptive tribute to the genius of Ernest Bevin and gives a revealing analysis of the heavy burden that now rests on the top permanent official in Whitehall. Though Lord Strang did not enter the Foreign Office by the hallowed Eton-Oxford path, his devotion to accuracy and fine penmanship and his integrity of spirit point both to a successor of Eyre Crowe and a student of Proust.

ZARA S. STEINER, *Princeton, New Jersey*

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: AN EXPERIMENT IN CO-OPERATION AMONG NATIONS. By *Frank H. Underhill*. [Publications of the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, Lecture Series.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 127. \$2.00.) Professor Underhill, a Canadian historian, gave the three lectures here printed at the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center. This volume, first to be published for the Center by the Duke University Press, treats the Liberal Victorian Empire, the First Commonwealth, and the Second Commonwealth. Underhill's emphasis on Canada's leading place is justified: Canada, over a century ago, set the fashion for responsible government in the colonies and later led the movement toward larger federations. The first lecture reviews the well-known developments in the so-called New Empire of the last century, with its Kip-

ling-Chamberlain type of expansionist imperialism, and the efforts to bring about a closer union. The southern colonies might have had more attention because of the amazing migration that took homemade ideas to the antipodes. The influence of American democratic ideas on constitution making in Australia and South Africa as well as in Canada might have been included. The "colonial" treatment of Ireland was hardly in line with the lecturer's general argument, but it is one of the "uglier aspects," admittedly neglected. The treatment of the First Commonwealth is an excellent account of the evolution between 1914 and 1945. The fundamental fact underlying the Commonwealth, it would seem, was that the Dominions supported Britain in two world wars. That the United States also did so might have been emphasized, as it appears to have brought about a situation in which, as the lecturer puts it, "all roads in the Commonwealth now lead to Washington." The lecture on the Second Commonwealth summarizes changes and trends since 1945, changes so diverse as almost to defy synthesis—a commonwealth that includes a republic (Ceylon), omits another (Eire), and embraces a dissident India, some "dark-skinned" commonwealths, and a restive South Africa. Such changes hardly add up as yet to a Second Commonwealth; the period would appear to be a time of further disintegration, calling for redefinition. The lectures are a valuable synthesis, shot through with deft statement, a sense of humor, and keen appraisals. The appended selection of readings omits some of the standard works, includes valuable current material, and gives heavy emphasis to matters Canadian.

HOWARD ROBINSON, *Oberlin College*

THE APPROACH TO SELF-GOVERNMENT. By *Sir Ivor Jennings*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 204. \$3.00.) This volume was prepared originally as a script for a series of talks to be broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation to inform the general public of some of the major problems in preparing dependent colonies for self-government and independence. The book is based upon the author's own experience in assisting the colonies of Ceylon and Pakistan in shaping their constitutions for membership in the British Commonwealth and upon his knowledge of India's experiences in constitution making. He is concerned primarily with the characteristics of the constitutions and the administrative machinery to fit these countries for their new and more responsible status as independent nations. The twelve chapters are carefully prepared and well written by an eminent scholar and constitutional lawyer, who has had rich experience with the developments he so ably describes. He discusses the theory of constitutional self-government and the character of the people and their special problems; considers the need for a bill of rights and the problem of election; he analyzes the problems of legislatures, legislation, and administration; includes the problem of education and the dilemma of representative institutions and the difficulties of a successful executive organization; and deals frankly with the importance of parties and the grave limitations of party government on the long and difficult road to independence. In his last chapter he discusses the problem of transfer from the status of a dependency to that of a self-governing independent unit. The book is of signal importance to students of colonial administration and to all administrators and politicians who have the responsibility of shaping constitutional government for those areas and peoples where it has not previously existed. The observations are wise, calm, and judicious; the thesis of the book might very well be stated "for the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life."

W. ROSS LIVINGSTON, *State University of Iowa*

AUSTRALIAN COLONIAL POLICY: A SURVEY OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION AND EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT IN PAPUA. By J. D. Legge. [Published under the auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Sydney: Angus and Robertson; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1956. Pp. ix, 245. \$3.50.) This study opens with an examination of early Australian ambitions in New Guinea, in the face of British reluctance, which climaxed in the abortive annexation of Eastern New Guinea by Queensland in 1883. The subsequent reshuffle led to the British protectorate over Papua in 1884 and to annexation in 1888. From 1888 to 1905 Papua was jointly ruled by Britain, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria. This clumsy system allowed great powers to the able administrator, William MacGregor. Upon the complex Papuan society of many tribes and weak chiefs, MacGregor and his Fijian sergeants imposed a paternal rule, supervising the trickle of white traders and miners to prevent changes in native life. Little Australian capital volunteered, and Australian nationalists blocked the major British investment move. Australian direct rule, begun in 1905, produced another benevolently despotic proconsul, John Murray (1907-1940), who brought law to the high interior. MacGregor's native policy of "peaceful sloth" gave way in a world where jungles were becoming obsolete. Indirect rule began in the villages; the Papuans began to pay by labor drafts for their welfare benefits; development capital was invited but its labor recruitment—including indenture—was watched to check "blackbirding." Papua, however, remained basically a retarded society on subsistence agriculture. The Japanese invasion in 1942 ended this old regime, and the area was administered by a branch of H. Q. New Guinea Force. Heavy labor drafts and poorly supervised compensation payment to natives produced some social and psychological difficulties typified by the "cargo cults." In 1945 Papua and New Guinea were united as Australian trustee areas. The administration began a program of training natives to meet modern conditions: it supported more schools, use of marketing cooperatives, and improved local self-government. Indenture was abolished and voluntary labor, conditioned by the war years, increased. Adaptation to modern ways came slowly, but ample funds and increasingly competent staffs initiated the new age of centralized control under direct scrutiny of Canberra. This is an informative and scholarly book, but the author has slighted the conquest of the north from Germany, the Japanese occupation, and in fact the drama of the Pacific frontier. His treatment of McIlwraith's unauthorized annexation ignores its *opéra bouffe* circumstances. Finally, the author hardly touches the present issue: Will the new policy sacrifice economic development to native welfare or is the area to become an adjunct of Australia's economy?

CHARLES S. BLACKTON, *Colgate University*

THE CANADIANS IN ITALY, 1943-1945. By Lt. Col. G. W. L. Nicholson. [Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War, Volume II.] (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier. 1956. Pp. xv, 807. \$3.50.) The second volume of the official Canadian trilogy on World War II, this is a detailed, comprehensive, well-documented, competently written, and well-organized account of Canadian combat operations in Sicily and Italy. The forces involved initially included only the First Canadian Infantry Division but for a long period comprised a two-divisional corps and the United States-Canadian First Special Service Force, a first-rate commando-type outfit. The volume, which benefits from full access to Canadian records and the private papers of two top generals, is a standing refutation to the carping critics who hold that official history can be neither honest nor accurate. Nicholson faithfully records both the achievements and the shortcomings of the Canadian forces, notably in the most im-

portant phase of the entire campaign, the final successful drive on Rome in May-June, 1944. Based on the extensive diggings by Captain A. C. Steiger in the mine of captured German and Italian records, it provides that two-sided vision of the battlefield that the military historian always covets but seldom achieves because the documents are most frequently available for only one side. The illustrations are excellent. The multitude of maps graphically illuminates a host of corps, division, and small-unit actions, but most would have benefited from the inclusion of enemy dispositions. In three respects, which fortunately do not detract unduly from the main value of the work, this reviewer must take exception to Nicholson's treatment. Even though the full Allied records or the pertinent official histories of the United States and Britain were not yet available, Nicholson accepts with fewer grains of salt than the facts justify the explanations of higher Allied commanders that their important tactical decisions were in fact the best and the only ones possible in the circumstances. He also underestimates the effect of these command decisions on the course and results of Allied operations in contrast to the great emphasis which he puts on German command, tactics, and defensive terrain. Even though he pays high tribute to the United States Fifth Army, notably the French Expeditionary Corps, Nicholson fails to recognize the decisive influence that their bold, aggressive operations had on the advance of the Eighth Army, including the Canadian Corps, on the break-through of every prepared position in the Gari-Liri Valley, and in forcing repeated German withdrawals from successive hasty delaying positions south of Rome. Finally, the records of several American divisions that had had no previous training in mountain warfare causes one to ask why the higher British commanders thought that British and Dominion troops, even after a year in Italy, could not operate effectively in the mountains. It is in fact the deepest irony of the war in the Mediterranean that Alexander and the three officers who successively commanded the Eighth Army by set-piece attacks, methodical exploitation down the valleys, and the avoidance of the mountains minimized the gains from the Anglo-American strategy of containment, which after all was primarily British-inspired and British-championed.

SIDNEY T. MATHEWS, *Arlington, Virginia*

NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *John W. Blake*. (Belfast: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xv, 569. \$5.60 postpaid.) For the British Empire, fighting a war is a complex operation. Autonomous parts must suddenly fuse into a smooth-running machine, and because the machine functions so efficiently, the role of the parts may often be overlooked. The contributions of semi-autonomous Northern Ireland to the British war effort have been competently evaluated by John W. Blake. His conclusions are based upon an extensive and effective use of official government records. Strategically Northern Ireland was of major military importance to the Allied cause in protecting the entire island from invasion, guarding the vital Atlantic supply line, and welcoming the first American troops stationed in the United Kingdom. The people of Northern Ireland were also a considerable factor in the final victory. Young men and women served with distinction in all branches of the military forces. Civilians cooperated with government officials in organizing a civil defense and in meeting agricultural and industrial production quotas. The author is, however, convinced that the British Government's failure to apply military conscription to Northern Ireland somewhat impeded the war effort. Blake seldom discusses the wartime activity of Northern Ireland's large nationalist minority except in connection with security problems. It would be interesting to know if many nationalists enlisted in the services, joined the Home Guard, or contributed to agricultural and industrial production.

By emphasizing the difficulties faced by the government of Northern Ireland in organizing the civilian war effort, the author tediously repeats himself. This fault does not prevent the book from taking its place as a significant contribution to the histories of the Second World War and the British Empire. It is certainly a tribute to the Unionists of Northern Ireland who proved in battle their faith in and affection for the British connection.

LAWRENCE J. McCaffrey, *College of St. Catherine*

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FRANCE

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HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS ET DES FAITS SOCIAUX (X^e-XIX^e SIÈCLE). By *Jean Imbert, Gérard Sautel, and Marguerite Boulet-Sautel*. ["Thémis" Textes et Documents.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. 404. 980 fr.) The editors, all members of the faculty of law at the University of Nancy, have compiled this collection of readings from a great variety of materials that appeared in France between the tenth and nineteenth centuries. The readings are designed to illustrate material presented in the second year law courses and stimulate a desire on the part of law students to consult source materials more extensively. The carefully selected repertory embraces a vast range of materials, such as a tenth-century theologian's concept of royalty, medieval timber and mineral concessions, records of medieval ecclesiastical dues, sixteenth-century commercial and industrial regulations, and seventeenth-century commentaries on the role of the nobility and the institution of serfdom. Most of the readings, quoting the writings of Bodin, Rousseau, Seyssel, Bossuet, Loysel, Vauban, Quesnay, Saint-Simon, and Madame de Sevigné, are focused upon the early modern development of French political ideas and institutions. Nearly one fourth of the materials relate directly to the great reforms of the Revolution and Napoleon. The final section, embracing the early and middle nineteenth century, emphasizes the social impact of early French industrialism, cites the main findings of Villermé's famous inquiry of 1840, and adds relevant comments of Say, Proudhon, Blanc, and Considérant, among others. Those materials that initially appeared in Latin are reproduced in the original, accompanied by modern French translations; the texts written in French, of whatever period, are not "modernized." The utility of the readings to law students is obvious. Moreover, this volume will be welcomed by specialists in the areas of political theory and political, economic, and social history. On the other hand, the professional historian will be dismayed by the absence of historical works and commentaries and by the necessary brevity and bewildering variety of the readings.

ALFRED G. PUNDT, *Pennsylvania State University*

GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG UND STAATSAUFFASSUNG IN DER FRANZÖSISCHEN ENZYKLOPÄDIE. By *Eberhard Weis*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Band 14.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1956. Pp. viii, 285.) What precisely was the political theory embedded in the *Encyclopédie*? And what do its articles on history and biography, especially those referring to the Middle Ages, reveal of their authors' points of view and theories of historiography? These are important questions, very much worth tackling anew, especially as it is sometimes tempting to suppose that the Encyclopedists had so low an opinion of history as not to have any specific historical doctrine at all. With remarkable diligence, Dr. Weis has passed all the multitudinous articles of the mighty work through his critical sieve and has consulted the apposite secondary material. After a preliminary chapter, he discusses successively "The Encyclopedists' Image of the Medieval State," "Rulers and Events in Medieval History in the Judgment of the Encyclopedists," "Medieval Religion and Culture according to the Historical Interpretation of the Encyclopedists—The Relation of Church and State," "Modern Europe in the Mirror of the *Encyclopédie*," and "The Political Conceptions of the Encyclopedists." As a result of the evidence set forth in this volume, and in that by Dr. Nelly Schargo a few years ago, it is no longer possible to suppose that

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

there is no history writing, as such, in the *Encyclopédie*. But both Dr. Weis and Dr. Schargo, it seems to me, tend to press their triumphant discovery a little too far. For it is still true to say that the Encyclopedists had little faith in history. It was a case of history without *Historismus*. Consequently, though the Encyclopedists allude to historical events, they do so more like ideologists than historians; as one makes oneself aware of their judgments on history, one always hears the slight click of the dogmatist cocking the blunderbuss of his own predilections. The political theory of the Encyclopedists, however, is quite another matter, and here Weis excels. He points out the differences among the several contributors; contrasts their theories with those of earlier writers such as Hobbes, Locke, and Pufendorf; and penetratingly analyzes the implications of Rousseau's article on "Political Economy." He is able to show most persuasively that, save for certain nuances, the Encyclopedists (with the exception of Rousseau) held in common a political doctrine that was self-consistent. Weis's important monograph raises many interesting points, both of substance and of method, which invite discussion. One would like to see, complementary to the rather descriptive and summarizing approach he utilizes, some attempt at tabulation of the articles according to the various techniques of content analysis. Moreover, it would be extremely useful to students of the history of ideas to have the contents of the articles in Volumes I-VII, VIII-XVII, and the Supplement, appearing as they did in three successive decades, more clearly compared and contrasted, in order to establish trends and estimate influences. Nevertheless, this is a stimulating monograph by a talented scholar whose familiarity with the material is so great that he often points out what sources the Encyclopedists did not use, as well as those they did.

ARTHUR M. WILSON, *Dartmouth College*

ROBESPIERRE. By *Marc Bouloiseau*. ["Que sais-je?" Number 724.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. 128.) M. Bouloiseau, one of the editors of the latest edition of Robespierre's speeches, disclaims any effort to present in this small book either a complete biography or a recital of events. Obviously this was impossible, so he has limited himself to an account of the evolution of Robespierre's thought. The early chapters are an exposition of his fundamental principles, the latter an examination of the application of this ideology during the crises through which the Revolution passed. Bouloiseau generally is sympathetic with his subject, as most biographers are, and in consequence occasionally presents interpretations with which one could quarrel. On the other hand, he admits that Robespierre played no role in the "*préparation matérielle*" of August 10. He also concedes that Robespierre unduly emphasized political solutions at the expense of economic. The major criticism of this reviewer rests upon the plan of the book itself. The overwhelming concentration on Robespierre's views and reactions almost persuades the reader that Robespierre was the only man of stature during these years and that to him France is indebted for most of the good and none of the evil of the Revolution.

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MARXISM AND FRENCH LABOR. By *Leon A. Dale*. (New York: Vantage Press. 1956. Pp. 273. \$4.50.) An economist attempts here to tell the story of modern French labor since the French Revolution and to explore the impact of Marxism on this important European labor movement. The objective, the author informs us, is to provide the "general background necessary for understanding present-day labor developments in France, and for understanding the conflict now being fought within the ranks of the working-class." A former assistant to the European representative of the American Federation of Labor, Dale has had good opportunity to observe recent

events at firsthand; for earlier years he has utilized the existing secondary literature. One laudable by-product of his efforts is a lengthy and useful bibliography. The book as a whole, however, is less than satisfactory; its weakness resides principally in its oversimplification of complex issues and its intemperate tone. Dale seems to see the history of French labor from a single point of view, as the story of "how Marxism began as a red thread in the texture of French labor and, as communism, has now become almost the basic pattern itself." On that theme the entire volume is focused, with a resultant loss of perspective and breadth. Anachronistic ideas and expressions crop up throughout. In referring, for example, to the establishment of the unified French Socialist party in 1905, the startling statement appears: "The Marxists wanted reunification that year because of Russian developments. They felt that unification with the socialists would give them more support in gaining political and labor strength so as to influence both national and foreign French policy for the benefit of the Soviet Revolution" (p. 57). This in 1905! Even in its treatment of the last twenty-five years, where the study seems on less slippery ground, many questionable judgments and assertions are made, with inadequate evidence offered to substantiate them. The unsympathetic remarks about both Mendès-France and the Catholic trade-union movement would certainly fall into that category. That French labor today is weak and divided, with its largest confederation in Communist hands, is tragic, and understandably a source of concern to the author, but it is doubtful whether this study will contribute much, either for the general reader or for the specialist, toward clarifying the course of events that has led to that situation.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes¹

TALT OG SKREVET. By Francis Bull. (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag. 1956. Pp. 300.) Professor Francis Bull is the outstanding Norwegian historian of literature (see his *Verdenslitteraturens historie* [Oslo, 1947]) and, one suspects, not very well affected toward the *New Criticism*. (Incidentally, his great work in keeping up morale while a prisoner of the Germans in the Grini concentration camp near Oslo is reflected in his book, *Thirteen Speeches at Grini*.) The present work contains one extended review, originally published in the *Norsk Historisk Tidsskrift*, but the other essays were given as speeches, some for centenaries, or were contributions to a *Festschrift*. In the review, of the five-volume *Norsk kulturhistorie* (Oslo, 1938-42), Francis Bull shows a concept of history radically different from that of his brother, Edvard Bull (1881-1932) who, as professor of history at Oslo, played down the role of the great man in history and stressed that of impersonal forces. Francis Bull complains that the writers in *Norwegian Cultural History* conscientiously avoid the eminent and the outstanding and seek out the average and the workaday. The authors were so preoccupied by the average Norwegian's struggle for bread—and certainly this was important to the average Norwegian and his country—that they forgot that man “does not live by bread alone.” Francis Bull, a descendant of one of the Lutheran priest-dynasties, the subject of one of the essays in the work, notes that the religious life, even of the average man, is neglected. Of the essays and speeches, an appreciation of H. C. Ørsted, the Danish scientist, and a plea to his audience to be charitable to Knut Hamsun and to judge him by his literary contribution may be singled out. Of particular interest is an appreciation of the beloved Bergen-born Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) without any of the usual half-humorous disputation with the Danes as to whether Father Holberg was a Norwegian or a Dane. It is far from unusual to get startling illumination, even of a well-studied period such as the Enlightenment, from the pen of a litterateur or historian from a “Minor” country. Francis Bull, with the vast background that can be surmised from his books, does not fail to provide such flashes.

LESLIE F. SMITH, *University of Oklahoma*¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

DEMOKRATIA JA TOTAALINEN SOTA: TUTKIMUS POLIITTISSOTILAALISEN SODANJOHDON TEORIASTA; JÄRJESTELYSTÄ JA TOIMINNASTA. By K. Killinen. (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 1956. Pp. xiii, 307.) This excellent doctoral dissertation by a staff member of the Finnish War College reveals a professional as well as an academic interest in the problem of the proper relationship in a democratic state of its political and military arms. Commander Killinen raises such important and perplexing questions as: Should the direction of war in a democracy be divided or concentrated in a collective body or a single individual? Should the power of decision, if concentrated, be vested in the military or political branch? What should be the relation of a defense minister to the general staff? What is the legislature's proper role in war? How far should political factors affect military strategy and vice versa? What is the most effective way of arranging command in a coalition? How can democracies best organize for total war? The study is based on a careful examination of a well-balanced but inevitably selective list of the principal printed sources, English, French, and German. It is arranged chronologically, covering developments from about the French Revolution to the present. The First and Second World Wars provide the richest body of materials. Of the three alternative solutions of the central issue—the political (urged by Clausewitz), the dualistic (Moltke), and the military (Ludendorff)—Killinen approvingly shows that developments everywhere have led in the direction of the first, namely, political direction of war, concentrated in one person. The United States was the first democracy to attain this position; England and France reached it only after many crises. Among Killinen's other conclusions (which may be found in a five-page, English summary) are: in total war, the leader of a democratic state must have dictatorial powers, which, however, must be based on law and of limited duration; the intervention of a legislative body in military operations is dangerous; it is best to entrust military command to a single commander. This reviewer was particularly interested in Killinen's comments (regrettably sketchy) on the dualistic control so characteristic of the Finnish system. Its operation during the recent war has been the subject of much debate in recent assessments. Killinen does not deny there was tension, but he absolves Marshal Mannerheim of any deliberate design to extend military authority into the legitimate spheres of the president or the parliament.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

THE MYTH OF THE ALL-DESTRUCTIVE FURY OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. By Robert Ergang. (Pocono Pines, Pa.: Craftsmen. 1956. Pp. 40. \$1.00.) In this little brochure Professor Ergang expounds at greater length a thesis which he presented in his well-known textbook, *Europe from the Renaissance to Waterloo*, namely, that the claim of the all-destructiveness of the Thirty Years' War, allegedly responsible for Germany's lagging behind Western Europe for the ensuing 150 years, is but a myth that lacks concrete evidence. This myth, we learn, was invented about one hundred years ago and further developed in the Bismarckian era (Treitschke, *et al.*), mainly to exculpate Germany for her relative backwardness in comparison with France and England. The myth is not based on reliable records but in the main on the fancies of Grimmshausen's novel *Simplicissimus* of 1669. In fact, Ergang shows that a number of records indicate the contrary, namely, that the war left large areas of Germany intact and that life was soon carried on in a more or less prosperous fashion. There is no doubt that such a myth existed in Germany, at least prior to World War I. It is surprising that Ergang's material is taken almost exclusively from the period 1860 to 1914. No recent treatment is mentioned, at least not of German origin, and the author admits that not all German historians of the period named were unanimous with regard to this myth. One must regret that Ergang did not follow up more closely this opposing trend, although he briefly mentions the "revisionists." As far as this reviewer knows, the thesis here attacked has been discarded since the end of World War I, and it appears that our present-day views are closer to the facts than those in 1860-1914. This makes us speculate whether the present brochure is not an early product of Ergang's pen, now being published in order to back up the interpretation of his textbook.

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LUDWIG II. KÖNIG VON BAYERN. By Werner Richter. (4th ed.; Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1956. Pp. 413. DM 12.80.) Richter's study of the pathetic and, in part,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

tragic figure of Ludwig II is an altogether admirable piece of scholarship. Neither the historian who has occasion to deal with any aspect of Bavarian history during Ludwig's reign nor even the casual visitor to *Neuschwanstein* or *Herrenchiemsee* can fail to be impressed by the extraordinary difficulties in drawing a rational picture of a monarch who was, at best, an anachronism. The difficulties are compounded by the fact that the king, even before his mental disease progressed to the extent that he became a total recluse, left relatively few written records that reveal his thoughts on the major questions of his age. The historian's task is, then, largely one of reconstructing a living figure from the evidence of others. Since Ludwig II was one of the least conventional figures in nineteenth-century history, the evidence of those who served him is more than usually untrustworthy. These difficulties Richter has met with a high degree of success. Perhaps the greatest value of the book is to be found in the noteworthy contribution it makes to an understanding of the history of the *Reichsgründung* in the crucial years from 1866 to 1871, during which the Wittelsbach kingdom was probably the chief obstacle to the achievement of Bismarck's goal. The author manages to preserve an uncommonly fine balance in estimating the influence of the king's developing mental aberration on Bavarian policy during that period. The last third of the work, dealing with a period in which Bavaria no longer played an independent role, is of less importance but is still of much interest to historians of Germany. Throughout, the author's dispassionate treatment of the relationship between the king and Richard Wagner gives the work considerable value for students of that towering figure in the cultural history of the age. The author has worked exclusively from published materials. Of these he seems to have used practically all the important ones. Unfortunately, there is no index. The book, published originally in Switzerland in 1939, remained for some years little noticed, presumably because of the war. It has recently been enjoying a considerable vogue in Germany. An abbreviated translation was published in the United States in 1954 under the title *The Mad Monarch*. Scholars should be cautioned that the English version omits on numerous occasions precisely those sections which make the work of value to the serious historian.

GEORGE G. WINDELL, *University of Delaware*

LEBENSERINNERUNGEN: JUGEND, GENERALSTAB, WELTKRIEG. By *Wilhelm Groener*. Edited by *Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen*. [Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Volume 41.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1957. Pp. 584. DM 32.) In recent years Reginald Phelps and Dorothea Groener-Geyer have presented the basic documents and narrative of William Groener's political career. This military autobiography, well fortified with journal and correspondence selections, gives evolutionary depth to his person and role in history. An observer at the "Dolchstoß" trial in 1925 remarked that only Groener's testimony reflected a sense of historical truth and perspective. Frank intelligence and analytical talent also characterize the autobiography and give it unusual historical value. The jacket points up an interesting feature of the Groener story which was not especially developed in the daughter's biography. It was the frustrating experience of World War I that transformed him from a naïve to a political soldier. Before Verdun he dreamed of total victory and a century of German dominance in Europe. By 1917 he foresaw defeat and thereafter urged that the soldier screen obediently for the diplomatic rescue. This Schlieffen disciple thus was gradually prepared for the realistic liquidation and reconstruction assignments which lay ahead. His new comprehension of political responsibility and flexibility was not only deeper wisdom but also realistic tactic. Probably he was one of that empire group that re-

garded democracy as a destiny, not an ideal. National continuity was somehow to be preserved and potential resurgence carefully cultivated. Military instincts were curbed, not expunged, by the political Groener. He experienced the superiority of Western resources and yet intensified his faith in the Schlieffen plan. He accepted the necessity of democratic reform but always preferred strong executive control to parliamentary negotiation. He hoped for a negotiated peace in the West but had no scruples about imposing German power in the East. These contradictions understood, we make this summary: He was one of the first German patriots to recognize the limitations of German power and to recommend more conciliatory and careful policy. He was perhaps the first ranking twentieth-century German general to learn that military strategy must serve, not control, the political calculation and that it must stress, not slight, economic organization. Groener was torn between heart and mind. He penetrated contemporary problems and discerned coming trends, but essentially he never completely departed from the competitive and national principles of Bismarckian Germany. This split marked his agony at Spa and in the disheartening years of Weimar weakness, confusion, and collapse.

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PESTALOZZI'S "LEBENSKRISE" UND SEINE AUFFASSUNG VOM MENSCHEN.

By *Jaakko Toivio*. [The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, Series B, Volume 91.] (Helsinki: the Academy. 1955. Pp. 347.) The world-wide reputation and influence of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), the educational reformer, is still strong. This is evident from the publication in recent years of Ernst Simon's *Mishnat Pestalozzi* (1953) in Jerusalem and of Jaakko Toivio's monograph in Helsinki. Although there have been earlier Finnish works on the Swiss educator, e.g., by Gustaf F. Lönnbeck (1886) and Risto Kuosmanen (1927, 1939), this volume appears to be the first research study by a Finn in the German language (translated from the Finnish). The major part of Toivio's research was carried on, appropriately enough, in the Pestalozzianum at Zurich. At the time he wrote *Meine Nachforschungen über den Gang der Natur in der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (1797), Pestalozzi's morale was at a very low ebb. The *Mann des Herzens* and *Freund der Armen* had suffered failures in his school experiments. There was considerable misunderstanding of the ideas he had expressed in his earlier works. The fame resulting from his labors at Burgdorf and Yverdon, which was to establish him as an *Erzieher der Menschheit*, was still to come. Toivio cites the more recent appraisals by researchers that Pestalozzi was not only a schoolman and educational thinker, but also a *bedeutender Denker auf den Gebieten der Anthropologie, Sozialpolitik, Moralphilosophie, Religion und Staatslehre*. The results of some of the studies reviewed in his lengthy introduction would seem to support this view, but it is doubtful at this time whether the specialists in fields other than education would recognize the significance of Pestalozzi for their disciplines. In this monograph, Toivio seeks to analyze Pestalozzi's philosophic system, if such it may be called, especially the relationship of the crisis in his own life to his conception of man. To do this, he examines with care the various writings of the reformer—his letters, pedagogical books, and meditative and philosophical works. He devotes nearly one hundred pages to a study of the ideas of the *Nachforschungen*, in which Pestalozzi's peculiar personality is intimately reflected. The author's point of view is that Pestalozzi's *Lebenskrise* was a bridge between his earlier and later ideals, so that he became more and more penetrating in his idea of humanity. In his quest for a deeper understanding of man, Pestalozzi came into contact with British thought, particularly with that of Shaftesbury, and with such German philosophers as Nicolovius, Fichte, and Kant. The mirror of his maturity as a

thinker during this apparently dark period of his life was, according to Toivio, his *Nachforschungen*. The ideas in this work "determine Pestalozzi's later life and the direction of his thought." In fact, Toivio concludes that the *Nachforschungen* period was a necessary preliminary that prepared Pestalozzi for his later activity as a practical pedagogue. This monograph interweaves historical data with philosophical ideas and copious citations from Pestalozzi's writings with frequent references to other research studies. If there are no startlingly new insights or conclusions and no flashes of brilliant style, there is at least the assurance of a workmanlike, competent analysis in an area where research is welcome.

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

EPISTOLARIO DI GUSTAVO MODENA. Edited by *Terenzio Grandi*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Serie 2: Fonti, Volume XXXVII.] (Rome: Vittoriano. 1955. Pp. xv, 467.) Although the Risorgimento abounded in colorful figures, very few can have been so romantic and energetic as the actor-revolutionary Gustavo Modena. Enormously popular for over thirty years and regarded by Italians as the greatest actor of his time, his range of successful roles embraced Alfieri's Saul as well as the Oedipus Rex of Sophocles, which he had the honor to play in the theater built by Palladio at Vicenza for this very drama three hundred years before. As a conspirator and revolutionary, Modena was a firm Mazzinian republican, an anticlerical, and no friend of Cavourian solutions to the Italian question. Physically indefatigable and unshakably doctrinaire though he was, Modena also possessed a very keen mind and a charming literary style, and it is these qualities that lend special interest to the 484 letters here published. There is much in this complete collection to extend our understanding of Mazzinian ideology, political maneuvers, and rival personalities, but it may well be of greater importance as a portrait of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

one man's mind in the face of crisis. Whether or not they are stylistically on a par with the works of Boccaccio and Tasso, as maintained by Modena's fervent admirers, these letters make excellent reading—even apart from the controversies so alive in them and indeed still smoldering between Mazzinians and Cavourians.

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LE ELEZIONI DEL 1874 E L'OPPOSIZIONE MERIDIONALE. By *Giuliano Procacci*. [Studi e ricerche storiche.] (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1956. Pp. 137. L. 900.) This analysis of the parliamentary elections of 1874 and the southern Left's opposition to Minghetti's Rightist government is a valuable contribution to a growing number of studies illuminating the emergence of sectionalism, the "Southern Problem," and political regroupings during Italy's immediate postunification era. It marks a good beginning of a series of monographic historical studies sponsored by the Biblioteca G. G. Feltrinelli, the Marxist-oriented research center recently established in Milan. Procacci has based his study on a careful examination of editorial opinion in southern and northern newspapers and periodicals during the campaign, as well as on many secondary sources. He is careful not to push his conclusions too far and cautions the reader to keep in mind the geographical and temporal limits of his investigation. The style of this topically organized and densely footnoted book is somewhat plodding, but specialists will find it worth their reading. Procacci focuses his attention on a hitherto neglected campaign that in some ways forecast the 1876 "political revolution" which inaugurated two decades of Leftist rule. In 1874, the Right was reinstated by a narrow margin, but in the south the Left was easily victorious. Campaign issues revolved around fiscal problems—budget balancing, regional tax burdens, appropriations for railway and port development—and the political question of the south's share in effective power. By 1874 the southern Left was undergoing internal transformation. The radical, "historic" Left was in decline, while a moderately conservative "Young Left" was emerging. In Sicily especially, the Leftists defended property rights against "brigands." Seldom during the campaign did southern politicians probe deeply into their region's social problems or recognize the importance of broadening the franchise. In the north, however, the Left tended to be more radical; it was the northern wing that pushed reform legislation during the next decades.

CHARLES F. DELZELL, *Vanderbilt University*

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Sesta Serie: 1918-1922, Volume I (4 NOVEMBRE 1918-17 GENNAIO 1919). (Rome: Ministero Degli Affari Esteri. 1956. Pp. lxxvii, 526.) The 885 documents in this volume, the ninth to appear in the great collection of Italian documents, add many new details concerning Italian diplomacy in this confused period but do not fundamentally alter existing conclusions about the broad lines of Italian policy. The editor, Professor Rodolfo Mosca of the University of Florence, has used, in addition to the foreign office files, the Orlando papers, the papers of General Di Robilant, the Italian military representative at the Inter-allied Council at Versailles, and the papers of Colosimo, the colonial minister. The documents from the confidential colonial ministry publication, *L'Africa Italiana*, Volume II, are important. Friction with wartime allies mounted as Italy sought to safeguard former pledges, to protect her Mediterranean position, and to enlarge her empire. French activity in Ethiopia, French support for Yugoslav aspirations, and thorny questions concerning occupation forces in the Balkans, especially at Fiume, placed a serious strain on Franco-Italian relations. Already pressures were being exerted by the inhabitants of Fiume for union with Italy. Yugoslav and Greek am-

bitions and developments in Russia caused grave concern in Rome. Anglo-Italian relations were far from cordial. Hopes were high for the support of Woodrow Wilson. Outside the Adriatic region, Italy's gaze was focused on Africa and on the Turkish Empire. On December 2, 1918, Italy presented to England demands for about 727,500 additional inhabitants and 909,000 square kilometers of African territory, including French and British Somaliland, the Djibuti-Addis Ababa railroad, Jubaland, the Farsan islands, a favorable eastern frontier for Libya that would include the oasis of Giarabub, and concessions on the southwestern frontier to facilitate communications between Ghadames, Ghat, and Tummo. Italy should have an exclusive sphere of influence in Ethiopia. These demands were linked with the assumption that the agreements of August, 1917, with regard to the Turkish Empire, which France and England had now declared invalid because of lack of Russian approval, would be executed.

WILLIAM C. ASKEW, *Colgate University*

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley¹

MIEDZYNARODOWE ZNACZENIE POLSKICH WALK NARODOWO-WYZWOLEŃCZYCH XVIII I XIX W. [International significance of Polish struggles for national liberation in the 18th and 19th centuries.] By Henryk Jabłoński. (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences. 1955. Pp. 84. Zł. 2.15.) This is the enlarged Polish version of Professor Jabłoński's contribution to the volume *La Pologne au X^e Congrès international des sciences historiques* . . . (reviewed in *AHR*, LXI [July, 1956], 972). He tries to show that the character of the Polish struggle for independence was basically changed in the years 1846-1848 when the national movement came under the control of revolutionary elements of the extreme left. His interpretation is particularly questionable when he contrasts the "perfidy" of the papacy and the Western powers with the genuine sympathy of the Communists and, when following Lenin's opinion, he stresses the significance of the Polish question for the international revolutionary movement "as long as the popular masses of Russia were still deeply asleep." In the Polish pamphlet, the story is preceded by one of the usual attacks against "bourgeois" historians who expressed different opinions, and is followed by a tribute to Lenin and "the Great Socialist October Revolution," which "opened the way to the freedom of the Polish nation." Added are two valuable illustrations: contemporary pictures of manifestations in favor of Poland in 1831 and 1848 and a picture of Marx with his daughter Jenny, who wears a cross of Polish insurrectionists of 1864.

O. HALECKI, *Fordham University*

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

LA SLOVAQUIE DANS LE DRAME DE L'EUROPE (HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DE 1918 A 1950). By *Joseph A. Mikus*. Preface by *Paul Lesourd*. (Paris: Les Isles d'Or. 1955. Pp. 475. 1,350 fr.) Mikus presents what is simultaneously a history of Slovakia since 1918, a brief for the mistakes of certain Slovak politicians, namely Monseigneur and President Tiso, a condemnation of the errors of the Czech politicians, namely Beneš, a belief in the national *apartheid* of Slovaks, and a statement of his hope for the future—an East Central European confederation of equal states to be preceded, we suppose, by some miraculous or man-made escape from the woes of Soviet domination and totalitarianism. The history of Czechoslovakia, as recounted here, begins with a violation of the agreements between the two nationalities for a union of coequal states, the establishment of a unitary state, the omission of the dash in the spelling of the name of the country, the "invasion" of Slovakia by Czech teachers and functionaries, the latter remunerated with a so-called "colonial supplement" for their duties in underdeveloped Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, the "betrayal" of the cause of federalism by Slovakian Protestants having a greater cultural kinship with the Czechs than with their own clerical Catholics, and the attachment of Slovakian Jews to the Czech unitary "reason of State" in order to maintain their "domination" of the Slovakian economy. Then came Munich. The Czechoslovak state was destroyed, and, Mikus will have us believe, Slovakia emerged as an independent republic. This was quickly followed by the application of *numerus clausus* laws to Jews in industry and the professions and the adoption of a program based on the Nuremberg laws of Germany. Finally, the Slovak government entered into agreement with the Third Reich for the deportation and "recolonization" of Slovak Jews. Instead of 17,000–18,000 Jews deported, as Mikus believes, it seems likely that 68,000 Jews were deported from Slovakia by the end of 1942 and nearly all of them exterminated in German concentration camps (cf. *Jozef Lettrich, History of Modern Slovakia* [New York, 1955], p. 184). In 1945 a unitary Czechoslovak state emerged again. The satellite state of Slovakia had discriminated against and persecuted Protestants, Jews, Communists, and democrats and had pursued a policy of population expulsion. The postwar Czechoslovak political alliance of democrats and Communists pursued outwardly similar methods: the expulsion of Germans from the Sudetenland, the settlement of Slovak agricultural laborers in the Sudetenland, and the forced transfer of tens of thousands of Magyars from Slovakia to Bohemia. In 1948 the Communists came to power and extended the policy of discrimination to hitherto cooperative Protestants, to socially suspect teachers, and finally to Communists suspected of independence of thought. Czechoslovakia became both a political and economic satellite of the Soviet Union. The work reviewed is tendentious, but the author ably defends and elaborates a point of view that a seeker after truth must reexamine. For a more sympathetic Slovak view of the Czechs and their leaders one should turn to *Jozef Lettrich's* work on Slovakia.

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH, *Rutgers University*

DIE MITTELMÄCHTE UND DIE UKRAINE, 1918. By *Hans Beyer*. [Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Beiheft 2.] (Munich: Isar Verlag. 1956. Pp. 58.) This book is an analysis of the German and Austrian intervention in the Russian Ukraine in the last two years of World War I. The author's evidence consists largely of printed materials, including works in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian, with the addition of some hitherto unpublished documents from the Austrian State Archive. His conclusion is that the upheavals that shook the Ukraine in 1918 and eventually led to its conquest by the Communists were not caused by the failure of the Central Powers to adhere to the pro-Ukrainian policy enunciated by them at Brest-Litovsk (as

charged by some Ukrainian historians) but to the inadequate development of political consciousness in the Ukraine itself. The Germans, with the Austrians unwillingly following behind, pursued an active Ukrainian policy on the assumption that the Ukraine was ready for statehood, whereas in fact it was far from it. In 1917-1918 the Ukraine was in the throes of a vast social revolution; what it needed above all was strong, efficient administration. The fiasco of the policies of the Central Powers, in the author's opinion, was therefore largely due to an overestimation of the Ukrainian national movement on the part of the German command.

RICHARD PIPES, *Paris, France*

FIGHTING WARSAW: THE STORY OF THE POLISH UNDERGROUND STATE, 1939-1945. By *Stefan Korbonski*. Translated from the original Polish by *F. B. Czarnomski*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. vi, 495. \$6.75.) The purpose of this book is "to fill the gap" between the well-known military actions and the relatively unknown political and civil organization of the Polish underground movement during World War II. In these unofficial memoirs, Stefan Korbonski, a spokesman of the Polish Peasant party and last chief of the Polish resistance movement, has traced in considerable detail his personal experiences from 1939 to 1945. He deals with the establishment and activities of the underground courts of justice, which passed sentences on both collaborators and occupation officials. He devotes several chapters to radio contact with London and depicts its hazards vividly, though perhaps at greater length than necessary. He portrays ambitious men and selfless men, heroes and cowards. Admirably presented is the transition from German to Russian occupation of Poland. Korbonski makes clear two vital points. The first "is the role which the magic word 'London' played in the Polish Underground Movement." He shows again and again how people risked their lives to get information from the Western world via London, how they trusted Western statesmen, and how, ironically, they were disappointed at the end by being abandoned to Russian domination. The second vital point is Korbonski's frank admission of the political disunity among Polish officials both at home and abroad. Although the author is somewhat reserved in his appraisal, there is little doubt that this disunity (much of which was a product of the prewar cleavage within Polish political life) benefited Poland's enemies. There were many political spokesmen who faced the future with open eyes; there were also those who lived on the glories of the past, dreaming about Poland's former territorial greatness. Although he professes to belong to the former, Korbonski reveals that on one occasion (p. 315) he was swayed by the ideas of the latter group. An index would have increased the value of this interesting volume.

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN, *Portland State College, Oregon*

JUGOSLAVIA AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1948-1956: AN ANALYSIS WITH DOCUMENTS. By *R. Barry Farrell*. (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 220. \$5.00.) The first part of this short book deals with the "Analysis of Yugoslav-Soviet Relations 1948-1956" (pp. 1-64), and the remaining portion consists of "Documents of Yugoslav-Soviet Relations 1948-1956" (pp. 67-211), "Notes," and "Index" (pp. 215-220). The author explains how the break between Tito and Stalin occurred in 1948 and describes the relations between the two countries from that juncture until 1956. But even before the break, "while making profound obeisance toward Moscow . . . Marshall Tito at the same time displayed a precocious independence from Stalin." Farrell summarizes the notes exchanged between the Central Committee of the two Communist parties, with their charges and countercharges, and explains how Tito challenged "the Stalinist theories of Soviet satellite control then

in vogue in Moscow" and sought Western friendship. The break between Tito and Stalin precipitated a number of significant changes in Yugoslavia's political and economic life, while Yugoslav theoreticians were compelled to go back to the original writings of Marx in order to show point by point that the Russians were "heretics" and the Yugoslavs "true believers." Finally, changes that occurred in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death and certain other developments led to "normalization" in Yugoslav-Soviet relations since 1954. As a result there was "some cooling of Yugoslav-American relations" despite assurances from Belgrade that reconciliation with the East did not affect Yugoslavia's friendship for the West. In conclusion, Farrell writes that Yugoslavia's policy since 1948 exhibits "extraordinary skill" and that Tito's ability to maintain friendly relations with both East and West may serve as an example for other Eastern European Communist countries. Since 1948 Tito "showed himself to be as skillful, courageous, and realistic a leader as the Balkans may ever see." This fairly well typifies the author's appraisal of Yugoslav foreign policy. He credits Tito almost exclusively with Yugoslavia's apparent success, practically ignores some of his able and influential advisers, and completely neglects to bring out the geographical, political, and psychological advantages enjoyed by Yugoslavia as compared with other Communist states under Soviet control. Farrell's book is obviously intended for those who are not familiar with developments in Yugoslavia since 1948; the experts will find little that is new. Furthermore, most of the documents here presented are already available in English, though strewn through a number of journals and brochures. The book, however, may be profitably used in the classroom.

WAYNE S. VUCINICH, *Stanford University*

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SOVIET UNION

Fritz T. Epstein¹

DAS SOWJETISCHE REGIERUNGSSYSTEM: DIE GRUNDLAGEN DER MACHT IN DER SOWJETUNION. LEITFADEN and QUELLENBUCH. By W. Grottian. [Die Wissenschaft von der Politik, Band 2.] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1956. Pp. x, 175; x, 170. DM 13.80.) The guide (text and sources) to the Soviet system published under the auspices of the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik by Professor Walter Grottian, lecturer on Soviet economy at the Institute for the Study of Eastern Europe of the Free University at Berlin, fills a gap in German political literature where the need for such a text for teaching purposes has long been acutely felt. Substantially, but in an extremely condensed form, the book covers the same ground as Wiktor Sukiennicki's *Ewolucja ustroju Związku Socjalistycznych Republik Radzieckich* (The Development of the Constitution of the Soviet Union in the Light of the Official Publications of the Soviet Government, Wilno, 1938); W. W. Kulski's *The Soviet Regime* (1954); John N. Hazard's *The Soviet System of Government* (1957); or the forthcoming survey, *Russian Political Institutions* by Derek J. R. Scott. The first, general, part of the book deals with the influence of Marxist doctrine on the organization of party and state; it includes a discussion of the relationship of the Marxist political, economic, and social goals to the idea of world revolution and explains the policy of compromise. The second part discusses the Communist party and instruments of leadership outside the party, such as the state police, the armed forces, and planned economy; for lack of space other instruments of power guaranteeing the rule of the party are only briefly mentioned. Authoritative American works (by Merle Fainsod, Julian Towster, and Alexander Vucinich) are frequently cited. The source book contains materials of the years 1902 to 1956, but in order to illustrate Lenin's and Stalin's theories, its bulk consists of utterances made by these two leaders of Bolshevism between 1919 and 1939. The value of the publication as a reference tool is seriously impaired by the lack of an index.

FRITZ T. EPSTEIN, *Library of Congress*

THE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By Matthew Spinka. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 179. \$3.25.) Professor Spinka, whose earlier book, *The Church and the Russian Revolution*, told of the Russian Church during the revolutionary period, in this volume carries the story to present times. His method is to discuss the actions of Patriarchs Tikhon, Sergii, and Alexii and to give his opinion as to the soundness of their decisions. Patriarch Tikhon, according to the author, was the savior of the Church when it was on the verge of catastrophe. He, like many of the higher clergy, had strongly opposed the Soviet regime and in 1923 was under arrest. With his trial and probable execution imminent, control of the Church was

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

held by a self-appointed group of priests known as the Living Church. At this point, Tikhon realized that the Church could survive only if it accepted the existence of the Communist state. Consequently, he renounced opposition to it and in his final "Testament" called on the faithful to accept the government as that of the workers and peasants. Spinka regards this as a wise move by which Tikhon hoped to secure autonomy for the Church. On the other hand, he views the compromises made by Tikhon's successors as unwarranted surrenders to the atheistic government. While he recognizes the sincerity and devotion of Sergii, he feels that the latter's willingness to profess full loyalty to the regime and to gloss over its ruthlessness toward the Church went too far. Moreover, Sergii's punishment of pro-German prelates in 1941 and his fulsome praise of Stalin are distasteful to the author. As for Alexii, the current Patriarch, Spinka believes that he has sold his birthright. Apparently hoping to replace the Patriarch of Constantinople as leader of the Orthodox world, he sought Soviet support by making himself a tool of Soviet diplomacy, condemning the Vatican for political intrigue, and denouncing American intervention in Korea, while ardently supporting the Soviet peace campaign. Spinka has presented an account of this period that accords with the known facts. His treatment, however, is occasionally lacking in objectivity, as shown by his biting sarcasm concerning certain Soviet actions. Moreover, he accepts without question some apparently biased statements by Metropolitan Evlogii of Paris and other anti-Soviet Russians. This is regrettable, for the author's conclusions are based on a solid foundation of fact and are presented with much interesting and pertinent detail.

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS, *Duke University*

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Near Eastern History

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A HISTORY OF TURKEY FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC. By M. Philips Price. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. 224. \$4.50.) The masters of modern Turkey have done well as propagandists. They have sold to the West the idea that the Turks are the only trusted guardians of everything Western in the Middle East. In this the Turks have been well served. But, as this work by an old-time journalist and a Laborite member of Parliament illustrates, they have not been so well served by historical scholarship. The former correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* warns his readers by stating that his "book lays no claim to sift in every detail all aspects of Turkish history." What it does, he adds, is "to give a picture of the growth of the Turkish people, the institutions they have created and the ideas that have inspired them through the centuries." Even with this disclaimer his is a large order, and its fulfillment would gratify any historian. Forthwith he issues another warning: his "book is limited to Turkey and the history of her resistance to Russian expansion." Now his plan becomes clear: he is to show how aggressive Russia, in her messianic role, has harried the Turks for centuries and how the latter, as the guardians of law and order in the Middle East, have resisted her with or without aid from the West. Such views, partly valid when expounded with care and caution, are distorted in the introduction, wherein the author holds Russia responsible for the First World War. The book's three parts deal with the Ottoman period, the war years of 1914-1923, and the republican period. In his narrative, Price betrays amazing unfamiliarity with some cardinal facts and offers some strange ideas as facts. For instance, the assertions that the Turks "were Westerners from the start" and that "their society had been democratic" but was corrupted by Arabic and Byzantine influence are hardly convincing. The statement that "the Turks had always thought that the affairs of this world and those of the next should not be too closely tied to one another" is a fiction. His criticism of the working of capitulations and his references to the millets leave the impression that he fails to understand the millet institution as a useful administrative device for the sultans. His belief that the implementation of reforms was always hindered by the powers and that the non-Turks did not want reforms cannot

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

be supported by known and accepted evidence. Some of these ideas, he states, he found in Leon Cahun's *Introduction à l'Histoire d'Asie* (1896), though he does not reveal his other sources. Some forty years ago the author, as a newspaper correspondent, championed the cause of the underprivileged and the downtrodden. Today he seems to have shed his liberalism and has become the spokesman of the strong and the powerful, scornful of those who, in their "hankering" for freedom, have failed. Perhaps therein is the explanation of his disdainful references to the religious and racial minorities of the Ottoman Empire, which he unjustifiably brands as "disaffected" elements and "fifth columnists." This book might have been issued as official propaganda rather than as history.

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COMMUNISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST. By Walter Z. Laqueur. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1956. Pp. xi, 362. \$6.50.) President Eisenhower's request of the Congress for authority to use American armed forces, if necessary, and vast economic resources to combat Soviet incursion into the Middle East has sharpened attention upon political developments in the Arab world. Ever since the consummation of the Egyptian arms deal with the Soviet bloc, the Western nations have been showered with journalistic pieces upon the penetration of Communism into the Middle East. The propaganda has varied from the direst forebodings of the social scientists who concentrate upon the evils and inequities of the social and economic structure of the Middle East to the ostrich-like rhetoric of the orientalist who see in Islam and its hold upon society a fortress against Marxian godlessness. In contrast to such vagaries, Laqueur presents in this volume, written in 1955, a wealth of facts, details, political groups, names of individuals and parties, ideas, and conclusions with regard to the progress of Communism and Soviet ideological and diplomatic forays, against a backdrop of nationalism in the several countries of the Middle East. In an opening general chapter, the author describes the role of students, explains "military socialism," discusses the economic systems, points out the repeated ineffectiveness of parliamentary regimes, and defines the brand of nationalism that has evolved in the Middle East. Nationalism is portrayed as being more authoritative and less liberal, democratic, or humanitarian than the Western forms. Xenophobia, chauvinism, and anti-imperialism are credited with dominating the urban intellectuals who control the nationalist movements of the post-World War II era. The old wealthy families are too cosmopolitan to be effectual. Following this piercing prologue, individual chapters set forth the detailed stories in Egypt, the Sudan, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Turkey. Final chapters include accounts of Communist activities among the numerous Middle Eastern minorities, such as Copts, Kurds, and Armenians, and a delineation of the recent zeal of Russian diplomacy in cultivating Middle Eastern governments at the expense of sympathy for native Communist movements. A most interesting section reviews the development, growth, and aims of the Moslem Brotherhood and suggests the possible type of "Partners for a National Front" to be fostered by the Communist leaders. In general, Laqueur carries through his book and into his conclusions a pessimistic outlook for the West. He contends that time is on the Communist side. To avert the rapid drift to Communism, he feels that a social and economic regeneration is imperative but that adequate manpower for initiating and carrying through a quick transition is lacking. Laqueur's judgments certainly are debatable, but without question, his study has opened a vista into a sea hitherto almost uncharted. The information exhibited is enormous and covers a wide range. Undigested material and insufficient organization are its greatest weaknesses.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

*Hilary Conroy*¹

SELECT DOCUMENTS ON JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY, 1853-1868. Translated and edited by *W. G. Beasley*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 359. \$8.00.) This work makes an important and scholarly contribution to our understanding of Japanese history. The years from 1853 to 1868 were critical years for Japan, when the country was faced with the insistent demands of Western nations for trade and concessions at the same time the internal political structure was proving completely inadequate to meet the foreign challenge. Professor Beasley has divided his book into two parts. A lengthy introduction provides a detailed analysis of the context in which the foreign policy debate was fought and links the foreign issue with the intricate power struggle within Japan. The second portion consists of translations of seventy-seven documents arranged in eight sections, each grouped around a significant event in Japan's foreign relations, with explanatory introductions. Thus the several introductory passages combine to form a complete survey of the political history of Japan from 1853 to 1868. The documents have been selected with care and translated with exacting accuracy. Perhaps their greatest value is their power to bring to life the men and issues which agitated the Japanese political world during the pre-Restoration era. Beasley's translation manages to convey a sense of plausibility for the hectic actions of the Japanese officials of this period, in marked contrast to the usual picture of incompetence and ignorance. He has chosen to suppress notes dealing with problems of translation, and while this makes for greater readability, the serious historian may wish to know more of these problems. One wonders if the translations may not be overly smooth and the Japanese officials of the time not so sophisticated as their translated words seem to indicate. Beasley has made a number of acute observations in the course of his work. Of considerable interest is his conclusion that, despite the great heat generated by the disagreements over foreign policy, the responsible figures in Japanese government were in fundamental agreement over the need to strengthen their country against the West. The new foreign policies of the government after 1868 "represented not a change of heart but an avowal of ideas that had already taken shape." The only regret of this reviewer is that Beasley has not extended his study to the point where the relationship of pre-Restoration to post-Restoration foreign policy can be made apparent.

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FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1941. Volume IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 6325.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1956. Pp. 1,044. \$4.50.) This volume adds to the documentation previously published in *Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941* the memoranda and correspondence that reveal the conflicts of opinion that entered into the decision-making process in Washington. In presenting the dilemmas and uncertainties on both sides of the Pacific, the mutual suspicions of insincerity, and the imperfect qualities of each tactic pursued, it gives a sense of diplomacy in the making as contrasted with the impression of inescapable disaster left by the earlier wartime publication. Some new bits of evidence cast further misgivings about the conspiracy theory of Japan's diplomatic history as accepted by the International Military Tribunal

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

for the Far East. How could Hirota, Hiranuma, Muto, and even Tojo have been adjudged as they were? In 1941 Tojo was characterized as one of the initiators of the project for negotiations with the United States and as a "taciturn, clear-thinking, quick-deciding executive with ideas leaning towards the conservative, sound side." A thousand pages cannot supply satisfying answers to enduring questions. Would it have been worth while for the emperor to try his personal hand at negotiations, for Prince Konoye to meet with President Roosevelt, or for Secretary Hull to have proceeded with the *modus vivendi* of November 25? How could we have been caught at Pearl Harbor in the face of repeated warnings? Even at this late date some documents will cause the lifting of a quizzical eyebrow (see particularly pages 17, 249, 531, 673, and 713). This volume is a valedictory in the story of United States-Japanese relations, but it is also intended to supply chronological background for the forthcoming special issues of the *Foreign Relations* on China, 1942-1949. In this light, references to Chiang's government and Russia and Communism in the Far East are of unusual interest. With regard to Communism in the Far East, neither Hirota, Nomura, Matsuoka, Tojo, nor any other Japanese leader had any illusions about its dangers and its benefits from a Pacific war. This volume presents some anti-Russian and anti-Communist views that were omitted from the *Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941*, owing to wartime susceptibilities. In the face of the complex diplomatic environment and the combustible domestic political situation, it is believed that the editors of the *Foreign Relations* volumes—now as then—performed their tasks with complete honesty and extraordinary skill.

CLAUDE BUSS, *Stanford University*

FOREIGN TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA: AN HISTORICAL AND INTEGRATED ANALYSIS THROUGH 1948. By Yu-Kwei Cheng. [Published under the auspices of the American University and the China International Foundation.] (Washington, D. C.: University Press of Washington, D. C. 1956. Pp. xi, 278. \$7.00.) During the last twenty-five years, several outstanding works have been published in the field of China's foreign trade, foreign investments, land utilization, money and finance, and industrialization. This reviewer finds Yu-Kwei Cheng's book unique in that it gives an integrated analysis, a correlated interpretation of reliable data, and a comprehensive picture of the essential elements of modern Chinese economy. He devotes only twenty-six pages to the first seventy-five years of China's trade and industry; he has not achieved his purpose of giving even treatment to the entire period. The major part of the book, however, is scholarly and objective. It contributes much to the general reader and to the specialist. Cheng begins his serious analysis of China's "industrial growth and foreign trade, 1913-1936" in chapter iii, and much space is given to the obstacles preventing genuine Chinese industrialization. He deals with the effects of the tariff and the fluctuation of silver prices and, within a short space, presents a clear analysis of tariff levels and their relation to revenue raising, protective effects on industry, and restriction of trade. The author attempts to prove the fallacy of regarding silver movement and remittances of overseas Chinese as factors counterbalancing import excess. His arguments are no more conclusive than those set forth by other economists; he stresses well, however, the importance of foreign investments and their relation to import balances, the real picture of which will be revealed only when financial accounts of foreign trading companies can be examined. Based upon analyses of increases in commodity prices, government expenditures, and note issues, his study objectively exposes the basic factors behind the tragic failures of the large undertakings of the National Government of China. A good contrast between the economy

of free China and that of occupied China, including an index of import and export prices, is a distinct contribution. In chapter viii the author discusses the causes of postwar inflation, the debacle of monetary changes, and the problems of foreign trade; but there is no mention of problems of privileged corporations owned by "influential" Chinese, feverish attempts of foreign firms to restore their prewar easy-profit-making positions, the unusual amount of United States currency in Chinese commercial centers, or the recent testimony on "China and Gold" given by Arthur N. Young before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, July 13, 1956. The author might have included both preoccupation and postoccupation years in his discussion of the Manchurian economy; there are other examples of his undue emphasis on the war and postwar years. As a whole, this book is a solid piece of work that has lasting value.

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs¹

INDIA'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE FAR EASTERN AND PACIFIC COUNTRIES IN THE PRESENT CENTURY. By *B. N. Ganguli*. [Published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Bombay: Orient Longmans; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1956. Pp. 348. \$3.50.) Professor Ganguli's painstaking analysis covers a great area and over a quarter of the world's population, in the first half of the present century, with its extraordinary upheavals and changes in economic relationships. He deals with India's trade with Japan, China, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, and has a valuable section on "Other Aspects of India's Economic Relations," dealing chiefly with Indian investments and Indian immigration to Malaya, Burma, and Ceylon. The tone is scholarly and dispassionate throughout, although the Western reader might wonder why investments by Great Britain constitute "colonialism" while investments in nearby countries by India are not so described. On the other hand, the reasons for resentment by Burmans of the activities of Chettyars from South India are fairly stated, and the reactions of nationalism in nearby countries to Indian immigration and investment are treated with considerable sympathy and understanding. At a time when India's relations with Pakistan are such as to cause pain to friends of both countries, it is refreshing to find a fair and objective discussion of their economic relations. Ganguli gives a balanced discussion of the benefits to Indian and Southeast Asian economy of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century economic development caused by British investors. He points out reasons for doubting the desirability, from the Indian standpoint, of a continuation of commonwealth preference and other restrictive measures, when India's interests increasingly require multilateral trading relationships. The book was apparently a long time in the press, as most statistical tables end in 1952-1953 and there is no mention of the division of Indochina into Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Australians and New Zealanders might object to having their economies called "dependent." It takes a careful reading to find that, in the earlier sections, "prewar" means pre-1914. Western readers may wonder why "lakhs" and "crores" are used without definition, along with "millions." Students of the economies of India and its neighbors and of economic trends in the past half century will find this a valuable book.

J. RUSSELL ANDRUS, *Washington, D. C.*

CONFLICT IN INDO-CHINA AND INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY, 1945-1955. By *Allan B. Cole*. With the assistance of *Peter W. Lande, Dennis H. Kux, W. Bryce Harland, and Larry H. Wendell*. [Pub-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

lished under the auspices of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and the Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. xxix, 265. \$5.00.) The more than one hundred documents here reproduced, many of them difficult of access and some previously unavailable, include speeches, formal policy statements, joint communiqués, international treaties and agreements, reform proposals, and constitutions. The items are grouped in five chronological "phases," and the latter are organized topically by country of origin. The editor contributes a cautiously phrased general introduction and more perceptive, shorter summaries preceding each of the five parts. Three appendixes set forth a chronology of events, statistics on costs to France and to the United States, and a selected reading list. The purpose is to provide the essential documentation for an informed and objective assessment of historical developments within Vietnam since 1945. The documents selected illustrate many sides of the controversy, and they contribute much that is useful. Particularly valuable are the texts of formal agreements arrived at from 1946 to the Geneva settlement of 1954. The problems and policies of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime are adequately presented. Unfortunately, however, the general atmosphere of the book reflects the stuffiness of official policy pronouncements, which sometimes conceal quite as much as they reveal. For example, the failure of United States policy is nowhere adequately explained. No document covers the debacle of Dien Bien Phu. The initial determination of France not to permit any outside interference or to sacrifice its position as a world power is only hinted at. Some statement could have been included to indicate the almost complete deadlock which long prevailed within the State Department itself between elements reflecting America's desire not to jeopardize French cooperation in Europe and those concerned more directly with the affairs of Eastern Asia. Excerpts from French Chamber debates could have demonstrated the French Communist party's refusal until 1948 to support Ho Chi Minh's demand for independence as long as the party had some chance of gaining control of the Paris government. Ho's concern for avoiding the use of Chinese troops to oust the French could have been illustrated. The documentation is simply incomplete. The editors concede that readers seeking the full story had better read Ellen Hammer's book. Two revealing documents can be cited. One reproduces excerpts from a *Handbook for Chinese Political Workers Going to Vietnam*, which establish the fact that Chinese "volunteers" were aiding Viet Minh in 1952 and were being carefully enjoined not to antagonize the local people. The other is the allegation by Vice-President Nixon in December, 1953, that the Communist rebellions in Vietnam and Malaya (which began in 1947 and 1948 respectively) would never have occurred if China had not gone Communist (in 1949), a *non sequitur* which adds another dimension to the problem of American diplomacy within the area.

JOHN F. CADY, *Ohio University*

CALENDAR OF PHILIPPINE DOCUMENTS IN THE AYER COLLECTION OF THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY. Edited by Paul S. Lietz. (Chicago: Newberry Library. 1956. Pp. xvi, 259. \$6.00.) Acquired in the 1890's from the library of the Compañía General de Tabacos, the Ayer Collection (embracing some eight thousand pages of manuscript ranging from 1558 to 1903) has now been successfully calendared by Professor Lietz for the Philippine Study Program. Of the 370 items calendared, 203 belong to the eighteenth century. Although partially exploited by James A. Robertson and Emma Blair for their *Philippine Islands, 1493-1803* (55 vols.; Cleveland, 1903-1909), this important group of originals—copies of memoranda, diaries, treatises, civil and ecclesiastical correspondence—has been little used. This skillfully prepared check list makes readily available detailed information about each item and

should turn many new footsteps toward the Newberry Library. The handbook is beautifully printed at an unnecessarily high cost.

SCHAFFER WILLIAMS, *Shaftsbury, Vermont*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

- A BAKER'S DOZEN: THIRTEEN UNUSUAL AMERICANS. By *Russel B. Nye*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 300. \$5.00.) This book deals with thirteen men who played minor roles in the great drama of American history. Two of them were touched by the taint of treason: John Fries, who in 1799

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

led a revolt of Pennsylvania German farmers against the new tax laws enacted by Congress, and Harman Blennerhassett, the pathetic dupe of Aaron Burr. Two more are John Ledyard, who failed in his effort to discover a Northwest Passage, and Edward Bonney, a small-town Iowa lawyer who for a time turned detective in order to bring a gang of robbers and murderers to justice. There are a couple of villains: Simon Girty, the "white savage" renegade, and John A. Murrell, thief and ruthless killer on the Southern frontier. Others are John Humphrey Noyes and James Strang, who both sought to establish a limited Utopia, at least slightly reminiscent of Brook Farm or New Harmony; Clement C. Vallandigham, Copperhead extraordinary and bitter critic of Lincoln; Jacob Coxey, who led his army of unemployed to Washington; Nat Turner, head of a brief but bloody rebellion, repercussions of which rocked the South for months; and Elijah Lovejoy, editor and abolitionist, whose work and martyrdom had far-reaching influences. Finally, there is Phineas Quinby, the faith healer, whose principles were later taught by Mary Baker Eddy until she had formulated her own philosophy of health. This is a useful and informative volume, beautifully written by a master craftsman who some years ago was awarded the Pulitzer prize for biography. While there are no footnotes, a four-page note on sources indicates the materials used by the author and sources of additional information. Adequate biographies of some of the characters in this book have been published, but a number of the others are hardly important enough to warrant such extensive treatment. All, however, are of sufficient significance to make students of American history eager to learn more about them than can be found in any encyclopedia. It is to be hoped that other books of this type may be produced. It is a distinct contribution to our history; we need more like it.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

A REPORT ON WORLD POPULATION MIGRATIONS AS RELATED TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. (Washington, D. C.: George Washington University. 1956. Pp. v, 448. No charge.) This report is essentially two bibliographies—one historical and the other demographic, economic, and sociological—of the literature on immigration to America from 1607 to 1955. The first one in particular furnishes a useful starting point for research on practically any aspect of immigration. The staff of the Population Migration Project at George Washington University has turned up thousands of titles, at least some of which would otherwise evade even the most diligent scholar. The compilers disarm criticism by presenting their bibliographies as only a "preliminary listing," but if they plan a fuller edition, a more discriminating system of classification would be helpful. Apart from conventional rubrics such as "racial groups," "area accounts," and "public policy," the historical bibliography usually leaves it to the user to distinguish contemporary sources from secondary works, scholarly studies from ephemera, and good books from disreputable. And the headings are sometimes misleading: students of "public policy" will have to look under "general" works to find Higham's *Strangers in the Land*; those interested in nineteenth-century Irishmen or Jews are apt to miss Handlin's *Boston's Immigrants* or Grinstein's *Rise of the Jewish Community of New York*; and the Welsh fail somehow to qualify as British. Historians may find more suggestive the well-annotated demographic, economic, and sociological bibliography, although it (like its accompanying essays) is concerned primarily with future policy. The historical essay calls for research on such topics as the immigrant traffic, immigrants on the frontier or in politics, and their cultural contributions and assimilation. While such questions have their importance, is not what the bibliography calls the "area account"—an investigation of all aspects of immigration in the broader social context

of a particular city or region—a more practical and rewarding approach for the historian?

ROWLAND T. BERTHOFF, *Princeton University*

DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORY. Edited by *John Tracy Ellis*. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Company. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 677. \$8.75.) This volume represents a mere sampling of a vast amount of source material which is available for the writing and teaching of the history of Catholicism in America. Its 163 selections are drawn from papal bulls, letters, memoirs, manuscript collections, archival materials, and newspapers; they include poems by Joyce Kilmer and John Bannister Tabb and the witticisms of Mr. Dooley. About a fourth of the book deals with colonial times, and the last selection is the papal encyclical on the occasion of the sesquicentennial of the American hierarchy. The editor has provided introductory historical notes and explanatory footnotes, and the editing and indexing have been carefully done. Probably no two editors would ever make the same selections for a volume of this kind, and therefore any reviewer could point to several omissions that seem important to him. Yet there can be no doubt that the vast majority of these selections will prove useful not only to churchmen but to lay historians as well, whatever their religious affiliation. A reviewer can do no more than highlight some of the more important topics included in such a miscellaneous collection. The selections begin with colonial days, when all of America was *in partibus infidelium*, and move on through later controversies in the American Church over trusteeism, Americanism, and education. They include the development of Catholic journalism in the United States, McMaster's anti-Lincoln editorials in his *Freeman's Journal*, and Purcell's courageous antislavery stand in the *Catholic Telegraph*; various phases of the nativist agitation; Archbishop Hughes's fulminations of a century ago against revolutionary radicals, including "Young Irelanders," and his stubborn opposition to western colonization projects; Cardinal Gibbons' defense of Henry George and the Knights of Labor; immigration; the emphasis on the social gospel in the Bishop's Program of Social Reconstruction (1919); and Governor Smith's answer to religious bigotry in 1928.

CARL WITKE, *Western Reserve University*

EVOLUTION OF HISTORIOGRAPHY IN AMERICA, 1870-1910. By *Amales Tripathi*. (Calcutta, India: World Press Private Ltd. 1956. Pp. ix, 106. 12s.6d.) A scholar from India presented this slim book as his master's thesis at Columbia. His intent was to analyze "the controlling assumptions of American historians" in the generation after 1870 and the relationship of such assumptions to the social scene. In his anxiety to establish a unity among historians whose themes and treatment varied markedly, Professor Tripathi occasionally gives the impression of being formula-ridden. Thus, in coupling Theodore Roosevelt with other historians of the period, he fails to note important differences. The sweeping generalization with its small truth and larger distortion is too often used in these earnest pages. The point of view reflects the conventional European Laborite or Socialist estimate of the American businessman. Though it covers familiar ground (not always acknowledging an indebtedness to predecessors), it is an excellent performance for a neophyte. It achieves a fair measure of success in relating historical writing to the economic and social environment. This study is another and welcome example of the increasing attention given by foreign scholars to the history of the United States. For better results, however, these same scholars will need to remember that American history is no more simple than the history of their own countries.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *City College of New York*

FRANKLIN AND HIS FRENCH CONTEMPORARIES. By *Alfred Owen Aldridge*. (New York: New York University Press. 1957. Pp. 260. \$4.75.) The problem of piecing together the full story of Franklin's activities and influence in France has occupied scholars since John Bigelow. The task, which has been complicated by the venerable doctor's annoying discretion in covering up his own tracks, is still unfinished, but the present study constitutes a valuable, readable, and erudite contribution. It is, in fact, the first extended work of scholarly character devoted exclusively to the problem since E. E. Hale's *Franklin in France*. Professor Aldridge wisely has not attempted to cover all phases of Franklin's role in French-American relations (he omits, for instance, his subject's diplomatic activities) and has concentrated on describing Franklin's part in French-American literary history and on defining the contemporary French conception of the American representative. Within these limits, the author has effectively summed up recent findings and has added much new information garnered from extensive research in French archives and libraries. On the one hand, he details Franklin's contributions to the *Ephémérides du citoyen*, the French publications of *The Way to Wealth* and the *Autobiography*, the composition of the bagatelles, the dissemination of the political and propaganda pieces, and the strange adventures of the Polly Baker story. On the other, he provides an analysis of the image of Franklin as represented in contemporary French fiction, drama, poetry, memoirs, correspondence, political writings, and periodicals. Thus the book lies mainly in the area of literary history, but not wholly so, for such pertinent topics as Franklin's influence on unicameralism in the French Revolution are also treated. It must be noted that there are a few errors, mostly bibliographical. For instance, the second French publication of *The Way to Wealth* was probably that in the *Courrier de l'Europe* (March 21-May 30, 1777), not Ruault's 1777 edition. And the author of *Etats-Unis de l'Amérique comparés avec les ligues achéennes . . .* was Charles Mayer, not Mayo. Moreover, the 1780 edition of Raynal's *Histoire philosophique* was scarcely the last during the author's lifetime. But such slips or omissions are not numerous enough to detract from the general value of the book. It is perhaps to be regretted, however, that Aldridge chose not to attempt the long overdue job of definitively identifying Franklin's contributions to the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* and that he passed over possibly the most interesting of the Franklin literary problems of the period, the authorship of "The Sale of the Hessians."

DURAND ECHEVERRIA, *Brown University*

REBELS AND REDCOATS. By *George F. Scheer* and *Hugh F. Rankin*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1957. Pp. 572. \$7.50.) *Rebels and Redcoats* is a history of land warfare in the Revolution, largely devoted to the operations of the Continental Army and its British adversary. It covers substantially the same ground recently traversed by several writers, including Willard Wallace (*Appeal to Arms*) and Christopher Ward (*War of the Revolution*). It is more detailed than Wallace's work, less so than that of Ward. The authors, who have carried on researches with respect to partisan warfare in the South, have reserved their findings in that field for later publication, and no novelty is claimed for *Rebels and Redcoats*, except in manner of presentation. Offering very extensive quotations from contemporary documents, they sought to write a narrative both accurate and appealing. The result is a smoothly written and colorful book containing but one error that may be described as serious. Messrs. Scheer and Rankin list in their bibliography only the sources for their quotations, but they made much and good use of the works of other scholars. In a few cases, on their large canvas, colors are not quite true, and lines are not precisely

drawn. Repeating an ancient error long since exploded, they assert that according to British strategy in 1777 Sir William Howe was to send a force northward from New York to meet Burgoyne's army at Albany. The authors have supplied a fine set of clear and attractive maps. In general, they achieved their purpose.

JOHN R. ALDEN, *Duke University*

TRUXTUN OF THE CONSTELLATION: THE LIFE OF COMMODORE THOMAS TRUXTUN, U. S. NAVY, 1755-1822. By *Eugene S. Ferguson*. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 322. \$5.25.) Although Thomas Truxtun is distinguished in American naval history as the outstanding commander in the quasi war with France, hitherto he has had no biographical account more than a dozen pages in length. This lack has been filled by Eugene S. Ferguson in a highly satisfactory biography which is as complete as the available sources permit. Truxtun went to sea from New York in 1767, rose rapidly, and during the Revolution commanded both merchantmen and privateers. After the war he made trading voyages to China, India, and Europe before accepting a commission as captain in the nascent United States Navy in 1794. Best known for his skillful and aggressive operations in the frigate *Constellation* during the quasi war with France, he also made significant contributions in navigation, signaling, and naval tactics. Perhaps most important was his part in the establishment of a tradition of command and strict but fair discipline in the new navy. A dispute with the Jefferson administration over relative rank caused the staunch Federalist Truxtun to resign in 1802, and he spent the remainder of his life in rather embittered and tiresome retirement, taking some part in party politics and quarreling with his family. Ferguson has used a great array of widely scattered sources, including family papers hitherto unavailable. His footnotes and bibliography not only attest to the diligence of his work but also form a useful guide to further study in this period of American maritime and naval history. Truxtun emerges as a living, plausible figure with qualities of both excellence and human pettiness. His relationship to those about him is skillfully presented so that the book assumes wider significance than that of a strictly biographical narrative. Well-balanced, clearly written, and with touches of quiet humor, this is both a delightful book to read and good history.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE, *Pomona College*

JAMES GILLESPIE BIRNEY: SLAVEHOLDER TO ABOLITIONIST. By *Betty Fladeland*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 323. \$5.00.) This volume is an important addition to the literature of the antislavery movement. The author has utilized the Weld and Birney correspondence, already familiar to those who have read the revisionist studies of Professors Barnes and Dumond, but she has also made excellent use of a wealth of other manuscript and newspaper sources to produce the first scholarly biography of James G. Birney. One cannot but admire Birney. Until midway in life he was a typical Southern aristocrat. As preparation for politics his father provided him with an excellent education—Transylvania University, Princeton, opportunity to read law with Alexander J. Dallas of Philadelphia. Upon returning to Danville the young lawyer married into a prominent family and got a start in Kentucky politics. Then, in 1818, he moved to Alabama territory and became a planter. Here, his legal talent and his wide acquaintance with leading educators were both utilized by the new state—in organizing a government and in founding the university. But by 1823, overindulgence in vices common to his social station—gambling and drink—had plunged him into debt. Selling the plantation, Birney moved into Huntsville, resumed a law practice, reordered his personal life,

joined the Presbyterian church, and began to show an interest in social reforms. Birney's transition from slaveholder to abolitionist came gradually and can be attributed to his religious conversion. This experience prompted him to want to aid the Negro race and in 1832 he became a colonizationist. A year spent as agent for the American Colonization Society in the deep South so disillusioned him with prospects for success in that part of the slaveholding region that he returned to Kentucky late in 1833 determined to work for gradual emancipation in the border states. While engaged in this activity he was disturbed by a growing conviction that slavery was a sin and, following the Lane debates, he met with Weld, decided to abandon colonization, manumitted his remaining slaves on June 2, 1834, and became an abolitionist. Birney's subsequent career as an editor, lecturer, publicist, secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, candidate of the Liberty party for President in 1840 and 1844, as well as the period of his retirement (1845-57), is carefully delineated. The author has drawn a well-balanced portrait of this proud, obstinate, ambitious man whose "intellectual convictions" and "deep-seated humanitarianism" permitted him to rise above his human frailties and to do as much as any single individual to formulate the moral, political, and constitutional arguments that led, ultimately, to the abolition of Negro slavery.

ARTHUR R. KOOKER, *University of Southern California*

THE INTIMATE LETTERS OF JOHN CLEVES SYMMES AND HIS FAMILY INCLUDING THOSE OF HIS DAUGHTER MRS. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, WIFE OF THE NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Beverley W. Bond, Jr.* [Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.] (Cincinnati: the Society. 1956. Pp. xxxiii, 174. \$4.50.) In 1926 the editor of this volume published the *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes*. Not until the John C. Short Family Papers were acquired by the Library of Congress (1944) was the publication of the intimate papers of the Symmes family possible. The letters chosen for publication present a picture of frontier life on the Ohio River and range chronologically from 1769 to 1862. The reader is made to feel the spirit of the rapidly developing West in the early eighteenth century, with all its debt and waste, its scarcity of money, and its dreams of a better tomorrow. The struggle to transplant Eastern standards of living, social life, and literary interests to a wilderness in the process of settlement by farmers, trappers and fur traders, uncouth river boatmen, and adventurous merchants was a rigorous one. There were few signal successes, but many disappointments. Two personalities stand out in these letters, John Cleves Symmes and his daughter Anna, who married William Henry Harrison. Anna Harrison's papers were destroyed when her home burned in 1855; there is so little known about her that we are indebted to the editor for these letters. The editing and the mechanics are commendable.

WILLIAM E. SMITH, *Miami University*

LINCOLN FINDS A GENERAL: A MILITARY STUDY OF THE CIVIL WAR. Volume IV. By *Kenneth P. Williams*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. xv, 616. \$7.50.) When the first two volumes of *Lincoln Finds a General* appeared in 1949, the publishers announced that two more volumes, one on U. S. Grant in the West and another on Grant versus Lee in the East, would complete Lincoln's quest. Fortunately, these plans miscarried and Williams settled down to write a careful, detailed history of Grant's western campaigns. The fourth volume, carrying Grant from Iuka to Vicksburg, reveals not only a maturing Grant but an author maturing under the influence of careful scholarship and painstaking research. The first two

volumes were crotchety, filled with opinionated editorials condemning George B. McClellan, and arguing some rather tenuous points after the traditional manner of an arm-chair strategist. The present volume (like the one preceding it) is based on a thorough examination of the *Official Records* and demonstrates, item by item, and without editorial pontification, the superior qualities of Grant as a general. In the process, Don Carlos Buell and William S. Rosecrans emerge as clearly the generals for whom Lincoln was not looking. In the text, the footnotes, and the appendix, the author carefully disposes of the claims of Anna Carroll as a military genius and of Sylvanus Cadwallader as a truthful reporter. Three more volumes are now promised, and at the present rate they bid fair to being the "definitive" history of the Northern armies in the Civil War.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

LINCOLN AS THEY SAW HIM. Edited and narrated by *Herbert Mitgang*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1956. Pp. xv, 519. \$6.00.) Abraham Lincoln's speeches and writings, of course, have been conveniently gathered together. "But," Herbert Mitgang observes, "for a hundred years the full original reports and editorials appearing in the newspapers and periodicals of Lincoln's own time—North, South, East, West and in Europe—have been scattered around the country. This book aims to repair this omission by supplying a modest number of the contemporary judgments and, thus, to unfold Lincoln's life as it appeared to the public of his time." The selections, arranged chronologically from March, 1832, to May, 1865, include viciously hostile as well as eulogistic and more or less impartial comment. Some of them have been frequently quoted and are fairly well known; a few, written by Lincoln or quoting him, are to be found in his *Collected Works*; others are unfamiliar and fresh. The editor's introductions to his pieces are neither very critical nor very informative, and the index lists only periodicals and proper names. The book is not to be compared with the volumes of *Southern Editorials on Secession* and *Northern Editorials on Secession*, published by the American Historical Association, which with their analytical indexes are vastly more useful as sources of newspaper opinion on Lincoln for the limited period they cover. Nor is this book to be compared in usefulness or readability with *The Living Lincoln*, the one-volume abridgment of the *Collected Works* edited by Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers. *Lincoln as They Saw Him* is a minor repair to a major omission. Nevertheless, students of Lincoln and the Civil War are indebted to Mitgang for this much, and Lincoln fans will find a great deal in the book to interest them, though few will have the stamina to read it straight through as a biography. Scholars and general readers alike will be grateful for two of the illustrations, hitherto unpublished drawings of Lincoln which were sketched from life by the French businessman and artist, Pierre Morand.

RICHARD N. CURRENT, *Woman's College, University of North Carolina*

SOUTH AFTER GETTYSBURG: LETTERS OF CORNELIA HANCOCK, 1863-1868. Edited by *Henrietta Stratton Jaquette*. Foreword by *Bruce Catton*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1956. Pp. xii, 288. \$4.00.) Cornelia Hancock, a young Quaker from New Jersey imbued with abolitionist zeal, served as a nurse in the Civil War and taught the freedmen in South Carolina for ten years after the war. This book contains her Civil War letters (originally published in 1937) and the recently discovered postwar letters. The latter constitute a valuable addition although they cover only a short period of her stay in the South. Miss Hancock's style of writing leaves much to be desired. If, however, the reader is willing to plow through many hastily written letters filled with much trivia, he is rewarded by frequent valuable

comments and observations on wartime and postwar conditions. The author had a sincere devotion to the Union, the common soldier, and the Negro; a distrust of the military in general; and an undying hatred of the "Secesh," an attitude that continued into the Reconstruction period. These contemporary letters are more valuable than some of the Civil War memoirs currently coming from the press that often were written after a lapse of years. The book, however, suffers from lack of the kind of thorough editing that would have identified correspondents and other persons, furnished explanatory notes and illustrative maps, and eliminated inconsequential material.

ALLEN J. GOING, *University of Alabama*

HENRY VARNUM POOR: BUSINESS EDITOR, ANALYST, AND REFORMER.

By *Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.* [Studies in Entrepreneurial History published in cooperation with the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. 362. \$6.50.) "The pen was Henry Varnum Poor's calling," writes his great-grandson, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. It was Poor's pen in fact that justifies attention to a life which was otherwise of but passing moment. Poor edited the *American Railroad Journal* during the twelve years before the Civil War, and afterward he launched the important *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, which attached a lasting significance to his name. It is noteworthy that from the beginning, unlike other pioneer business journalists, Poor directed his pen and editorial policies along creative lines. "He was not content merely to report and record," Chandler continues. "Instead he used the data he compiled as a basis for analyzing the problems and suggesting changes and improvements in the industry which his periodicals served." As a result, his importance rests on being one of the first Americans to explore the manifold problems posed by the advent of large-scale business and industry. His career as business editor, analyst, and reformer runs threadlike through the revolutionary changes in mid-nineteenth-century railroading. But more than any other railroad editor and as much as any business editor, Henry Varnum Poor was associated closely with those Eastern financiers and merchants, identified by Professor Cochran in his *Railroad Leaders* (1953), who defined the railroader's business role in the more responsible terms of the "general entrepreneur." Thus Poor's writings afforded an additional link in the behavioral chain "by which the actions of Western and Southern railroad men were guided from almost the very beginning of American railroad expansion by the Eastern 'prescribing group.'" Chandler's study of his ancestor is as thorough as any student of entrepreneurial history could desire. He has used the family papers with effect and repeatedly demonstrates his mastery of contemporary business, railroad, and industrial materials. Indeed, students would do well to consult his bibliographical notes for guidance. Yet this is a turgid and poorly written book. It is true that its theme concentrates on Poor's editorial policies and programs, and not on his life, while detailing problems of railroad construction, finance, competition, and administration. It is true also that this was the proper approach and that a great deal of fresh information becomes available thereby on the early steps toward large business units in the United States. Almost all sense of the historic drama of America's railroads is lost, however, amidst excessive verbiage, as the author submerges himself and his readers in the depths of day-to-day and year-by-year topics and editorials. Again and again, Poor's positions and functions are characterized in terms that grow increasingly hackneyed as the chapters go by. This is regrettable, because Chandler's book is a solid piece of work, the last word on Henry Varnum Poor, one suspects, for a long time. Poor's importance as a business editor is now clearly fixed for historians. Yet

his own blue pencil must have itched, wherever it is that good editors go when they die, to repair this job that has been done on him.

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN, *Bryn Mawr College*

THE SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT OF HENRY ADAMS. By *Henry Wasser*. (Thessalonike: the Author. 1956. Pp. 127.) Scholars have long been fascinated with the enigma of Henry Adams. Many have offered explanations, and some have found a niche in history or intellectual development for the wandering soul he was. All students of Adams have noted his preoccupation with science. Now, for the first time, a scholar not only has said that science is a significant key to Adams' thought but has set as his task the study of this most important phase of Adams' thinking. Dr. Wasser begins with an analysis of Adams' scientific attitude and philosophy, somewhat too short to be satisfactory, and then follows the development of his scientific education and its effects upon his thinking from his interests in biological, geological, and historical evolution, to his interest in mathematics, physics, the second law of thermodynamics, and finally his concept of the rule of phase. The book is a work of literary criticism based primarily upon Adams' published work, with some reference to letters and manuscripts and extensive use of the marginalia in Adams' personal library. It produces no new conclusions about Adams and might have benefited by the acknowledgment of the work of other Adams scholars, especially that of W. H. Jordy, *Henry Adams, Scientific Historian* (1952). Nevertheless, Wasser has performed a valuable service in organizing in one volume Adams' scientific thought and in relating it to the sources from which Adams drew.

DAVID D. VAN TASSEL, *University of Texas*

THE RADICAL NOVEL IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1954: SOME INTER-RELATIONSHIPS OF LITERATURE AND SOCIETY. By *Walter B. Rideout*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 339. \$6.00.) "Radical" is an adjective too commonly used and too infrequently studied. Latterly it has had greater currency as an epithet than as an attribute. Even scholars have been wary of employing it except where historical tradition has properly sanctified its referents. In this study of the radical novel since 1900, Professor Rideout has undertaken "to put the facts into the public domain," where they unquestionably belong. He has succeeded in examining the subject with exemplary calmness and consistent good taste. Economically compressed within 291 pages, the treatment of the radical novel is in four main divisions. The first, the initial two decades of the twentieth century, covers the Socialist novel beginning with Isaac Kahn Friedman's *By Bread Alone* (1901). Almost half a hundred Socialist novels appeared during these years. In the second period, from the Great War to the Great Depression, economic collapse shattered older certainties and endowed the Soviet creed with an appearance of sanity. Ninety "proletarian" novels were submitted in a contest sponsored by the *New Masses* and the publishing house of John Day. Certainties were shattered once again when, in the third stage from 1935 to 1939, the Nazi-Russian pact made the Communist God, until then safe in his Moscow heaven, fail beyond hope of redemption by reason. Even the withering blasts of cold war have been unable to freeze the radical literary stream. At least forty novels have appeared between 1940 and 1954. Dialectics often concerned the radical novelist more than aesthetics. But it was literary theory and fidelity to creative purpose that splintered the literary left. The flaws of society which angered radical writers, however, are of greater historical significance than the flaws of logic which continue to anger conservative critics. Injustice remains injustice regardless of the political credentials of the protestants. And the major significance of

the record, now happily in the public domain, is a record of social protest. No sketch can do justice to these closely packed pages. They are judicious, temperate, and compassionate. The check list of 189 radical novels will be helpful to students, for if the novels were never novels as much as social documents, most of the problems to which they were addressed have still to be solved.

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG, *Sarah Lawrence College*

THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION AND THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, 1900-1925. By *Marguerite Green*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 537. \$5.50.) The National Civic Federation, founded in 1900 or 1901 (the date is uncertain), was designed as a forum for the discussion of national affairs. During its fruitful period, the years prior to World War I, it performed this function and served as a meeting ground where a heterogeneous group of influential men exchanged ideas, attempted to formulate solutions to public problems, and exerted considerable influence on behalf of the moderate progressivism of the time. The NCF was not a one-man outfit. Mark Hanna, Samuel Gompers, Andrew Carnegie, Oscar Straus, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, Mayor Seth Low of New York City, and many others made substantial contributions. But the real force in the NCF was its founder, Ralph Montgomery Easley, a crusading Kansas newspaperman turned national reformer. Easley supplied the enthusiasm, tact, persuasiveness, and skillful guidance principally responsible for the NCF's early success. Marguerite Green's monograph treats only one, but the most important, of the Federation's programs: industrial relations. Consciously pro-labor, yet moderate enough to enlist the support of "enlightened" capitalists, the NCF pioneered in industrial conciliation and mediation and worked for the passage of liberal labor laws. These endeavors assisted in the prevention or solution of an impressive number of labor troubles. The NCF gave material assistance to Gompers' campaign for public acceptance of organized labor. American entry into World War I brought a change. Easley and the dominant members of the NCF "slipped with ease" into ultraconservatism. The emotional impact of the War and the postwar hysteria over Bolshevism washed out their moderate progressivism of earlier years, and NCF's industrial relations program became part of an all-embracing, almost fanatical, campaign against radicalism. Moving so far to the right as to destroy the appeal and influence it had built on a middle-of-the-road foundation, the Federation dwindled away. Miss Green's careful, detailed, dispassionate study, closely documented from primary materials, will naturally appeal to labor historians. It should be called to the attention of intellectual and social historians as well; the NCF and Easley, the organization's genius, reflected a pattern of beliefs and attitudes widespread among leaders of the period.

DAVID M. BEHEN, *Youngstown University*

THE GREATNESS OF WOODROW WILSON, 1856-1956. Arranged and edited by *Em Bowles Alsop*. Introduction by *Dwight D. Eisenhower*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1956. Pp. xiv, 268. \$3.95.) Despite the editor's statement that this volume, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of Wilson's birth, is intended for laymen "who do *not* know Mr. Wilson, or who know him slightly," historians also may read with profit some of the essays by eighteen distinguished persons. Some of the contributions to this work are heavily loaded with eulogy, but others are better balanced and are based on an impressive knowledge of source materials. Scholars interested in twentieth-century American history will welcome Arthur S. Link's essay, "The Progressive," which is for the most part a distillation of his more voluminous work on this subject. It is noteworthy that Link's interpretation in

Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era that Wilson turned to "advanced" progressivism in 1916 merely out of expediency now has a softer and more sympathetic tone. "The Man in History," by Katharine E. Brand, will serve as an invaluable guide for scholars planning to do research in the bulky unpublished materials of the Wilson Papers and in the related personal papers of public figures. Ralph McGill's essay, "The President," is a militant defense of Wilsonian policies. Some of his interpretations are provocative, but at times he becomes too dogmatic, especially when he claims that American membership in the League would have kept the mandates from becoming "little more than subterfuges for old-fashioned imperialism." Other essays in this volume that especially deserve the attention of historians are: "The Political Philosopher," by Walter Lippmann; "The Educator," by Harold W. Dodds; "Wilson to South America," by Luis Quintanilla; "The Man of Faith," by Frank Bell Lewis; "The Internationalist," by Edgar Eugene Robinson; "The Human Being," by Virginius Dabney; and "The Statesman," by Claude G. Bowers. This volume has two basic weaknesses: an inordinate amount of repetition resulting from an overlapping of topics and an unevenness in the quality of the essays.

JOHN WELLS DAVIDSON, *Washington, D. C.*

A CROSSROADS OF FREEDOM: THE 1912 CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF WOODROW WILSON. Edited by *John Wells Davidson*. With a preface by *Charles Seymour*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Woodrow Wilson Foundation; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 570. \$6.00.) Like the newspapers in which they are so extensively reported, presidential campaign speeches are usually of only momentary interest. Occasionally a candidate makes some great pronouncement or drastic shift of position in such an oration, but more often he merely talks, or, as Harding put it, "bloviates," being concerned more with the political effects of his remarks than with their meaning. Historians have long considered Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" addresses an exception to this generalization, and for this reason John W. Davidson's edition of these 1912 campaign speeches is of particular interest. Drawing chiefly upon the shorthand notes of Wilson's stenographer, Charles L. Swem, Davidson has given us all of the most important speeches in accurate form. His introductions provide a day-by-day, indeed almost an hour-by-hour, account of Wilson's campaign. As a result, it is now possible to trace more accurately the development of Wilson's ideas and to pin down more closely where and when he altered and expanded the New Freedom philosophy during the course of the campaign. The only serious weakness in this attractively printed and well-indexed volume is the overly reverential approach of the editor. It is one thing to establish an accurate text and something else to print a sentence "Whom are you afraid of?" and indicate in a footnote that in the actual oration Wilson "inadvertently" said "who." A less worshipful editor would print the word as "Who [*sic*]," or as "Who[m]". When Wilson gets mixed up in his syntax, Davidson apologizes for him in a footnote; when he indulges in a politically necessary misstatement, Davidson tells us that he "evidently did not realize" the truth. This attitude reaches an extreme when the editor refers to the candidate's campaign train as the "faithful Federal." If Davidson had devoted space wasted in such ways to an expansion of his somewhat skimpy introduction and of his inadequate identifications of persons and events mentioned in the speeches, his book would be much improved. Still, the speeches are important, and Davidson is our benefactor for having made them available.

JOHN A. GARRATT, *Michigan State University*

THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT: HOSPITALIZATION AND EVACUATION, ZONE OF INTERIOR. By *Clarence McKittrick Smith*. [U. S. Army in World War

II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 503. \$4.00.) This volume is concerned not with medical and surgical matters per se but with the logistics of first aid, hospitalization, and evacuation. The problem of taking care of sick and wounded men has been of concern to every army throughout history, yet never has it had the magnitude which it assumed in World War II. Never before were our armies so large and so widely dispersed; size and space introduced parameters hitherto unknown in medical logistics. One of the outstanding achievements of medical science in World War II was the low mortality rate from both disease and combat injury. For the first time in military history, more men were killed in battle than died of disease. More wounded men recovered than in earlier wars. The reasons, of course, are many, yet above all others was the logistic element, which made it possible for surgeons, physicians, nurses, and technicians to be maximally effective. Medical victories like military victories are won by getting there "fustest with the mostest." The author has done a competent job of historical synthesis and has skillfully handled a vast mass of documentary material. In developing the story of the Medical Department from the period of waiting in 1939 and partial mobilization in 1940 to full mobilization and global deployment of the Armed Forces at the time of final victory in 1945, he has made a significant contribution to our military history.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND, *Armed Forces Institute of Pathology*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- JAMES LOGAN AND THE CULTURE OF PROVINCIAL AMERICA. By Frederick B. Tolles. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. x, 228. \$3.50.) James Logan lived in an age when a man could take all knowledge to be his province and somehow encompass it. He illustrated, as Tolles points out, "an ideal as old as the Renaissance and already on the decline in England—the ideal of the gentleman scholar, the virtuoso." He also illustrated the opportunities that the New World offered to men of ability and brains to achieve prosperity, power, and prestige, all as a result of their own efforts. Tolles's book is both a fascinating biography of one man and, by implication and suggestion, a description of the

process by which colonial immigrants became Americans. Logan was a Quaker youth, the son of a poor Scottish schoolmaster, who acquired a thirst for knowledge from his father's teaching and by the time he was thirteen gained a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. After serving briefly as an apprentice to a linen draper, substituting for his father as a teacher in a Friends' school, and dabbling in the linen trade in Bristol, in 1699 he attracted the attention of William Penn and agreed to go out to Pennsylvania as the great man's secretary. The story of James Logan and the history of Pennsylvania are henceforth inextricably mixed. Logan eventually found himself the representative of the Lord Proprietor and the mediator between a various and troublesome population and authorities in England. The difficulties of being at once a practicing Quaker and a practical administrator for a frontier commonwealth often resulted in perplexities for Logan and frustrations for the people of Pennsylvania, but Logan, like some other great Quakers, was endowed with common sense. Some of the most interesting passages show the conflict between the theory of Logan's religion and the practical necessities of colonial life. Concerning a fellow Quaker, Edward Shippen, who proved a weak president of the Council, Logan commented that his "niceness in some things will scarce suit the exigencies of our affairs." Logan's genius lay in reconciling his conscience and the need for administrative strength. He proved particularly effective in negotiations with the Indians and for many years almost singlehandedly kept the Indians at peace. Logan acquired wealth as a fur trader, but trade was not an end in itself. He wanted to be a scholar and a gentleman, and by 1730 he had completed a handsome mansion outside of Philadelphia on the Germantown road. He retired to live the life of a Quaker grandee and devote himself to his library and to scientific experimentation. He lived until 1751 and was an active intellectual influence in the colony. He corresponded with scholars and scientists beyond the seas; his classical works and scientific books were available to other colonial scholars; and he encouraged men like Bartram and others to pursue their investigations. Tolles's book is a valuable contribution to the new Library of American Biography edited by Oscar Handlin. It is succinct, accurate, significant, and well written.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT, *Folger Library*

ROCHESTER: THE QUEST FOR QUALITY, 1890-1925. By *Blake McKelvey*. [Rochester Public Library, Kate Gleason Fund Publications, Number 3.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 432. \$6.00.) In his third volume of the history of Rochester, Dr. McKelvey has written what could well be the general biography of almost any Middle Western city in that period. He ably shows the forces exerted on and by the city in every phase of life. The early 1890's saw Rochester a satisfied and confident city, but "disquieting tensions" soon forced adjustment to meet rapidly changing situations. In all things the citizens sought "quality" to prove Rochester was "no mean city." Civic pride and desire for accomplishment were demonstrated by the intense intercity rivalry in which Rochesterians were determined to outshine all others in areas ranging from good government and social and cultural achievements to garbage disposal. At home there was a rash of committees to study questions and mergers, federations, and confederations to prevent wasteful duplication of effort and competition. In politics the "quest for quality" meant good government instead of boss rule, proper control of utilities, city planning, adequate public recreation, good schools, better housing, and improved public health. In economic life quality meant not only finer products to bear the label "Made in Rochester" but also the solution of all industrial and labor problems. In social life it meant proper adjustment to a new foreign population and meeting the needs

created by the weakening of family ties as individuality gave way before mass or spectator events. In religious life the social gospel tended to lessen strict denominationalism and promote cooperation among all faiths. There was a widespread effort to build increased pride in the city's cultural arts and to diffuse them through all classes. Although the ideal in any particular area of endeavor was seldom achieved, all problems were tackled with vigor. Despite local jealousies and conflicting personalities, Rochester could say with pride that it was a better place because of its efforts to find quality. McKelvey has done an admirable piece of research and writing in weaving a myriad of facts into a central theme; Rochester should be congratulated for having such a competent historian.

JOE L. NORRIS, *Wayne State University*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE PRESENT STATE OF VIRGINIA, FROM WHENCE IS INFERRED A SHORT VIEW OF MARYLAND AND NORTH CAROLINA. By *Hugh Jones*. Edited with an introduction by *Richard L. Morton*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Virginia Historical Society. 1956. Pp. xiv, 295. \$5.00.) Students of the colonial period in general and of the Old Dominion in particular will be grateful that Richard L. Morton has brought out a new and scholarly edition of Hugh Jones's treatise on eighteenth-century Virginia, first published in 1724, last printed by Sabin in 1865, and now exceedingly scarce. This invaluable source book has been prefaced by an "Editor's Introduction," in which Morton, drawing upon a lifetime's research in Virginia history and generously acknowledging and utilizing the preceding work of other scholars, has condensed into forty-four pages a model brief biography of Jones and conditions in England, Virginia, and Maryland. The Reverend Mr. Jones, whose objects in writing his book about Virginia were to supplement historical knowledge of the colony and to promote its development, has described with insight the town of Williamsburg, the geography, climate, flora and fauna, Indian population, Negroes and Negro slavery (which institution, in common with enlightened eighteenth-century Virginians he desired to diminish), the church and clergy, development of economic life (especially encouragement of iron works), and the fitting of his proposals for manufacture and commerce into the larger pattern of British mercantilist policy. Jones, also noted as a grammarian and mathematician, in appendixes to the text of his main work, sketched several "schemes" for the improvement of education, trade, manufacturing, and religion in the colony. Of interest are his proposals for the organization and curriculum of the College of William and Mary, in which he urged the creation of six chairs, one of which would be for history. Noteworthy also are his wise suggestions for the liberalization of mercantilism, which if followed in London might have lessened frictions later in the century. Jones concluded that there could never be "room for real apprehension of danger of a revolt of the plantations in future ages" and adduced supporting arguments. The volume is enriched by more than a hundred pages of explanatory notes, which themselves constitute a course in colonial history, and by several reproductions of original plates from Jones's books.

OLLINGER CRENSHAW, *Newport, Rhode Island*

THE CAROLINA CHRONICLE OF DR. FRANCIS LE JAU, 1706-1717. Edited, with an introduction and notes by *Frank J. Klingberg*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 220. \$3.50.) Francis Le Jau, French Huguenot by origin, was a dedicated missionary who wrote detailed reports to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. These letters, seventy-one in number, mostly addressed to the Secretary of the London Society, constitute a valuable addition to the sources of Carolina history in troubled times. His Goose Creek parish, near Charleston, was strongly Anglican; his parishioners included prospering planters who were leaders in the church party and the affairs of the province. Yet he had to report dismayingly obstacles to his threefold task of promoting Anglican Christianity among the whites, the slaves, and—on the whole not very actively—among the Indians. The dissenters, numerous in the colony though not in his parish, were bent, he believed, on securing an independent establishment; even among the better sort of churchmen he encountered materialism and indifference, if not always active opposition to his efforts to teach and convert their slaves. It was a vigorous, violent society that he pictured, capable of fortitude in time of desperate danger—as his graphic accounts of the Yamasee War

reveal—and capable also of tragic inhumanity in race relations and the conduct of the Indian trade. There are explanatory footnotes and a useful introduction.

V. W. CRANE, *University of Michigan*

ROBERT OLIVER, MERCHANT OF BALTIMORE, 1783-1819. By *Stuart Weems Bruchey*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXIV, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1956. Pp. 411, ix. \$5.00.) This is an account of the business activities of one of the leading merchants of Baltimore during the decades immediately following the American Revolution. Robert Oliver came from northern Ireland to Baltimore in 1783 with little or no money but with plenty of business acumen. Acting first in one partnership and then in another, he built up a fortune of more than a million dollars—a very large amount for that day. Astute in taking advantage of mercantile opportunities in troubled times, he was especially successful in trade with Vera Cruz during the period of the Napoleonic Wars when the Spanish colonies in America were temporarily opened to some outside commerce. A conservative, Oliver was a staunch supporter of the Federalist party. The author made this study for his doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins. His chief source has been the Oliver Record Books in the Maryland Historical Society, a fine set of business records; to a lesser extent he has used various other manuscript sources and both primary and secondary printed materials. While it is understood that the writer was not attempting to produce a general history of the period, and even though he does present a good deal of background information, the present reviewer feels it would have been helpful to paint the broad picture a little more clearly and to compare and contrast conditions in Baltimore with those in other American ports of the period. Dr. Bruchey has done a tremendous amount of careful research; his product is well organized and clearly presented and seems to cover the subject adequately. On the whole, the work maintains a high standard of scholarship and will take its place among the best of the growing number of publications on American commercial history.

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *North Carolina Department of Archives and History*

CHEROKEES OF THE OLD SOUTH: A PEOPLE IN TRANSITION. By *Henry Thompson Malone*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 238. \$4.50.) The author attempts to trace Cherokee borrowings from white culture to the date when Andrew Jackson banished the tribe from the Southeast. Malone asserts that previous scholarship has emphasized political relations between the two cultures and has neglected the acculturation of the Indians. I am not sure, however, that the book is as original as its author claims. To the specialist much of the material is familiar, although admittedly it is convenient to have it gathered into a single volume. Malone has used the hitherto unexplored manuscripts of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, but he seems not to have found extensive unpublished records of the important Baptist, Presbyterian, Moravian, and Methodist missions. For some unexplained reason, he has evidently not examined the notable Payne manuscripts in the Newberry Library, although he seems acquainted with the standard ethnological and historical literature. The range in time and topic attempted in this book perhaps dictated superficiality of treatment. The author covers much territory, but one finds little that changes previous impressions or offers new insights. Acculturation is a subtle process, full of pitfalls for the unwary. Adequate treatment of the subject requires a measure of intellectual sophistication that does not seem evident in this volume. One cannot dismiss the fact that Cherokee nationalism deepened with the progressive assimilation of white techniques. The improvising of

a Cherokee syllabary and the development of representative government, for example, stimulated and solidified national sentiment. The expulsion of the Cherokee is a classic instance of the persecution of a cultural minority; the success of the tribe in adopting white culture made possible the formulation, diffusion, and perpetuation of a group consciousness that helped the tribe survive in the West until American democracy again assailed it.

THOMAS LEDUC, *Oberlin College*

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE TEXAS REPUBLIC, 1836-1845. By *Stanley Siegel*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 281. \$5.00.) Originally a doctoral dissertation, this book is a careful synthesis of published materials reinforced by the author's own research in manuscript sources. In view of the advanced status of Texas historiography, as reflected in published bibliographies and lists of theses and dissertations in Texas history, it is surprising that no such study as this had previously appeared. The work was needed and admirably complements William R. Hogan's *The Texas Republic*, published in 1946, which was confined to social and economic history. With austere economy of words, Siegel compresses the complex events of the Revolution into a chapter, deals with the successive administrations of the presidents of the Republic in four chapters, and then devotes the last to annexation, a theme which necessarily runs throughout the book. The history is essentially narrative rather than descriptive and interpretative. Politics in the Republic, the author insists, were almost wholly personal and concerned men and methods rather than issues. On genuine problems—frontier defense, maintenance of independence, securing recognition, and improvement of the economy—there was general agreement. Favorites were nominated on personal grounds, and then so-called issues were concocted for ammunition to be used in mowing down opposing ranks, a political phenomenon never confined to Texas alone. The reviewer, granting that personalities dominated politics and that genuine issues were not conspicuous in platforms and stump speeches, would have welcomed more emphasis on the motivations of leadership. Struggle for power and influence was real, and insofar as politics was its battleground the struggle was a proper subject for emphasis in political history. The volume has informative illustrations, good index and documentation, and a thorough bibliography, in which the reviewer notices nothing of importance missing unless it be the writings of William Bollaert.

TED R. WORLEY, *Arkansas History Commission*

WILLIAM BOLLAERT'S TEXAS. Edited by *W. Eugene Hollon* and *Ruth Lapham Butler*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press in cooperation with the Newberry Library, Chicago. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 423. \$5.00.) A keen eye and a deft pen are the necessary wherewithal for the preparation of a worthwhile diary, and William Bollaert possessed both. This English soldier of fortune toured the infant Republic of Texas from February, 1842, to July, 1844, visiting the settlements at Galveston, Houston, Austin, Columbus, San Antonio, Montgomery, and Huntsville, as well as the Indian country around the Kennedy grant in southwest Texas. He looked closely at what he saw and faithfully recorded his observations of the country and its people. Very little escaped Bollaert's notice. He was introduced to such dignitaries as Houston, Lamar, and Burnet, attended the partisan political rallies which marked the Houston-Lamar struggle, and kept himself informed on the political intrigues of the annexationists. He rapidly adopted the Texan's attitude toward Mexico, joined the Texas Navy, and sailed for a short cruise aboard a privateer. He not only remarked about those two topics which invariably interested all visitors to Texas—rattlesnakes

and northers—but also investigated the procedures for growing, ginning, and marketing cotton and made a revealing survey of the myths and realities of the “peculiar institution” as it operated in Texas. He associated freely with the people; attended their parties, hunting trips, camp meetings, weddings, and horse races; contracted their diseases and swallowed their remedies; ate their food, smoked and chewed their tobacco, and drank their whiskey, egg nog, and persimmon beer. And he wrote about it all. Editors Hollon and Butler have labored fruitfully. In making available this travel account by a man who was congenial with Texans and optimistic about Texas, they have made a significant contribution to the study of social history in the Republic of Texas on the eve of annexation.

OTIS A. SINGLETARY, *University of Texas*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE EARLY JACKSON PARTY IN OHIO. By *Harry R. Stevens*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 187. \$4.50.) This is a book exciting in design but proportionately disappointing in execution. The author set out to answer some big questions about the origins of our party system by scrutinizing closely a limited but representative segment of the development. Unfortunately he has been overwhelmed by the staggering array of information he amassed on the growth of the Jackson party in Ohio preliminary to the presidential election of 1824. In apparent despair of coping with his notes, he has simply shoehorned into his brief text a wilderness of detail about countless political events and personalities, dooming the reader to bewilderment and frustration. There are, to be sure, three chapters of "background" material, including some pregnant data on the impact of the Panic of 1819, and a final chapter of conclusions and reflections. But the "background" is never related systematically to the political events, while the generalizations of the final chapter revolve around a literal-minded preoccupation with the mechanics of political action and are couched in language better calculated to obscure than to clarify meaning. The result is an unhappy compromise between the article which might have communicated the author's present conclusions more tellingly and the big, rich book which his command of the sources might have equipped him to write. The present book does have the negative merit of demonstrating the complex and unstructured pattern of political forces operating in the 1820's, and it may be helpful as a source book to future students of this period in Ohio politics. But even for the latter purpose its usefulness is seriously impaired by a system of sketchy documentation which leaves the reader to guess at most of the author's sources.

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR., *Princeton University*

WESTERNIZED YANKEE: THE STORY OF CYRUS WOODMAN. By *Larry Gara*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1956. Pp. x, 254. \$4.50.) The story of Cyrus Woodman—Maine born, Bowdoin, Boston, and Harvard trained, land agent, attorney, speculator, railroad supervisor, and business venturer—is an interesting example of the current surge of writing in business history. The book illustrates the relationship of land, townsites, and transportation facilities (roads, bridges, canals, and railroads) for investors in the middle half of the nineteenth century. Cyrus Woodman, after his law study in Boston, came to Winslow, Illinois, on the boundary

of Wisconsin, as a land agent for a Boston investor's company. After closing out the properties of this company, in 1844 he joined Cadwallader C. Washburn in a law and business partnership, at Mineral Point, Wisconsin Territory, which continued until Washburn entered Congress in 1855. The partners carried on a wide variety of business in land sales, investments, collections, banking, lead mining, and manufacturing. Woodman's later business enterprises included a grocery store, saw milling, and railroad promotion in Wisconsin and supervision of the Burlington and Missouri River railroad construction from Plattsmouth to Lincoln, Nebraska. Woodman followed the gold rush to California, where he transacted business for clients in both East and West, but his interest in California was transitory, and he was back at Mineral Point within six months. He took his family to Europe, to provide his children the educational opportunities that he had missed, and removed them to Cambridge at the outbreak of the Civil War, apparently with this same idea in mind. It seems that the "Yankee" was never quite "westernized," nor was his business success quite an adequate goal for his ambitions, but he never succeeded in making the transition to a public service. He was one of Lyman Draper's and the infant Wisconsin Historical Society's most dependable patrons, donating both money and materials for its early collections. A fortune of roughly half a million dollars was distributed in his will, but despite the vast volume of Woodman's papers and his systematic recording and accounting, the reader is never given a complete picture of his fortune and holdings at any one time. The story of Cyrus Woodman is interestingly told and presents a realistic picture which the reader can accept with confidence. It is built in the main upon the extensive Woodman manuscripts at the Wisconsin Historical Society.

J. L. SELLERS, *University of Nebraska*

FILINGS FROM AN OLD SAW: REMINISCENCES OF SAN FRANCISCO AND CALIFORNIA'S CONQUEST BY "FILINGS"—JOSEPH T. DOWNEY. Edited by *Fred Blackburn Rogers*. (San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell, Publisher. 1956. Pp. vi, 170.)

CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH MERCHANT: THE JOURNAL OF STEPHEN CHAPIN DAVIS. Edited by *Benjamin B. Richards*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1956. Pp. xvii, 124. \$5.00.) California has one of the best documented histories of the development of a frontier, since this movement was accompanied by daily newspapers, diaries, memoirs, letters, and records of various kinds. Annually, more of this vast accumulation is published. *Filings from an Old Saw* is a reprint of eighteen articles published in 1853 by San Francisco's *Golden Era*, one of California's early newspapers that sought to fill a local literary vacuum. Although signed with the pseudonym of Filings, these are the reminiscences of at least two, or possibly three, different persons who conveyed them to the author. Fred B. Rogers has identified Filings as Joseph T. Downey, an enlisted man on the American warship *Portsmouth*, which sailed into Monterey and San Francisco Bays in 1846. These memoirs concerning the American conquest of California between 1845 and 1847 provide interesting new material, such as descriptions of the raising of the American flag in San Francisco on July 9, 1846, the battle of San Pascual, and Fremont's march to Cahuenga Pass. The reminiscences are also valuable for their espousal of the then current American version of the conquest of California, an example of which is the account of the Hawke's Peak incident involving Fremont. The book is interesting, humorous, and valuable reading for the California historian, although not entirely accurate. *California Gold Rush Merchant* is a young man's journal containing some 380 entries recorded during his two trips to California between 1850 and 1854. The journal is

distinctive because its author, only seventeen years old in 1850, was of a religious nature and had a leaning to commercial speculation rather than to gold mining and the popular pleasures of California at that time. During his first visit to California, young Davis operated a store at Long Bar on the Yuba River about ten miles east of Marysville; during his second trip, he built and managed a store at Coulterville in the southern mines region. His comments on life aboard ship and crossing the isthmus are both graphic and significant. Of particular interest are his incidental notations, which reveal certain aspects of California life not generally stressed—the frequent and easy movement throughout northern California, the frequency with which Californians visited in eastern states, and the suggestion that the gold rush extended at least until 1854 when thousands awaited transportation to the Atlantic coast. The author's list of the costs and retail prices of specific items of merchandise in 1850 is a helpful contribution. The lack of adequate maps is regrettable.

J. A. McGOWAN, *Sacramento State College*

THE CHISHOLM TRAIL. By *Wayne Gard*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 296. \$4.50.) Wayne Gard, an editorial writer for the *Dallas Morning News*, turns his hand once more to a western theme worthy of book-length development. *The Chisholm Trail* reaffirms the opinion held by his admirers that he is not only a capable and talented writer but a historian of sharp insight and provocative interpretation. While many historians must be content with merely posing questions, there is something of the playwright in Gard as he molds his material into an epic of the West and writes about all trails along which the frontier moved—long or short, well-known or obscure, dim or well-worn. This volume may well become a classic in the literature concerning the early cattle industry and its environment. The Chisholm Trail had earlier counterparts and probably served as a pattern for later ones. However, its true magnitude rests on the prodigious fact that it acted as a passage for the greatest pastoral movement in the history of the world. In and out, the sinuous highway winds its way through the story as an integrating and captivating force. Strung along its tortuous way, on the ever northward thrust, are the many facets of the cattleman's frontier—the rampaging streams, the crushing herds, the flashing scalping knives—all hazards of the trail. This is no highly specialized study of a segment of the frontier; each chapter contributes to the larger picture of the range cattle industry during the last half of the nineteenth century. Chapters titled "Man of Enterprise," "Trouble at the Border," "Prosperity and Panic," "Rival Cow Towns," "Grass Land Empire," and "Barbed-Wire Barriers" reveal the depth and breadth of the story. All available sources were thoroughly explored, as is evidenced by a dozen or more pages of bibliography. In addition, the author shows balance and variety in the use of these sources; contemporary newspaper items and accounts point up and complement public records, documents, manuscripts, and scholarly publications. *The Chisholm Trail* is an excellent piece of Western Americana, displaying exceptional artistic and historical merits.

CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER, *University of Arkansas*

EDWARD PALMER: PLANT EXPLORER OF THE AMERICAN WEST. By *Rogers McVaugh*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 430. \$6.00.) Primarily this book is neither history nor biography. A geographical index forms the greater part, identifying the thousands of places in western United States and Mexico visited by Edward Palmer. Other listings recite, locate, or characterize his collections and field notes. Altogether these units are the calendar of a great nineteenth-century collector and make a useful research tool for professional botanists.

The author even extends the elaboration of Palmer's collections into the 120-page narrative of his life, which is, very largely, the itinerary of a man who traveled long and far enough to gather 100,000 specimens of plants. There is every evidence here of accuracy and thoroughness. Professor McVaugh has pored over maps and done field sleuthing in the states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, and Jalisco. In the end he became authoritative enough to improve on Palmer's own memory of his whereabouts and to decode some atrocious spelling—botanical or geographical—in his notes and labels. The scientific objective of this volume limits its attractiveness for historians, and except for the very specialized research scholar, I would not recommend it as reading. Palmer lived the professional life of a solitary collector (he never worked well in collaboration). He was no botanist in the best contemporary meaning of the word, because he did not name or classify his specimens. He left that task to Gray, Watson, or Engelmänn, who testified how much they relied on him, intellectual tramp though he was, by basing two thousand species of plants, nomenclaturally, on his findings. But he showed no interest in the larger intellectual world of American botany; deep feelings found expression only when he believed his monetary stake in collections was threatened.

THOMAS MANNING, *Texas Technological College*

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Latin American History

Stanley J. Stein¹

LA FLORIDA DEL INCA: HISTORIA DEL ADELANTADO HERNANDO DE SOTO, GOBERNADOR Y CAPITÁN GENERAL DEL REINO DE LA FLORIDA, Y DE OTROS HEROICOS CABALLEROS ESPAÑOLES E INDIOS. By *Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*. Prólogo por *Aurelio Miró Quesada*. [Biblioteca Americana serie de Cronistas de Indias, Number 31.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1956. Pp. xcii, 471.) The bibliography of this classic narrative of the De Soto expedition is peculiarly uneven. All of the eight French editions appeared between 1670

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

and 1751 and all of the five German editions appeared between 1753 and 1796. Two of the three English editions are being published in the 1950's. The present text, which is the fifth Spanish edition, will answer a need in the Spanish-speaking world, since earlier Spanish issues have without exception become rare, and none have been printed for over a century. This is a modernized text, in accordance with Biblioteca Americana policy, the material modernized being that of the original edition of Lisbon, 1605. It contains a biobibliographical prologue by Aurelio Miró Quesada and a bibliography by José Durand, but the remainder of its critical apparatus depends in large part on the English translation by John and Jeannette Varner of 1951. Readers familiar with the literature on De Soto will find little that is new in this work beyond the interpretative Miró Quesada essay, which traces Garcilaso's life in Peru and Spain, comments upon his literary production (the translation of the *Diálogos de Amor*, the *Relación de . . . Garcí-Pérez*, the *Florida del Inca* itself, and his most celebrated work, the *Comentarios Reales* of Peru), and evaluates his talents as writer and historian. Though conventional, the interpretation is lucid and convincing, and Miró Quesada is at his most effective in analyzing the half-literary, half-historical impulses of this Peruvian mestizo against the background of the Spanish Renaissance tradition.

CHARLES GIBSON, *Harvard University*

THE CONQUISTADORS. By *Jean Descola*. Translated by *Malcolm Barnes*. (New York: Viking Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 404. \$5.00.) This book belongs in the exclamation mark school of history! In seeking to make the already almost unbelievable exploits of Columbus, Cortes, Pizarro, and other conquistadors incredible, the author has written in a "breathless" style. The result is a narrative frequently entertaining, as the simplest story of the conquest cannot avoid being, but abounding in errors. We learn that "while Vasco da Gama prepared to round the Cape of Good Hope, bold adventurers prospected the Indian and Chinese coasts." Europeans? Who were they? On the same page, the Copernican discoveries are used to bolster the background material for Columbus and Vasco da Gama. The author also states that "Alvarez Cabral, pushed westward by the currents when within sight of the Cape of Good Hope" discovered Brazil; that Bernal Díaz held the position of Chronicler of Cortes' expedition; and that "while . . . somewhere in Yucatán a group of scholars was inventing a calendar, Charlemagne was crowned emperor." In fact, the Maya calendar was probably inaugurated about 580 B.C. We are told that during the time of Montezuma "whole herds had died mysteriously." Herds of what animals? There were no domestic herds in Mexico before the conquest. Also it is obvious that the author does not know the difference between Oaxaca and Cuernavaca and believes that Yucatan (about 80,000 square miles) is larger than France and that the Inca Empire covered "almost the whole of South America." The above are but samples of the "information" in this work, entirely unsupported either by citations or bibliography. It is evident that the author worked from very limited sources which he assimilated imperfectly. In view of its limitations, it is difficult to see what use the book can have to anybody. The specialists can only be annoyed by it, the public misinformed on many points. Why was it written? Why translated?

BAILEY W. DIFFIE, *City College of New York*

FLORENTINE CODEX. Book XII, THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations by *Arthur J. O. Anderson* and *Charles E. Dibble*. [Monographs of the School of American Research, Number 14, Part XIII.] (Santa Fe, N. Mex.: School of American Research and University of Utah. 1955. Pp. 122. \$6.50.) The publication of Book XII of this great Codex brings this

English version of Sahagún to the halfway mark, and if the remaining volumes are done as carefully and richly as this, the total project, completed, will be a true monument in Mexican historiography and undoubtedly a stimulant, in the English-speaking world, to interest in Mexican indigenous culture. The books not yet completed in this vast project are IV, V, VI, IX, X, and XI. For the scholar, this present volume should help in clearing up previously disputed passages of the original (which was examined by one of the translators specifically for this purpose). The notes are abundant and seem to cover any possible question. The Aztec and English run in parallel columns throughout, and the notes give corresponding Spanish versions and other explanation. Twenty-one pages of fine, clear illustrations from the Codex advantageously located in the center of the book; each page contains an average of some eight or nine actual drawings of different events, with descriptive titles in English. For the interested nonscholar, these illustrations should prove quite fascinating; they are certainly some of the best now easily available to the reading public in this country. The phase of the Codex discussed in the present volume is, in effect, a climax describing the clash of European and Indian cultures. It is, of course, one of the principal sources of what knowledge we have concerning the Indian views of conquest from overseas, and it is an eminently worthwhile project to place all this, in such attractive form, before English readers. The quaintness of language and concepts is well carried over from the Aztec to the English. Completion of this vast translating and publishing project will certainly call for a full review of the total work. For the occasion of printing this volume, a reviewer can do no better, I think, than encourage those engaged in the undertaking to continue in their present excellence; all concerned in the project are to be congratulated for courage and actual performance.

PHILIP W. POWELL, *Santa Barbara, California*

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- O'BALLANCE, EDGAR. *The Arab-Israeli War, 1948*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1957. Pp. 220. \$4.75.
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- YATES, NORRIS W. *William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times: A Study of the Big Bear School of Humor*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 222. \$5.00.
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American Historical Association

The 1957 meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Hotel Statler, New York City, December 28-30. The Council will meet December 27.

The American Historical Association received in April, 1957, a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to enable it to develop further the study and teaching of South Asian history in the United States. This grant will be used to bring foreign historical scholars with expert competence in the history of South Asia (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Nepal) to the United States as visiting professors (normally for one academic year). The grant gives an opportunity for approximately fifteen such visits between 1957 and 1962. In line with the objectives of the grant, the Association will be able to assist universities that have already shown interest in South Asian studies to extend in breadth and depth their offerings relating to South Asia and develop major programs for the training of scholars in South Asian history. The grant will be administered with the aid of the Association's Committee on South Asian History: Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; David Owen, Harvard University; Earl H. Pritchard, University of Chicago.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received the personal and professional papers of John Franklin Jameson (1859-1937) as a gift from his son, Francis Christie Jameson, and the Carnegie Institution of Washington. As teacher, editor, director of historical research at the Carnegie Institution, and chief of the Library's Manuscript Division, Dr. Jameson did much to promote research in American history and establish high standards of workmanship. He was a moving force behind the copying of archival materials relating to American history abroad, the compilation of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the establishment of the National Archives, the building of a great collection of personal papers in the Library of Congress, and many other projects that enlarged the resources of historians of this country. His papers, which reflect these accomplishments, number about 78,000 pieces in the period from 1867 to 1937. Included are family correspondence and diaries for the years 1867-1921 (these may be consulted only by special per-

mission, which should be requested through the chief of the Manuscript Division) and extensive files of correspondence during his service with the Carnegie Institution.

Some 17,500 papers of Henry T. Allen (1859-1930) have been presented to the Library by his son, Colonel Henry T. Allen, Jr. Composed of extensive correspondence files, journals, military reports, and speeches, dated from 1878 to 1930, the papers cover the various phases of General Allen's career. His first assignment took him to Alaska with an exploring party in 1885-1886. He served subsequently as military attaché in Saint Petersburg (1890-1895) and Berlin (1897-1898), as Governor of Leyte in the Philippines (1901), and as a member of the Mexican Expedition (1916). General Allen led the 90th Division in World War I and was appointed Commander of the American Forces of Occupation on the Rhine. In 1928, having retired from military life, he was active in organizing veterans groups to support Alfred E. Smith in the presidential election.

The Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich papers have been more than doubled in size by a gift of about 5,000 pieces from his children. The new material dates from 1879 to 1906 and thus covers a large part of the period Mr. Aldrich served in Congress as Representative (1879-1881) and Senator (1881-1911) from Rhode Island. The Aldrich papers may be consulted only by special permission.

Microfilm copies of the following manuscripts in the Public Record Office in London are among recent additions to the Library's collection of foreign reproductions: 618 additional volumes of British embassy and consular correspondence, which complete the Library's holdings of class 115 of Foreign Office records through the year 1901; 20 volumes of miscellaneous materials, dated between 1783 and 1828, in class 6 of the records of the Board of Trade; all of class 12 (146 volumes) of Audit Office records, concerned with claims of American Loyalists; and 20 volumes of original correspondence of the Secretary of State, 1720-1761, and intercepted letters, 1775-1783, in class 5 of the Colonial Office records.

The library of Texas Southern University, Houston, has opened to scholars the Heartman Negro Collection. There are approximately 15,000 items in the collection, consisting of books, pamphlets, periodicals, maps, broadsides, documents, almanacs, lithographs, oil paintings, musical scores, clippings, cartoons, and various curios, dating from 1600 to 1955. The literature is not only devoted to the Negro in the United States; it contains information dealing with the background and development of the Negro in every section of the globe. At present, emphasis is placed on the historical, rather than the contemporary, aspect of the negro contribution to world progress and impact on world culture. The Library welcomes suggestions for new materials to be added to the collection.

The papers of Count Revilla-Gigedo, Spanish Viceroy of Mexico (1789-1794), have been given to the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. The collection, which contains much new source material on the history of the North American West, contains thirty-seven folio volumes, of which twelve are

monographs by explorers and scientists in government employ and twenty-five are the Viceroy's hitherto unedited and unpublished correspondence with the Spanish ministries. About 5,000 letters are in the collection, including some 220 about the Nootka Sound Controversy in the Pacific Northwest. Notable among the monographs is the unpublished diary of the leader of the Nootka Expedition of 1792, including drawings and maps, which was believed to be lost until now.

The Mills College Library, Oakland, California, recently acquired the Hitchcock-Coit collection of about 3,000 letters and fifty diaries extending from 1702 to 1929. The earliest papers are those of the James Hunter family in Virginia, including letters by James Monroe, James Madison, General Nathanael Greene, and Alexander Stephens, and Hunter's letter books, 1782-1787, with copies of his letters to Edmund Randolph, John Banks, Nathanael Greene, Edward Rutledge, and others. Among the curious items is a memorandum signed by Patrick Henry. The diaries of Captain Nathaniel Wyche Hunter describe the campaign against the Seminole Indians in Florida, 1839-1840. The papers of Dr. and Mrs. Charles Hitchcock deal with his service as a surgeon in the Mexican War and give observations of the Hitchcock family in California from 1850 to 1875. The papers of Lillie Hitchcock Coit, for whom the well-known tower overlooking San Francisco Bay is named, record her impressions from 1890 to 1911.

Mrs. E. P. Ellwood of DeKalb, Illinois, has given the archives and western history department of the University of Wyoming the records of the Isaac L. Ellwood Barbed Wire Companies, one of the first to sell barbed wire in the American West. The Ellwood records consist of 125 letter file boxes, 75 letter press books, 60 ledgers, and a large amount of unclassified correspondence.

The Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires has established a new division called Biblioteca y Publicaciones. The Archivo General already had an extensive library, to which have now been added the library of the historian, Dr. Ernesto H. Celesia, containing an extensive collection of documents and early Argentine periodicals and 30,000 volumes on the history of the Río de la Plata; the Archivo Gráfico, consisting not only of photographs and prints but also of motion picture films, tape recordings, and phonograph records pertaining to the history of Argentina; the Archivo de Tribunales, consisting of about 10,000 legajos; the Archivo de la ex-Secretaría de Asuntos Técnicos of approximately 800 legajos and 100 books; the Archivo de la Contaduría General de la Nación of 225 legajos covering the years 1860 to 1900; the Archivo del Ministerio del Interior comprising 1,128 legajos covering the presidencies of Mitre, Sarmiento, Avellaneda, Roca, Juárez Celman, Pellegrini, Luis Sáenz Peña, J. E. Uriburu, and many others.

A group of German scholars, of the Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien, headed by Professor Helmut Kuhn, America Institute, University of Munich, is engaged in a fresh survey of American materials in German archives with a view to the

creation of a union catalogue at a German university. Interested American scholars may care to communicate with Professor Kuhn.

The National Park Service wishes to obtain material (contemporary maps, letters, diaries) relating to the First and Second Battles of Manassas (Bull Run). Communications should be sent to Francis F. Wilshin, Superintendent, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Manassas, Virginia.

The Society for French Historical Studies held its annual conference at Hunter College on February 1 and 2, 1957. Papers were presented by David L. Dowd, University of Florida; Elinor Barber, Radcliffe; George V. Taylor, University of North Carolina; Carl Lokke, National Archives; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Roger L. Williams, Antioch College; John Woodall, Salzburg Seminar; Henry W. Ehrmann, University of Colorado; Philip M. Williams, Oxford; Father de Bertier de Sauvigny, Institut Catholique de Paris; and Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University. The president of the Society, Professor Beatrice Hyslop of Hunter College, and the vice-president, Father Joseph Moody of Notre Dame College of Staten Island, headed the arrangements committee. Professor Harold T. Parker of Duke University was elected president for the coming year and Professor James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina, vice-president. The next conference will be held in 1958 at Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Information about the Society may be obtained from the secretary-treasurer, Professor David H. Pinkney, 318 Jesse Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The eighth Southwest Conference, entitled "The Southwest and Mexico at Mid-Century," was held at Occidental College, March 22-23, to explore present problems of Mexico and the American Southwest in the light of the past. Dr. Enrique Beltrán, professor of biology at the University of Mexico and director of the Instituto Mexicano de Recursos Naturales Renovables, addressed a dinner meeting, speaking on the role of natural resources in Mexico's past and future. At luncheon, the architect Carlos Contreras spoke on urban growth and architecture. In the afternoon discussion, Thomas C. Donnelly, president of New Mexico Highlands University; Howard F. Cline, director of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress; and Paul Oppermann, director, Department of City Planning, City and County of San Francisco, discussed "Land and People: Growth and Vitality." These participants, with President Arthur G. Coons of Occidental College, later covered other aspects of past and present problems, dealing mostly with urbanization.

The Institute of Early American History sponsored during the week of April 8-12 a Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Colonial History. Participants were a group of fifteen visiting scholars and an equal number of scholars from the Williamsburg area. Discussions centered on "The Indian in Seventeenth Century America," based on papers by Wilcomb E. Washburn of the Institute and Nancy O. Lurie of the University of Michigan; "People and Classes," based on papers by

Mildred Campbell of Vassar College and Bernard Bailyn of Harvard; "Church and State," based on papers by Philip N. Haffenden of the University of Toronto, William H. Seiler of Kansas State Teachers College, and Emil Oberholzer, Jr., of the College of the City of New York; and "History in the Seventeenth Century," based on a paper by Richard S. Dunn of the University of Michigan. A final evening lecture, "The Place of the Seventeenth Century in the History of the United States," was presented by Oscar Handlin of Harvard University.

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at the Harvard Faculty Club in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 27, 1957. The president of the Academy, Professor Austin P. Evans of Columbia University, delivered an address, "Hunting 'Subversion' in the Middle Ages." Ernest Hatch Wilkins of Newton, Massachusetts, President Emeritus of Oberlin College, was elected new president. The Haskins Medal was awarded to Elias Avery Lowe of the Institute for Advanced Study for his *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. At the annual meeting of the Fellows, papers were read by Dr. Dimitri Obolensky of the University of Oxford, Visiting Professor of Russian History at Yale University; by Dr. Paul Oskar Kristeller, Columbia University; and by Joan Wake, Honorable Secretary of the Northamptonshire Record Society. Berthold Louis Ullman of the University of North Carolina was elected president of the Fellows.

A hundred historians attended the Upper Midwest History Conference, April 27, 1957, at the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, to hear the Very Reverend James P. Shannon, president of the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul, speak on "Catholic Colonization on the Western Frontier."

At the fiftieth meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held in Lincoln, Nebraska, May 2-4, Wendell H. Stephenson, University of Oregon, was elected president and William Hutchinson, University of Chicago, vice-president. Papers read at the sessions will be summarized in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. The fifty-first annual meeting will be held in Minneapolis.

The Society of American Archivists will hold its annual meeting in Columbus, Ohio, on Thursday and Friday, October 3 and 4, 1957. Headquarters for the Society's meetings will be located at the Deshler-Hilton Hotel. Mr. Erwin Zepp, director of the Ohio Historical Society, Ohio State Museum, is in charge of local arrangements.

American historians who have ideas concerning or who wish to present papers at the Stockholm International Congress of Historical Sciences should get in touch with Professor Donald McKay of Amherst College, the United States member of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, or with the American Historical Association headquarters, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

The Ford Foundation has made a \$25 million appropriation for a large-scale extension and development of the National Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program, in an intensive, nationwide effort to combat the mounting shortage of teachers in the nation's colleges. The Foundation's action will support a broad program to attract able college students into the academic profession and will provide graduate fellowships to potential college teachers at the rate of one thousand a year for the next five years. Nominations for Woodrow Wilson Fellowships will be made by local faculty members, and selection will be made by regional committees and a national committee made up of active university and college faculty members. Individual awards, which will be applied to tuition and living expenses for the first year of graduate study, are expected to average \$2,200 and will require about \$11 million of the total appropriation. Another \$10 million will go to universities for aid to graduate students beyond the first year.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has announced the inauguration of an annual award of \$1,000 for an outstanding study of American history. The first award will be made in April, 1959, and the manuscript selected will be published by the University of Kentucky Press. Dates for submission of manuscripts for the first judging are June 1 through August 31, 1958. To be eligible for the award manuscripts must be not more than 100,000 words. For further information write to Dr. Chase C. Mooney, History Department, Indiana University, Bloomington.

The Loubat Prizes, awarded by Columbia University in recognition of the best works printed and published in the English language on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America, are made at the close of every quinquennial period. The two awards are valued at \$1,200 and \$600. To be considered for the 1958 awards, books must be published before the first of that year. The competition is open to all persons whether connected with Columbia University or not and whether citizens of the United States or any other country. Communications and works submitted in competition should be sent to the Secretary of Columbia University, New York 27, by January 1, 1958. It is requested that four copies of each work submitted be furnished.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellows for 1957 include the following scholars in history and related fields: Arthur J. A. Anderson, Curator, History and Publications, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, Aztec accounts of Spanish settlement in the Americas; Yuri Arbatsky, New York City, Music and musical instruments, from pre-Hellenic times to the fall of Constantinople; Joseph Oscar Baylen, Delta State College, The life and career of W. T. Stead, 1876-1912; W. Burlie Brown, Tulane University, American architectural thought and expression, 1865-1914; Robert Vance Bruce, Boston University, The 1877 railroad strikes and labor riots in the United States; Rev. Ernest Joseph Burrus, St. Louis University,

Documents in Italian archives bearing on Latin American history; John Leonard Clive, Harvard University, Transition from eighteenth- to nineteenth-century thought and opinion in England; Joel Colton, Duke University, Léon Blum and French Socialism; Lawrence Arthur Cremin, Columbia University, History of American educational thought, 1880-1940; Curtis Dahl, Wheaton College, Nineteenth-century archaeological discoveries in relation to the cultural history of the West; Giorgio Diaz de Santillana, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Vincenzo Viviani, Galileo's scientific secretary; Durand Echeverria, Brown University, The meaning of liberty in French thought of the eighteenth century; Laura Fermi, Chicago, Life and times of Benito Mussolini; Sidney Fine, University of Michigan, Relationship between the National Recovery Administration and the automobile industry, 1933-1935; Louis L. Gerson, University of Connecticut, Impact of American immigrant groups on foreign policies of the United States; Howard Jay Graham, Los Angeles County Law Library, History of the Fourteenth Amendment; Donald Johnson Greene, University of California, Riverside, Relation between English literature and politics in the eighteenth century; Oscar Halecki, Fordham University, Contributions of the Slavic and East European nations to Western European culture; Paul Hoswell Hardacre, Vanderbilt University, Life and times of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; J. Jean Hecht, Haverford College, The upper class family in eighteenth-century England; Gertrude Himmelfarb, London, England, Development of Darwin's thought and of contemporary response to his work; Robert V. Hine, University of California, Riverside, Biographical studies of Edward, Richard, and Benjamin Kern, explorers of the American West, 1845-1863; Benjamin Beard Hoover, University of Washington, Relationship of literature and politics in eighteenth-century England; Herbert Hiram Hyman, Columbia University, Comparative study of public opinion on civil liberties in the United States and Great Britain; William Turrentine Jackson, University of California, Davis, British contributions to the development of the American West; Weymouth Tyree Jordan, Florida State University, Scientific agriculture in the Old South; Paul Oskar Kristeller, Columbia University, Philosophical and humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries; Aubrey Christian Land, University of Nebraska, The merchant-planter class of the Chesapeake colonies; Benno Landsberger, University of Chicago, Languages and cultures of the ancient Middle East; Wacław Lednicki, University of California, Berkeley, Pre-Soviet cultural and political trends in Russia and Poland; Leonard William Levy, Brandeis University, Provisions against compulsory self-incrimination in Anglo-American law; Robert Alexander Lively, Princeton University, Herbert Hoover and American enterprise; Juan López-Morillas, Brown University, Intellectual history of modern Spain; Richard Lowitt, Connecticut College, Life and times of Senator George W. Norris; Paul Lachlan MacKendrick, University of Wisconsin, Roman colonization in the Republican period; George Makdisi, University of Michigan, History of Islamic socio-religious movements in the eleventh century; Frank Edward

Manuel, Brandeis University, Mythology and primitive religion in eighteenth-century thought; Arthur J. Marder, University of Hawaii, English seapower in the twentieth century; Juan Augusto López Marichal, Bryn Mawr College, Manuel Azafia, President of the Second Spanish Republic; John Thomas McNeill, Union Theological Seminary, Works of John Calvin; Redding Francis Perry, Alexandria, Virginia, History of the Second Armored Division in World War II; Bessie Louise Pierce, University of Chicago, History of the city of Chicago; Ernst Maximilian Posner, American University, History of archives administration; Marc Raeff, Clark University, The nobility's relationships to the Russian state, 1725-1861; Charles Frederick Rudolph, Williams College, History of higher education in the United States; Emanuel Sarkisyanz, Bishop College, Buddhist influence on Burmese social thought; Paul Frederick Sharp, University of Wisconsin, Influence of humanitarian sentiment upon public policy after the Civil War; Helen Clapesattle Shugg, Chicago, The part played by the search for health in westward migration in the United States; Walter M. Simon, Cornell University, History of European positivism in the nineteenth century; Alice Elizabeth Smith, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Scottish leadership and capital in the development of the lower Lake Michigan area in the nineteenth century; Watt Stewart, State College for Teachers, Albany, New York, Business activities of Minor Cooper Keith in Costa Rica; Samuel Edmund Thorne, Harvard University, Bracton in the history of English law; George Brown Tindall, Louisiana State University, History of the South, 1913-1946; John Chalmers Vinson, University of Georgia, The United States Senate and American foreign policy, 1931-1941; Klemens von Klemperer, Smith College, Alternatives to the Anschluss in Austria; Arthur Vööbus, Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, Syrian monasticism from the second to the fifth century, A.D.; Bell Irvin Wiley, Emory University, Studies toward a history of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865; Marvin Eugene Wolfgang, Florentine contributions to the history and philosophy of punishment for crime; Herbert Chayyim Youtie, University of Michigan, Scholarly use of papyrological literature.

The 1957 Pulitzer Prize in History, awarded by Columbia University, was received by George F. Kennan, for his book *Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton, N. J., 1956; see rev. in *AHR*, LXII [January, 1957], 367). Mr. Kennan is presently a member of the staff of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

A new organization, a Committee on the History of Social Welfare, has developed from the interest crystallized by Professor Karl de Schweinitz' paper at the 1956 meeting of the Council of Social Work Education (published in the *Social Service Review*, June, 1956). An interdisciplinary group, composed of social workers and historians, the Committee's purposes relate to the teaching of social welfare history and to the encouragement and facilitating of historical research as a means to broaden and deepen the understanding of the backgrounds of social welfare and social work. The Committee's first activities include publica-

tion of an informational bulletin for the membership and sponsorship of a workshop at the 1957 Council of Social Work Education meeting in Los Angeles. For the present the Committee expects to maintain an independent identity and to seek close relationships with the CSWE, National Association of Social Workers, and American Historical Association. Membership is open to all interested persons. Annual dues are \$2.50. Complete information may be secured from the secretary-treasurer, Dr. Ralph E. Pumphrey, Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

The Saint Louis University Library announces the publication of *Manuscripta*, a new scholarly journal of a general nature in the humanities and history. Feature articles will make available information about and descriptions of Vatican Library manuscripts and their use, indexes, contents, etc., as well as a listing of the codices available for consultation at the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library. Correspondence should be directed to *Manuscripta*, Saint Louis University Library, Saint Louis 3, Missouri.

According to a National Education Association *Research Bulletin* (October, 1956), the salaries for instructional staff paid in universities, colleges, and junior colleges vary widely, from less than \$2,400 to more than \$18,000. In all colleges and universities the median salary in 1955-1956, for nine months, for professors was \$7,076, for associate professors, \$5,731, for assistant professors, \$4,921, and for instructors, \$4,087. For all ranks combined the median salary was \$5,243.

In the interest of ascertaining the extent to which the land-grant colleges and universities have made requirements with respect to training for American citizenship through courses in American history and/or American political institutions, Professor S. George Ellsworth of the Utah State Agricultural College directed a letter (dated November 10, 1954) to the presidents of the fifty land-grant colleges and universities of the United States asking for answers to the following questions: (1) Does your institution require of all its graduates courses in American history and/or American political institutions? If so, what are the provisions? Is it by state or college ruling? (2) What is the place of (a) history and (b) political science in your curriculum (with respect to which all students are expected to participate)—in "group requirements" or in the "humanities" or in a "general education" program? Of the fifty institutions surveyed, forty-five replied more or less in full.

Thirteen institutions at present require courses in American history and thirteen require courses in American political institutions for graduation, while a fourteenth is studying its offerings to meet a recently enacted law requiring one course in government. Requirements vary widely, from no college course (high school course satisfies the requirement) to a year program including six semester hours of history and three of government. The requirement may be met (in two

institutions) by examination, or (in one instance) by a high school course. Possibly in only three cases is it a college and not a state requirement.

Of the thirty-two other institutions replying negatively to the graduation requirement, the survey showed a wide divergence of practice in placing the subjects in the curricula. About twelve institutions replied that these subjects were required by a greater percentage of all curricula or were taken by large numbers if not the majority of students; four estimated that "many" or a majority of all curricula required these courses or that a similar ratio of students took them as electives. It would appear that in about twenty-five of these thirty-two institutions these courses are either required of nearly all or are taken by nearly all or at least a majority of students. Sixteen other institutions answered that the subjects are required in only some of the divisions of the college, or were taken by a relatively small number of students. In about a third of the thirty-two cases, the subjects are among those satisfying group or general education requirements.

Several institutions stated that the subject was one of concern and was being studied in the expectation of reaching a new solution. Some said that a well-reasoned decision as to the place of these subjects in the curricula had been reached.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Boston University: Thomas W. Palmer, Jr., appointed associate professor, Ernest M. Law, assistant professor. *Bryn Maur College*: Helen Taft Manning has retired with the rank of professor emeritus. *University of Chicago*: Val Lorwin on leave of absence for 1957-58 to go to Belgium on an SSRC grant to study political parties and trade unions; in the fall of 1958 he will return to a professorship at the University of Oregon. *Chicago Teachers College*: John M. Pfau appointed assistant dean in charge of the new Foreman Branch of the college. *University of Colorado*: Daniel Malloy Smith appointed assistant professor. *Colorado College* (Colorado Springs): Harvey L. Carter designated John and Harriet Parker Campbell Professor of American History; Paul P. Bernard promoted to assistant professor; Donald P. Greene, of Indiana University, appointed instructor to succeed Earland I. Carlson, who has been named dean of North Park College, Chicago, Illinois; Carroll B. Malone on a two-year appointment as professor in Tunghai University, Taiwan.

Columbia University: Ihor Sevcenko, of the department of Slavic languages and literature, University of Michigan, appointed associate professor. *Emory University*: S. Walter Martin, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Georgia, named president of the university. *Gallaudet College* (Washington, D. C.): Kurt Beermann appointed assistant professor. *Hamilton College*:

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

David M. Ellis promoted to professor. *Harpur College* (Endicott, New York): Sidney S. Harcave promoted to professor; Robert N. McLarty appointed assistant professor. *Hunter College*: Pearl Kibre promoted to professor, Douglas Maynard to assistant professor. *University of Notre Dame*: Marshall Smelser promoted to professor.

Occidental College: Raymond E. Lindgren promoted to professor, Andrew F. Rolle to associate professor. *Pomona College*: John W. Wilkes appointed assistant professor. *Thiel College* (Greenville, Pennsylvania): Frederick M. Binder promoted to professor, Robert S. Cope to associate professor. *University of Virginia*: Harry Cranbrook Allen, Commonwealth Fund Professor of American History, University of London, appointed visiting research professor for the fall semester, 1957-58; Allen W. Moger, of Washington and Lee University, appointed part-time professor for 1957-58; David Alan Williams, of Queen's College, North Carolina, and Paul M. Gaston, of the University of North Carolina, appointed instructors; Edward Younger on leave for 1957-58 to fill a Fulbright appointment to Allahabad University, India. *Wayne State University*: Milton Covensky, C. Norman Guice, and Richard Miles promoted to associate professors; Franklin Wallin appointed assistant professor. *University of Wisconsin*: J. D. Fage, chairman of the department of history, University College, Gold Coast, named British Commonwealth visiting professor.

RECENT DEATHS

Josep Puig i Cadafalch, president of the Secció Històrico-Arqueològica of L'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, died December 23, 1956.

Ralph H. Records, former professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, died on January 4, 1957, at the age of sixty-eight. Professor Records received his A.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of Oklahoma in 1922 and 1923 respectively, and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1936. He began teaching at the University of Oklahoma in 1926, where he remained until the fall of 1945 when he suffered a stroke. Although his major interest was historiography, he taught a wide range of subjects and published articles on various phases of the Western frontier.

Nils Ahnlund, the noted Swedish historian, died January 11, 1957, at the age of sixty-seven. Professor at Stockholm Högskola, 1928-55, Ahnlund was a vigorous scholar who helped, particularly in work dealing with the great political and military figures of Sweden's seventeenth century, to maintain in Swedish historiography that painstaking attention to detail which so characterizes it. He made his greatest mark, however, as editor of the *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1937-49, as member or head of numerous societies and commissions in and out of the academic world, and as an untiring contributor to *Svenska Dagbladet* and other newspapers and periodicals. A man of firm opinions and a strong dedication, religious as well as secular, Ahnlund took a lively interest in both public and

academic affairs and contributed, in indefatigable fashion, to the normal Scandinavian intertwining of the two. At the height of his activity and influence he won many honors—culminating in 1941 with membership in the Academy. In 1956 he concluded his career with the publication of *Tradition och historia*, a useful selection from his scholarly work.

Georg Wittrock, long a professor at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, died January 12, 1957, at the age of eighty-one. Professor Wittrock was best known for his excellent work on mid-seventeenth-century Sweden.

Mrs. Natalia Goraynoff Summers died January 31, 1957, at the United States Naval Hospital, Yokosuka, Japan. She was the widow of Maddin Summers, United States Consul General at Moscow, and the mother of the present United States Consul General at Yokohama, Lionel M. Summers. Mrs. Summers is warmly remembered by many scholars whom she assisted in historical researches when she served as Archivist of the Department of State, from 1926 to 1938, and in the National Archives State Department records until her retirement in 1948. Always imbued with a devoted interest in the organization and contents of the State Department records, she went out of her way to assist the historian, particularly to help young men and women who were first orienting themselves in those important records. Mrs. Summers prepared a valuable list of documents related to special agents of the Department of State, from 1789 to 1906, published by the National Archives as Number 7 of its *Special Lists* of principal records. The profession has lost a devoted and conscientious public servant and friend to historical workers.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr., professor in the Harvard Law School since 1916, died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 8, 1957. A graduate of Brown University (1907) and of the Harvard Law School (1913), Professor Chafee had honorary degrees from Brown, Colby, Chicago, and Boston Universities. In the fields of history and political science he is best known for his classic *Freedom of Speech* (1920); *The Inquiring Mind* (1928); *How Human Rights Got into the Constitution* (1952); and *Documents on Fundamental Human Rights* (1954). With Samuel Eliot Morison he edited *Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671-1680*, and wrote the masterly introduction pointing out the significance of these records in the history of American colonial law. He had great influence throughout the country, and also on the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, in defending the traditions and charters of human liberty. Thus he was once denounced as one of the "seven most dangerous men in America." Professor Chafee served many scholarly causes, among them that of legal history. He was a member of the American Historical Association and long active on its Littleton-Griswold Committee on Legal History.

Miron Burgin, chief of the State Department's Research Division for American Republics, died March 13, 1957, at the age of fifty-six. Burgin was born in

Warsaw, Poland, and studied at the Faculty of Law and Political Science in the city university there. After coming to this country, he continued his education at Harvard University, where he received his B.S. in 1929 and his Ph.D. in 1941. Burgin worked for the Harvard Bureau of Research in Latin America in 1933 and continued to write articles and reviews in that field. He was at one time editor of *Economic Literature of Latin America* and *The Handbook of Latin American Studies*. His book, *The Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism, 1820-52* (1946), was hailed as a major contribution to the field of South American history. He entered the State Department in 1948 and was named chief of the Latin American research division in 1949.

Henry E. Sigerist, who was for some fifteen years director of the Institute of the History of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University, died at his home in Pura, Ticino, Switzerland, on March 17, 1957. Dr. Sigerist was born in Paris on April 7, 1891. He attended a gymnasium in Zurich and originally planned to become a classicist, but subsequently he became interested in medicine and obtained an M.D. degree at the University of Zurich in 1917. He also studied the social sciences at the University of London and combined his historical, sociological, and medical interests in devoting himself to the history of medicine. He lectured in this field at Zurich, 1921-23, and then served as director of the Institute of Medical History at Leipzig, 1925-32.

In 1932 Dr. Sigerist accepted the directorship of the Hopkins Institute, succeeding Dr. William H. Welch. From then until 1947, when he returned to Switzerland, Sigerist exerted a most stimulating influence on medical history in this country. He promoted high standards in the field and an appreciation of its social as well as its scientific aspects. Active and versatile, he reorganized the American Association of the History of Medicine and founded, as its organ, the present *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. He lectured both here and abroad and was as well known in relation to the problems of medical care as in connection with medical history proper. His many books and papers had a wide appeal, in part because of an unusual clarity and simplicity of style. In Dr. Sigerist's death, the world loses one of the outstanding medical historians of the present century.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Zagorin's concern (*AHR*, October, 1956, pp. 1-11) over Becker's "skeptical fallacy" may be accounted so much playing with words by many historians who are engrossed in their own area of specialization. This is another round in the argument between theorist and skeptic, with touché again going to the skeptic, Professor Gershom in this case.

Before theorist and skeptic again go their separate ways, I should like to pro-

pose an exercise in perspective, namely, a reversing of roles, by which we might throw some new light on the historical process—if there is one. While those whose inclination is to say hopefully with Zagorin that history is “not unknowable” stand by “infected with skeptical doubts,” let those whose inclination is to cheer Gershoy’s defense of skepticism make a try at “knowing” history. Let them take on, temporarily, the uncongenial hypothesis with which the theorists begin—there is a true, coherent, and explicable historical process at work in this world—then with uncharacteristic temerity set down its main outlines.

“But impossible,” the reply will be. “We cannot in good historian’s conscience start from such an assumption or make such an attempt. There are a thousand reasons why: not only the unknown, but our prejudices, our environment; we are nationals of a particular country, products of a single civilization, specialists in a small segment of history. Even if we were thoroughly versed in all historical fields, a dozen other branches of knowledge impinge upon the subject. Even if the facts were there, our spectacles are hopelessly colored. Look at Toynbee’s ten volumes of beautifully written ‘theoretical fallacy.’ Perhaps in a hundred years. . . .”

But those who answer this way are the ones to try. Business men have given us the methodological key in their “let’s-hear-your-idea-no-matter-how-crazy-it-is” sessions, where criticism, including self-criticism, is reserved for later. And for those who plead they do not have the time, let the exercise be limited not to ten volumes but to ten pages.

Having set up this proposition, it is only fair that this reader, an inveterate scoffer at historical systems, might try out the hypothesis: “There is a true, coherent, and explicable historical process at work in this world.” This may be built around something like *problem sets*. As to the origin of these problem sets, suffice it to say that the force which originated them would be the same one which set the human brain to thinking about them. Perhaps the human race encounters four main problem sets, which are interrelated but distinguishable.

Problem set #1—“Physical Science,” from primitive agriculture to advanced engineering, physics and medicine, including economics of production. Cold, heat, hunger, and disease cause man discomfort. However, in the ground, sea, and air of this globe called Earth are resources which, if discovered and utilized, will enable him to attain material and physical well-being. These resources are hidden, some in easily discovered places (apples in trees), but others are literally imbedded in illusions (oil in underground lakes in seemingly desolate areas, electricity in waterfalls, energy in atoms, and certainly much more). The objective is their discovery and utilization. Not until recently have anything but hit or miss methods been applied to this, though gradually the realization that there are discoverable secrets of inestimable possibility has dawned, and men are organizing the search.

Problem set #2—“Social Science,” from primitive family and clan politics to world political systemizing, including economics of distribution. If men fight they hurt each other but if, on the contrary, they do not fight but help each other, they can move forward much more rapidly to physical and material well-being. The objective is to find how to keep from fighting. But why has it been so difficult? This is because there are several built-in illusions in the social as in the physical world, illusions which have taken centuries to identify, e.g., that one section of mankind can prosper at the expense of another, that skin color is a real differential. Man has made some progress in solving these in “in groups” of broadening dimension, but he is just beginning to discover that the whole human race is in reality an “in group.” The illusions are what make the problem, just as the fact that the physical resources are hidden makes their discovery a problem.

Problem set #3—"Humanities," from child's play to great literature and art. The objective may be defined simply as "discovering the joy of living," though this is a very subtle proposition. Whereas finding the way to physical and material well-being and social amiability may constitute the "serious business" of the human race, the beauty of the world itself provides a first reminder to the observant that "serious business" must be kept in perspective. And the fact that human difficulties and frailties can become "joy" in the theater suggests that the "light touch" is indeed the light which, brought into focus, can illuminate the serious problems, #1 and #2.

Problem set #4—"Mental Science," philosophy, psychology, religion, metaphysics. Here man attempts to discover the method of instruction. He has been singularly dogmatic on this most elusive subject, which, since it concerns his relation to the mechanism of the universe, may require the mastery of the first three problem sets as the final key to its solution. Certain observations, however, may be made. The fact that resources are so ingeniously hidden and that our horizons are literally bound up in illusions (e.g., the world is flat) until we move around and get new angles and perspectives suggests immediately that the problem solving is of the "do it yourself" variety. And the fact that a person may take his own life or kill another should be clear enough indication that the will is free. Let philosophy rest here. Psychology, however, has discovered that certain basic urges compel, or at least propel, him to become involved in the problem. Urges to relieve discomfort, to reproduce, and to play (see Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*) cause him to give his attention to problems #1, #2, and #3 respectively, though they do not guarantee that he will solve them or even define them (hence no "laws" of history). In addition, religion has vehemently attested that mankind is favored occasionally with what we call revelations, enlightenment, *satori*, flashes of insight received by various individuals—Moses, Jesus, Buddha, Paul, Zoroaster, Bodhidharma, Mani, Mohammed, Nanak, George Fox, Joseph Smith, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan of the T'ai-p'ings, Choi of the Tong Haks, and perhaps hundreds of unknowns. How do we account for these? Are they merely prevarications or imaginings? Some weight must be given the possibility that they are not, that they represent, shall we say, "hints," imperfectly understood by individuals standing in the context of their own place, time, and limited knowledge of the world, and garbled by followers with a penchant for associating "revealed truths" with their own group—but hints, nevertheless, which give man encouragement that the unseen force behind his problems has some interest in his progress and which at the same time help him toward the broad perspective necessary for their solution.

History, then, is the record of man's efforts to define and solve the multitude of problems which constitute the subsections of these problem sets.

Preposterous? But if Zagorin is right, if history is "knowable," why should we assume we are *unable* to see its main outlines. If some of the "tough-minded," whose inclination is to batter rather than build theories, made a try, we might get further than we think.

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

John K. Fairbank's article on "East Asian Views of Modern European History" made me conscious of many sins of omission and commission arising out of ignorance of the Far East and its history. I believe Mr. Fairbank's point is well taken and I, for one, intend to fill in these lacunae which are so very serious and

potentially dangerous in the "one world" (or at least two) in which we find ourselves today.

And yet I feel compelled to take issue not so much with Mr. Fairbank's *ipsissima verba* as with the general implications which could be drawn from them and which might lead to a serious distortion of emphasis in the historical studies carried on in this country if realized in fact. He says, in the April, 1957, issue of the *American Historical Review*, page 536, "It is a disquieting symptom that while we have no 'European specialists' in America who are called by that name, one still hears of 'Far Eastern specialists' among us." As one "European specialist" who has never been called by that name I may perhaps be accused of European "historicism" (also under attack in review of a book on page 595 of the same issue) if I object, on historical grounds, to basic assumptions upon which Mr. Fairbank's statement rests.

There are very good historical reasons why American historians have never coined such a term as "European specialist" and why they have used for so long the term "Far Eastern specialist." Can we place American culture at equal distance from the culture of the Far East and of Europe? How many people out of the total population of the Americas today speak a non-European language as their vernacular? What have been the relative importance of British and Chinese ideas of government in forming the government of the United States? To what results do we come when we compare the relative significance of Confucianism and Catholicism south of the Rio Grande? The story of United States immigration and its restrictions would also not be lacking in significance in this connection.

Let us not be blinded by the existence of geographical features and distances to the realities of world population distribution. Europe is actually on the same land mass (one might almost say continent) with the Far East and we are separated by an ocean from it. Does that mean so much? If we compare Peiping, London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne or Shanghai, Madrid, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires do not the cities in each list fall naturally into *two* groups? But we should perhaps all renounce our ill-gotten colonial gains, give the land back to the Indians, and return to Europe as quickly as possible.

The Americas, as well as Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (as well as Siberia) are colonial daughters of Europe and its civilization. They are the result of the last and greatest *Völkerwanderung* of the European peoples. Of all these various colonial daughters the United States is today the most significant and has come nearest to making out of the various New Englands, New Netherlands, and new little Irelands, Germanies, Swedens, Italies, and Polands a united New Europe across the sea from the Old. That non-European elements also have had their proportionate share in the creation of this *Magna Europa* no one would wish to deny. Nevertheless, it is the languages, the religion, and the governmental, social, and economic forms ultimately derived from Europe that have prevailed everywhere in the New World. Or would one seriously argue that to gain an understanding, for example, of the American religious scene of 1957 the study of religion in sixteenth-century China or even among the American Indians would be as valuable as the study of it in sixteenth-century Europe?

In view of such considerations it seems quite natural that no one had up to now in America ever become conscious of any necessity for coining such a term as "European specialist" to designate a historian who has as his chief specialization the study of what is, after all, basically the original source of the civilization of his own country.

May we by all means have our "Far Eastern specialists" and may we fill in

these dangerous gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the history of those areas now so important for the future of our country and of our civilization, especially since the world is becoming an ever smaller and more crowded place. May such studies, however, never lead us to forget from which direction of the compass the *Santa Maria* and the *Plymouth* approached these shores. It is this type of forgetfulness of the past which leads in the next generation to ignorance of it. But it is against such forgetfulness, as well as ignorance, misinterpretation, and misunderstanding of the past that historians have developed, especially since Ranke, the science of historical research and method and have practiced the art of interpreting history.

Fairleigh Dickinson University

HEINZ MACKENSEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The old Chinese saying, *chih-chi chih-pi pai-chan pai-sheng*, if translated in the Confucius-say style, reads: "Understand yourself, understand the other fellow; in one hundred battles, win one hundred victories."

I am all for Heinz Mackensen's demand that we keep on with the effort to understand ourselves through study of our own past. To it we must add the further effort to understand, through study of their past, the peoples of the non-Western world.

Out of both efforts combined we may get a better grasp of our own place in history. This is a task for every historian, not for Asia specialists alone.

Harvard University

J. K. FAIRBANK

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I will appreciate it if you allow me space to support some conclusions in my recent book, *History of American Technology*, which the reviewer, Professor Louis C. Hunter, described as "confusing when not misleading" (*American Historical Review*, LXII [January, 1957], 400-401). He was referring to my summary in the chapter entitled "Technology in the Civil War." I state (p. 291) that breech-loading rifles, artillery guns, and rifled cannon were used and that "both sides pioneered in introducing machine guns, armored cars, surface torpedo boats, and submarines."

I cannot understand how such a statement can be confusing; but to say it is misleading, that I can't take. Regarding the use of breech-loading arms, see Charles B. Norton, *American Inventions and Improvements in Breechloading Small Arms* (1880), and Brigadier General A. B. Dyer, Chief of Ordnance, *Report to Secretary of War Stanton, Dec. 5, 1864*. Rifled cannon were in production at Cold Springs Foundry at West Point as early as 1861. The famous Parrot rifle, a 200-pound "Swamp-Angel" was used effectively throughout the war. The Williams machine gun, weighing 275 pounds, capable of firing forty shots a minute, drawn by one horse and operated by three men, was first used in the Battle of Seven Pines (1862). Six of these guns were used in the Battle of Blue Springs, Tennessee, October 10, 1863. See F. T. Allen's "Breechloading Cannon in the Confederate Army," *Journal of the Military Service Institute of the United States*, XLIV (1909), 441-43. Regarding the Gatling machine gun, see George Fort Milton's article, "Dr. Gatling and His Humanitarian Gun," *Technology Review*, XLV (June, 1943), 426.

Regarding armored railroad cars, consult such works as Edwin A. Pratt, *The*

Rise of Rail Power in War and Conquest (1916); Festus P. Summers, *The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War* (1939); Thomas Weber, *The Northern Railroads in the Civil War* (1952); and George Edgar Turner, *Victory Rode the Rails* (1953), to learn how extensively they were used. And for the introduction of submarines and torpedo boats, see Oswald Garrison Villard, "The Submarine and the Torpedo in the Blockade of the Confederacy," *Harper's*, CXXXIII (June, 1916), 131-37; Katherine Prence, "The Confederate Mines, 1862-1865," *Magazine of History*, IX (January, 1909), 13-16; Hunter Davidson's "Mines and Torpedoes during the Rebellion," *Magazine of History*, VIII (November, 1906), 255-61. Also see O.R.N. Series I, Vol. XV, p. 21 and O.R.N. Series I, Vol. VII, p. 447, and L. H. Bolander, "The *Alligator*, First Federal Submarine of the Civil War," *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXIV (1938), 846-47. Conclusions arrived at from these and dozens of other references can hardly be called "misleading."

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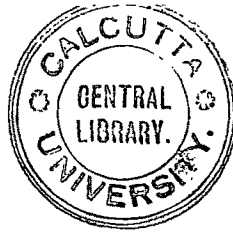
JOHN W. OLIVER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The words "confusing when not misleading" used in my review of Professor Oliver's *History of American Technology* have no reference to the comment upon Civil War armament in the sentence that follows, which reads: "Many will be surprised to learn that during the Civil War: 'Improved breechloading rifles for the infantry, and accurate artillery guns and rifled cannon came into general use. . . . Both sides pioneered in introducing machine guns, armored cars, surface torpedo boats, and submarines.'" It is only necessary to remark here that while breech-loading carbines became the standard arm of the cavalry, the vast majority of the infantry fought with muzzle-loading rifles, mostly of the Springfield and Enfield types. (See H. T. Miller, *The Procurement of Small Arms by the Federal Government during the Civil War* [M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1931], tables on pp. 177-78.) It is debatable whether the employment of a few dozen "coffee mill" or other predecessors of the twentieth-century machine gun constituted "introduction" in any significant sense.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

LOUIS C. HUNTER



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